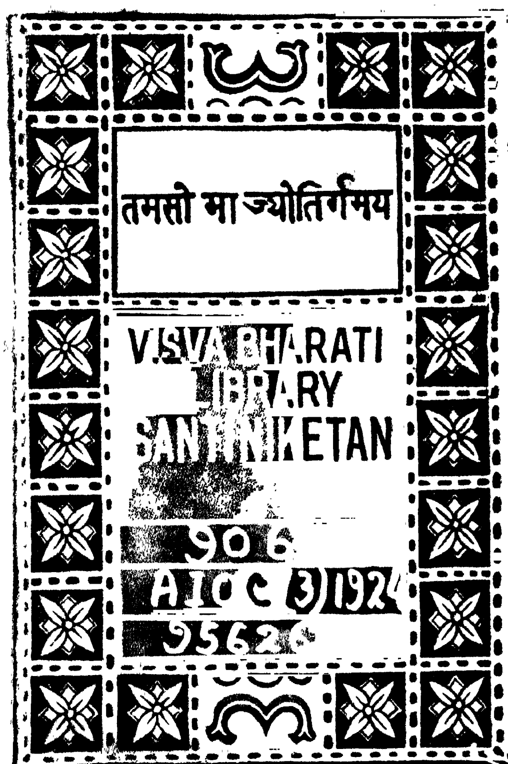

तमसो मा ज्योतिर्गमय
VISVA BHARATI
LIBRARY
SANTINIKETAN

Proceedings and Transactions

OF THE

Third Oriental Conference

MADRAS

December 22nd to 24th, 1924



MADRAS

PRINTED AT THE LAW PRINTING HOUSE, MOUNT ROAD

1925

FOREWORD.

In issuing the Report and Proceedings of the Third All-India Oriental Conference, the Secretaries acknowledge, with great pleasure the assistance rendered by all the Committees and Sub-Committees of the Conference, and wish specially to place on record the work of Mr. T. R. Chintamani, University Research Student, who was mainly responsible for seeing the work through the press, and to Professor S. Kuppuswami Sastriyar, who kindly permitted him to do this without prejudice to his research work.

The Secretaries are also obliged to the Law Printing House for the neat execution, and the expeditious publication of the Report and Proceedings.

MADRAS,
30th October, 1925.

S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR,
P. P. S. SASTRI,
Secretaries.

CONTENTS.

The Third Oriental Conference, 1924

Patron.

HIS EXCELLENCY VISCOUNT GOSCHEN, G.C.I.E., C.B.E.,
GOVERNOR OF MADRAS.

List of Officers.

Chairman of the Reception Committee.

THE REV. DR. E. MONTEITH MACPHAIL, C.I.E., C.B.E.,
VICE-CHANCELLOR OF THE MADRAS UNIVERSITY.

Joint Honorary Secretaries.

Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, M.A., Ph. D., (HONY).
Mr. P. P. S. Sastri, M.A. (Madras), B.A. (Oxon), M.R.A.S.

Honorary Treasurer.

Mr. K. Balasubrahmanya Aiyar, B.A., B.L.

Sub-Committees.

I.—Accommodation and Hospitality.

Dr. Muhammad Oosman.
Mr. K. Balasubrahmanya Aiyar.
,, P. Somasundaram Pantulu.
,, S. Muthia Mudaliar.
,, G. Venkataranga Rao.
,, Alladi Krishnaswami Aiyar.
,, B. Satyanarayana.
,, Naimur Rahman Sahib.
,, Muhammad Sahib.
Shamshul-Ulema Md. Abdul Rahman Sahib.
Secretaries (*Ex-Officio*).

II.—Meetings.

Prof. S. Kuppuswami Sastri.
Mr. K. V. Krishnaswami Aiyar.
,, K. Balasubrahmanya Aiyar.
Secretaries (*Ex-Officio*).

III —Entertainments and Music.

Mr. K. V. Krishnaswami Aiyar.
,, A. Rangaswami Aiyangar.
,, S. Satyamurti.
,, Salla Guruswami Chetti.
,, C. R. Srinivasa Aiyangar.
Dr. K. N. Sitaraman.

IV.—Literary Committee.

Prof. S. Kuppuswami Sastri.
Mr. G. Venkataranga Rao.
,, R. Krishna Rao Bhonsle.
Secretaries (*Ex-Officio*).

V.—Volunteers.

Mr. C. S. Srinivasachariar-Captain.
,, P. P. S. Sastri-Captain.

VI.—Transport.

Mr. P. N. Appuswami Aiyar.
Secretaries (*Ex-Officio*).

Executive Committee.

Mr. Alladi Krishnaswami Aiyar.
,, K. V. Krishnaswami Aiyar.
,, B. Satyanarayana.
,, T. R. Venkatarama Sastri.
Prof. S. Kuppuswami Sastri.
,, M. A. Candeth.
,, M. Ratnaswami.
,, C. S. Srinivasachariar.
Mr. V. Ramadas.
,, H. M. Ibrahim Sait.
,, R. Krishna Rao Bhonsle (Rao Sahib).
Dr. Muhammad Oosman Sahib.
Mr. P. Sambanda Mudaliar (Rao Sahib).
,, P. Somasundaram.
,, Muthia Mudaliar.
,, G. Venkataranga Rao (Rai Sahib).
,, B. Rama Rao.
Mahamahopadhyaya V. Swaminatha Aiyar.
Mr. K. Balasubrahmanya Aiyar.
Dr. P. Subbarayan.

Mr. Mir Zyn-ud-din Sahib.
" Paul Appasami.
Sir R. Venkataratnam Naidu (Dewan Bahadur).
Sir K. V. Reddi.
Mr. K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar (Rao Bahadur).
" T. Rajagopal Rao.
" A. Rangaswami Aiyangar.
" C. R. Srinivasa Aiyangar.
" Salla Guruswami Chetti (Dewan Bahadur).
Rev. Dr. E. M. Macphail.
Dr. S. Krishnasawmi Aiyangar } *Secretaries.*
Mr. P. P. S. Sastri. }

2.—Members of the Reception Committee.

Abdul Rahiman Khan, Md., Nizam College, Hyderabad.
Acharya, M. K., B.A., L.T., M.L.A., Thambu Chetty Street, George Town.
Adiga, K. Y., B.A., B.L., High Court Vakil, Mylapore.
Alasingarachariar, M. D., Pandit, Presidency College, Tank Square, Triplicane.
Anantalakshimi, O. K., B.A. (Hons.), Karaneswarar Coil Street, Mylapore.
Annamalai Chettiar, Dewan Bahadur Sir, Kt., 'Natana Vilas', Vepery.
Anantarama Aiyar, E. V., Pandit, Presidency College, Madras.
Appu Sastrigal, S., Rao Bahadur, Native High School, Kumbakonam.
Aravamudhan, T. G., B.A., B.L., High Court Vakil, Kilpauk, Madras.

Besant, Dr. A., Theosophical Buildings, Adyar.
Bhashyam, K., B.A., B.L., High Court Vakil, Mylapore.
Bhavanandam Pillai, S., Dewan Bahadur, 'Newton House', Church Road, Vepery.

Candeth, M. A., M.A., Bar-at-law.
Chakrapani Aiyangar, T. R., B.A., B.L., High Court Vakil, Cuddalore, N.T.
Chakravarti, A., M.A., Professor, Presidency College, Madras.
Chandrasekaran, C. V., M.A., Maharaja's College, Trivandrum.
Chattopadhyaya, Miss, Editor, 'The Shama', Mount Road, Madras.
Chidambaram Pillai, E. S., B.A., B.L., High Court Vakil, Egmore.
Chintamani, T. R., B.A. (Hons.), Sannidhi Street, Mylapore.
Corley, F. E., Madras.
Cotilingam, J. P., Bellary.

Desikachariar, K. C., B.A., B.L., Police Raghavachar Street, Park Town, Madras.
Desikachariar, Sir T., Dewan Bahadur, Reynold's Road, Trichinopoly.

Devadass, Hon'ble Justice M. D., 'Sylvan Lodge', Luz, Mylapore.
Dutt, P. C., I.C.S., Collector, Cuddalore, South Arcot.

Gopalaswami Aiyangar, N., Rao Bahadur, Registrar-General of Panchayats, Mowbray's Road, Teynampet.
Govindadass, Lodd, Madras.
Govindachariar, V., B.A., B.L., High Court Vakil, Mylapore.
Govindaraja Aiyangar, N., Executive Engineer, Madras.
Guruswami Chetti, Salla, Dewan Bahadur, B.A., B.L., High Court Vakil, George Town, Madras.
Guruswami Mudaliar, Dr., 'Sladen's Gardens', Kilpauk.

Habibullah, Sir Md., Kt., 'Cathedral House', Teynampet.
Heiberg, Rev. K., 14, Kundall's Road, Vepery.

Ibrahim Sait, H. M., Madras.

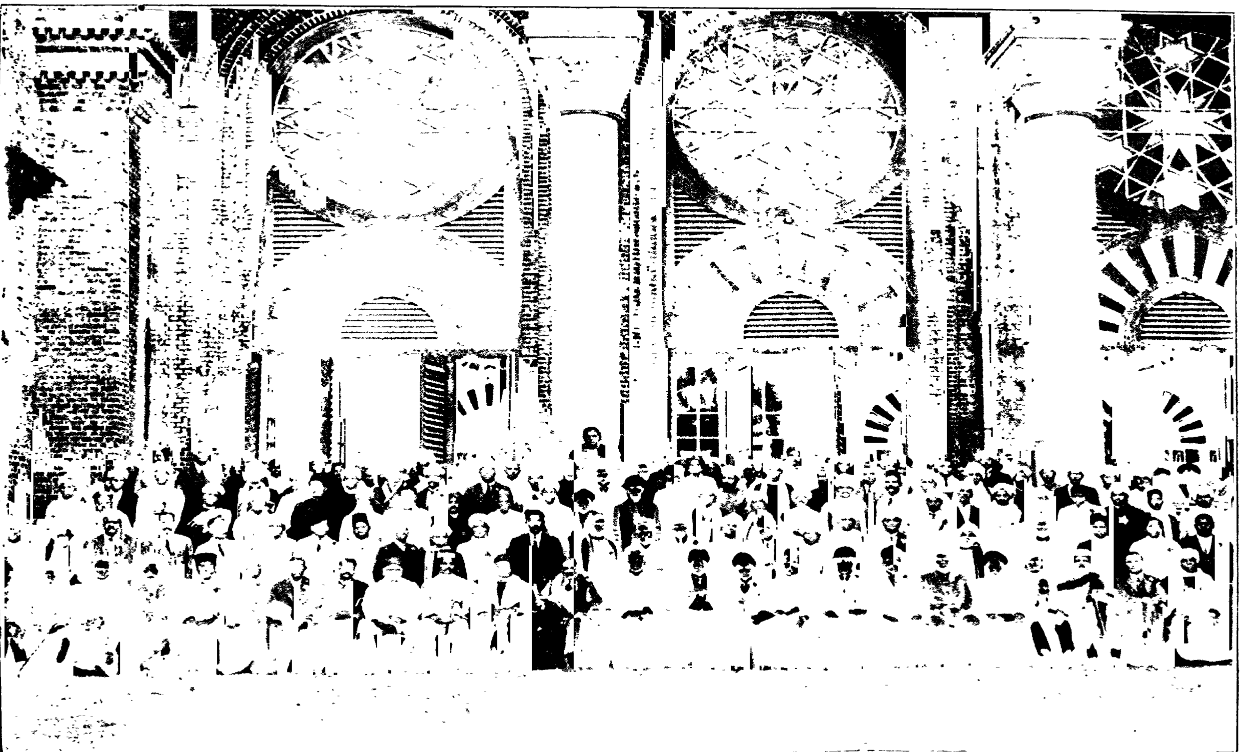
Jayarama Aiyar, K. S., B.A., B.L., High Court Vakil, Mylapore.

Kalyana Sundra Sastri.
Krishna Rao Bhonsle, R., Rao Saheb M.R.A.S., 'Stone Gift', Vepery.
Krishnan, Hon'ble Justice C., Bar-at-law, 'Shenstone Park', Chetpet.
Krishnamachariar, V. T., Rao Bahadur, Secretary to Government, Elliot's Road, Mylapore.
Krishnamachariar, K., Rao Bahadur, Pitchu Pillai Street, Mylapore.
Krishna Sastri, H., Rao Bahadur, Epigraphist to Govt. of India, Nilgiris.
Krishnaiyah, C. V.
Krishnaswami Aiyangar, N., Rao Bahadur, Kumbakonam.
Krishnaswami Aiyangar, Dr. S., M.A., Ph.D., University, Madras.
Krishnaswami Aiyar, Dr. C. V., 142, Big Street, Triplicane.
Krishnaswami Aiyar, K. V., B.A., B.L., High Court Vakil, Mylapore.
Krishnaswami Aiyar, Alladi B.A., B.L., High Court Vakil, Mylapore.
Kuppuswami Sastri, S., M.A., 36, Nadu Street, Mylapore.
Kumaraswami Rajah, P. S.

Lakshiminarayana, G., B.A., B.L., High Court Vakil, Brindavan Street, Mylapore.
Lakshmanaswami Mudaliar, Dr. A., B.A., M.D., Egmore.
Lakshmivaraha Aiyangar, C. R., Rao Sahib, B.A., B.L., Kumbakonam.
Littlehailes, R., M.A., Director of Public Instruction, Madras.

Macphail, Rev. Dr. E. M., M.A., College Road, Nungambakkam, Madras.
Madaviah, A., Edward Elliot's Road, Mylapore.
Madhavan Nair, Hon'ble Justice, Bar-at-law, Poonamallee High Road, Vepery.

THIRD ORIENTAL CONFERENCE.



THE DELEGATES AND MEMBERS OF THE RECEPTION COMMITTEE.

Marthandam Pillai, P. N., B.A., B.L., High Court Vakil, 6, Egmore High Road, Madras.

Masilamani Pillai, V., Dewan Bahadur, B.A., B.L., Madras.

Mathew, Dr. K. T., Church Road, Vepery.

Muthia Chettiar, Sir M. C. T., 'Bedford House', Vepery.

Muthia Mudaliar, S., B.A., B.L., High Court Vakil, North Mada Street, Mylapore.

Muttukumara Chettiar, M. C. N., Kumbakonam.

Namasivaya Mudaliar, C. R., Lecturer in Tamil, Queen Mary's College, Madras.

Namberumal Chettiar, T., Harrington Road, Chetpet.

Narayana, A. L., Dr., M.A., Maharaja's College, Vizianagaram.

Narayana Rao, H., 'Shanker Bagh', Kilpauk, Madras.

Narayanaswami Chettiar, G., Dewan Bahadur, 'Santhome', Mylapore.

Natesan, G. A., B.A., Hon'ble, 60 Thambu Chetty Street, George Town.

Nilakantha Sastriar, K. A., Principal, Sri Minakshi College, Chidambaram.

Panchapagesa Sastri, S., B.A., B.L., High Court Vakil, Sannidhi Street, Mylapore.

Panini Rao, P., B.A., B.L., High Court Vakil, Eldan's Road, Teynampet.

Patanjali Sastri, M., B.A., B.L., High Court Vakil, East Mada Street, Mylapore.

Parkhurst, C. A., Indian Bank Buildings, 1st Line Beach, Park Town.

Paul Arthur, Lecturer, A.E.L.M. College, Guntur.

Ragunatha Rao, K. R., Kumbakonam.

Raghavachariar, N., M.A., L.T., 43, Pachiayappa Mudali Street, Kumbakonam.

Rai, Col., D. G., I.M.S., Madras.

Rajagopalachariar, C. V., B.A., B.L., High Court Vakil, Luz, Mylapore.

Rajagopala Aiyar, V., B.A., B.L., High Court Vakil, North Mada Street, Mylapore.

Raja Aiyar, K., B.A., B.L., High Court Vakil, East Mada Street, Mylapore.

Raja of Panagal, Hon'ble, Minister, Madras.

Ramachandra Aiyar, T. R., Diwan Bahadur, B.A., B.L., High Court Vakil, Luz, Mylapore.

Ramachandra Dikshitar, V. R., M.A., Madras.

Ramachandra Aiyar, K. V.

Ramadas, V., B.A., B.L., Hon'ble Mr., High Court Vakil, Cutcheri Road, Mylapore.

Ramalinga Chettiar, T. A., Race Course Road, Coimbatore.

Ramamurthi, S. V., I.C.S., Collector of Ramnad, Madura.

Ramanatha Aiyar, K. B., M.A., B.L., L.T., Triplicane.

Ramanatha Aiyar, T. V., B.A., B.L., High Court Vakil, Luz, Mylapore.

Ramanujachariar, M. V., Editor, 'Mahabharata', Manalur, Narasingarapettai Post Office.

Ramanujachariar, K., Dewan Bahadur, M.A., Principal Maharaja's Sanskrit College, Vizianagaram.

Rama Rao, B., M.A., LL.B., 31, Gangadhareswarar Coil Street, Purasawakkam.

Ramaswami Aiyar, T. S., B.A., B.L., 'Ranganadha Vilas', Cutcheri Road, Mylapore.

Ramaswami Aiyar, Sir C. P., 'The Grove', Teynampet.

Ramaswami Aiyar, S., B.A., B.L., High Court Vakil, Sundaresvarar Street, Mylapore.

Ramaswami Mudaliar, A., B.A., B.L., Lauder's Gate Road, Vepery.

Ramunni Menon, K., M.A., Professor, Presidency College, Madras.

Ranganadham Chetti, V., South Mada Street, Triplicane.

Ranganadhan, S. E., M.A., L.T., Professor, Presidency College, Madras.

Ranganayakulu, P., Under Secretary, P. W. D., Chepauk, Madras.

Ranganayakulu, C.

Rangachari, K., M.A., Professor, Maharaja's Sanskrit College, Vizianagaram.

Rangacharya, M. K.

Rangaswami Sarasvati, Tank Square, Triplicane.

Ratnaswami, M.A., Principal, Pachaiyappa's College, Madras.

Saldhana, J. A., B.A., LL.B., Kenkenadi P. O., Mangalore.

Sambamurti Rao, T., Cadell's Road, Tanjore.

Sambanda Mudaliar, P., Rao Sahib, B.A., B.L., Judge, Court of Small Causes, Madras.

Sankaran, K. A., B.A. (Honours), Pycroft's Road, Triplicane.

Sankararama Sastri, C., M.A., B.L., High Court Vakil, Mylapore, Madras.

Sastri, P. P. S., B.A. (Oxon), M.A., M.R.A.S., Superintendent of Sanskrit Schools, Nungumbakkam, Madras.

Satyamurti, S., B.A., B.L., High Court Vakil, Vellala Street, Purasawakkam.

Satyanarayana, B., B.A., B.L., High Court Vakil, Peter's Road, Royapettah.

Seshacharlu, D., Adyar, Madras.

Sesha Aiyar, K. G., Trivandrum.

Sesha Aiyangar, K. V., B.A., B.L., High Court Vakil, Nadu Street, Mylapore.

Sesha Aiyangar, T. R., M.A., M.R.A.S., Asst. Professor, Pachaiyappa's College, Madras.

Seshachariar, V. C., B.A., B.L., High Court Vakil, Mylapore.

Seshagiri Aiyar, T. V., B.A., B.L., 'Govardhan', Kilpauk.

Seshagiri Sastri, C. A., B.A., B.L., High Court Vakil, Brodie's Road, Mylapore.

Seshu Aiyar, P. V., M.A., L.T., Government College, Kumbakonam.

Sitarama Rao, B., B.A., B.L., High Court Vakil, Sullivan's Garden Street, Mylapore.

Sivagnanam Pillai, T. N., Hon., Minister, Fort St. George, Madras.

Sivaswami Aiyar, Sir P. S., B.A., B.L., Edward Elliot's Road, Mylapore.

Somasundaran, P., B.A., B.L., High Court Vakil, South Mada Street, Mylapore.

Srinivasacharya, N., B.A., B.L., High Court Vakil, Purasawakkam.

Srinivasachariar, C. S., M.A., Professor, Pachaiyappa's College, Madras.

Srinivasachariar, P. N., M.A., Professor, Pachaiyappa's College, Madras.

Srinivasa Aiyangar, T. V., B.A., B.L., High Court Vakil, Kumbakonam.

Srinivasa Raghava Aiyangar, R., Museum, Madras.

Srinivasa Aiyar, N. S., B.A., B.L., High Court Vakil, Mylapore.

Subbarayan, Dr., P. Madras.

Subramania Aiyar, N., Dewan Peshakar (Retired), Trivandrum.

Subramania Aiyar, W. S., B.A., B.L., High Court Vakil, Mylapore.

Subramania Aiyar, P. A., B.A., L.T., Headmaster, Hindu High School, Triplicane.

Subramania Aiyah, P., Pachaiyappa's College.

Subrahmani Aiyar, K. S., Lloyd's Road, Mylapore.

Subrahmanyan, K. G., Lloyd's Road, Mylapore.

Subramaniam, M. V., High Court Vakil, Madras.

Subramania Sastri, S.

Sundararaja Aiyangar, S., B.A., B.L., High Court Vakil, Chitrakulam Street, Mylapore.

Sundararama Aiyar, Prof. K., Kumbakonam.

Sundaresa Sastrigal, P. G., Rameswaram Devasthanam Patasala, Madura.

Swamikannu Pillai, L. D., Hon., President, Legislative Council, Madras.

Swaminatha Aiyar, Mahamahopadhyaya V., 'Tyagaraja Vilas', Tiruvetteeswaranpet, Madras.

Swaminatha Aiyar, R., B.A., Deputy Collector (Retired) Mylapore.

Tiruvenkatachariar, C. R., Dewan Bahadur, B.A., B.L., 'Sita Vilas', Mylapore.

Tiruvengadatta Aiyangar, K. R., Kumbakonam.

Usman Saheb, Dr. Md., 'Aziz Bagh', Royapetta.

Venkatasubba Rao, Hon'ble Justice, B.A., B.L., College Road, Nungambakkam, Madras.
Venkateswaralu, V., 'Vavilla Press', Washermenpet, Madras.
Venkataramana Rao, P., High Court Vakil, Madras.
Venkatarama Sastrigal, T. R., Hon., B.A., B.L., Advocate General, Luz., Mylapore.
Venkataratnam, L., Asst. Professor, Presidency College, Madras."
Venkatasubrahmanya Aiyar, C., B.A., B.L., High Court Vakil, Mylapore.
Vijiayaraghavachariar, C., B.A., B.L., 'Arama', Salem.
Venkatarama Aiyar, C. P., M.A., L.T., Editor, Tamil Laxicon, Madras.
Venkatarama Aiyar, T. L., B.A., B.L., High Court Vakil, Sannidhi Street, Mylapore.
Venkataranga Rao, G., Rao Sahib, T. P. Koil Street, Triplicane.

Yagnanarayana Aiyar, S. K., M.A., Pachaiyappa's College, Madras.
A Friend.

3.—Local Governments and Indian States which were invited to send Delegates.

Governments.

Government of India.
Government of Madras.
Government of Bombay.
Government of Bengal.
Government of Burma.
Government of the Punjab.
Government of the United Provinces.
Government of Bihar and Orissa.
Government of the Central Provinces.
Government of Assam.

States.

His Exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad.
His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore.
His Highness the Gaikwar of Baroda.
His Highness the Holkar of Indore.
His Highness the Maharaja of Travancore.
His Highness the Maharaja of Cochin.
His Highness the Maharaja of Bhavnagar.
His Highness the Maharaja of Benares.

4.—Institutions invited to send Delegates.

The Sankaracharya Mutt, Kumbakonam.
The Sankaracharya Mutt, Sringeri.
Andhra Research University, Vizianagram.
The Telugu Academy, Madras.
Sarasvati Mahal Library, The Palace, Tanjore.
Madura Tamil Sangam, Madura.
Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch.
Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay Branch.
The Asiatic Society of Bengal.
Mythic Society, Bangalore.
Karnataka Sahitya Parishad, Bangalore.
Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.
Bharata Itihasa Samshodak Mandal, Poona.
Anthropological Institute, Bombay.
Bharata Dharma Mahamandal, Benares.
Punjab Historical Society, Lahore.
Vangiya Sahitya Parishad, Calcutta.
United Provinces Historical Society, Allahabad.
University Union, Calcutta.
Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Patna.
Sanskrit College, Benares.
Sanskrit College, Calcutta.
Dayaram College, Lahore.
Oriental College, Lahore.
H. H. the Maharajah's Sanskrit College, Mysore.
Central Library, Baroda.
Karnatak Itihasa Mandal, Dharwar.
K. R. Cama Oriental Institute, Bombay.
The Zarthosti Din-ni-Khol Karnari, Mandli, Bombay.
Raja's Sanskrit College, Parlakimedi.
Maharaja's Sanskrit College, Vizianagram.
Andhra Girvana Vidyalaya, Kovvur.
Narasihma Sanskrit College, Masulipatam.
Sanskrit College, Tenali.
Venkateswara Sanskrit College, Tirupati.
Ubhaya Vedanta Sanskirt College, Sriperumbudur.
Madras Sanskirt College, Mylapore.
Visishtadvaita Sabha, Madras.
Madhva Siddhanta Sabha, Madras.
Advaita Sabha, Chidambaram.
Sri Minakshi Sanskrit College, Chidambaram.

Sri Minakashi Tamil College, Chidambaram.
Sri Minakshi Oriental Training College, Chidambaram.
Navalar Tamil College, Chidambaram.
Board Sanskrit College, Tiruvadi, Tanjore.
Raja's College of Oriental Studies, Pudukottah.
Rameswaram Devasthanam Patasala, Madura.
V. D. S. Sanskrit College, Kallidaikurichi.
Harihara Sanskrit College, Puthucode.
Veda Sastra Patasala, Chittur, Cochin.
Central Sanskrit College, Pattambi.
Mahajana Sanskrit College, Perdal.
V. D. A. Sanskrit College, Karkal.
S. M. S. P. Sanskrit College, Udipi.

5.—Programme.

THE THIRD ORIENTAL CONFERENCE.

MADRAS SESSION.

22nd to 24th December, 1924.

Opening Session—Monday 22nd December, 1924
Commences at 11-30 a.m.

1. Prayer in Sanskrit, Tamil and Arabic.
2. Welcome Address by Chairman, Reception Committee.
3. His Excellency's Opening Address.
4. Election of the President.
5. Presidential Address.
6. Vote of thanks to His Excellency.
7. Group Photograph.

The Conference closes for the day.

AFTERNOON.

The President and Committee of the Sanskrit College, Mylapore, invite the members of the Conference to a *Vidvat Parishad* in their premises at 2-30 p.m.

Mr. Alladi Krishnaswami Aiyar, Member of the Madras Sanskrit College Committee "At Home" to the members of the Conference at the premises of the Sanskrit College, at 5-30 p.m.

After dark, a lantern lecture at the same premises on "*Indian Architecture*" under the auspices of the Conference, by Dr. K. N. Sitaraman.

2nd Day—(Tuesday, 23-12-24).

FIRST SESSION AT THE SENATE HOUSE.

READING OF PAPERS.

11 A.M. TO 1-30 P.M.

A. Room	B. Room
Sections I, II, III, VIII.	Sections VI, VII, IX, X.

2 P.M. TO 4 P.M.

A. Room.	B. Room	C. Room
Sections I, II, III, VIII.	Sections VI, VII, IX, X.	Sections IV, V, XI, XII.

4-30 P.M. TO 5-30 P.M.

Tea : Manuscript's Exhibition by Āndhra Sahitya Parisad.

5-30 P.M. Drama by the Presidency College Sanskrit Association :

3rd Day—(Wednesday, 24-12-24).

8 A.M. TO 11 A.M.

A. Room	B. Room	C. Room
Sections I, II, III, VIII.	Sections VI, VII, IX, X.	Sections IV, V, XI, XII.

1-30 P.M. TO 2-30 P.M., Business Meeting.

3 P.M. to 7 P.M., Music.

The Session of the Conference at Madras closes.

I.—Sanskrit Language and Literature.

Mr. K. Balasubrahmanya Iyer, Madras.	A study of Kālidāsa in relation to Political Science.
Mr. S. P. Bhattacharya, Bengal ...	The Stotra Literature of Ancient India.
Prof. U. C. Bhattacharya, Dacca ...	The Teachers of Upaniṣads.
Prof. A. Chakravarti, Madras ...	The Vrātyas.
Dr. S. K. De, Dacca University ...	A note on the Sanskrit monologue play with special reference to the Caturbhāṇī.
Prof. U. N. Ghoshal, Calcutta ...	Hindu laws relating to offences against the King.
Mr. P. K. Gode, Poona ...	The Historico-literary importance of Mallinātha's commentaries.

Mr. P. V. Kane, Bombay ...	Predecessors of Vijñāneśvara.
Pandit R. V. Krishnamachariar, Kumbakonam.	Vāmana Bhaṭṭa Bāṇa and Pārvatī-Pariṇaya (Sanskrit).
Pandit V. A. Krishna Sarma, Tripunithura.	Dharma Parīkṣā.
Principal Krishna Sastri, Chittoor...	On the Sanskrit Language.
Mr. S. S. Mehta, Bombay ...	(i) Scriptural Authority to prove the answer of Sir J. C. Bose's regarding Plant life. (ii) Agharni Sīmantonnayana.
Mr. S. Parthasarathi Misra, Madras.	Thesaurus of Sanskrit roots.
Mr. S. Pattabhiraman, Madras ...	Ācārya Daṇḍin.
Mr. N. B. Pavgee ...	Soma juice is not liquor.
Prof. K. R. Pisharoti, Tiruppanithura.	The Bhāsa Problem.
Pandit V. K. Rajvade, Surat ...	Reflections on the Amara Kośa.
Mr. M. Ramakrishna Kavi, Rajmundry.	Two more dramas of Bhāsa.
Pandit S. K. Ramanatha Sastri, Kovvur.	Bhavabhūti and Mīmāṁsā.
Mr. V. Ramanujaswami, Vizianagaram.	Vidūṣaka in the Sanskrit Dramas.
Prof. K. Rama Pisharoti, Cochin...	The Bhāsa Problem—a criticism.
Pandit K. S. Ramaswami Sastri, Baroda and Mr. K. A. Sankaran, Madras ...	Kumārila and the Bṛhaṭṭīkā.
Mr. K. A. Sankaran, Madras ...	The Dhvanikārikās.
Mr. C. Sankararama Sastri, Madras.	Mīmāṁsā in its relation to Modern Hindu Law and Jurisprudence.
Pandit A. T. Sarma, Parlakimidi ...	Style (in Sanskrit)
Mr. H. A. Shah, Bombay ...	Astronomical Data in the Dramas of Kālidāsa.
Mr. R. Srinivasaraghava Ayyangar, Madras.	Sanskrit was a spoken language and is still a living one (in Sanskrit).
Pandit Srinivasaraghavacharya, Madras.	Sanskrit language and its immortal aspect.
Prof. K. A. Subramania Iyer, Lucknow University.	Trimetre verses of the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata.
Mr. K. G. Subramanian, Madras ...	(i) Patañjali and Kāvya literature assumed by him. (ii) A note on Kātyāyana.

Pandit D. T. Tatacharya, Tiruvadi.	First Stanza of Raghuvaṁśa.
Rao Bahadur C. V. Vaidya, Bombay.	Date of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa.
Prof. S. V. Venkateswara Aiyar, Mysore University.	Traces of the stone age in the Vedic Texts.

II.—Avesta in relation to Sanskrit.

Dr. P. N. Daroovala, Bombay ...	Artakshir Bapak.
Shamsululema Dr. J. J. Modi, Bombay.	The Iranian name of the Hunnic King Toramana.
Prof. A. A. Shustry, Mysore ...	Rustum—the Indra of Iran.
Dr. R. Zimmermann, Bombay ...	Varuṇa and Ahura Mazda.

III.—Pali Jain and other Prākṛts, Hindi.

Prof. P. V. Bapat, Poona ...	The different strata in the literary material of the Dīghanikāya.
Mr. B. Bhattacharya, Baroda ...	Glimpses of Vajrayāna.
Mr. Dharmaditya Dharmacharya, Nepal.	Discovery of the Dharma Samuccaya.
Mr. K. L. Guru, Sangor, U. P.	The need for simplicity in the future writings of India, particularly of Hindi.
Mr. Md. Shahidullah, Dacca ...	Bengal's contribution to Sanskrit learning.

IV.—Philology, Sanskrit and Dravidian.

Mr. C. Narayana Rao, Rajahmundry.	Sanskrit and Prākṛt influences on Telugu.
Mr. K. Ramakrishna Aiya, Vizianagaram.	Inflexion in Dravidian Languages.
Vidvan G. Somanna, Vizianagaram.	Words and their ways in Telugu.
Mr. P. S. Subramania Sastri, Trichinopoly.	Tamil Phonology.
Mr. R. Swaminatha Aiyar, Madras.	The Āryan Affinities of Dravidian Pronouns.

V.—Dravidian Languages and their Literature.

Pandit N. Chengalvarayan, Bangalore.	The contribution of Tamil to the civilisation and literature of South India (in Tamil).
Pandit V. Chinna Sitarama Sastri, Vizianagaram.	The Authorship of the Āndhra Śabda Cintāmaṇi (in Telugu).
Mr. T. R. Ramakrishna Sastri, Madras.	The Sanskrit Element in Tamil.

Pandit D. Ramamurti Sastri, Vizianagram.	Pāṇḍuraṅga Māhātmya (in Telugu).
Mr. J. Ramayya Pantulu Garu, Pithapur.	Dravidian Lexicography.
Vidvan A. M. Satagopa Ramanujacharya.	Early Ceras from Tamil works.
Mr. T. R. Sesha Iyengar, Madras.	Dravidian Languages and their religious development.
Dr. R. Shama Sastri, Mysore ...	(i) The Age of the Tamil Śaṅgm. (ii) The Epoch of Kūṇa Pāṇḍya.
Mr. C. K. Subramaniam, Coimbatore.	The spoken languages of South India.
Pandit E. M. Subramaniam, Chidambaram.	The date of Śilappadikāram.
Mr. K. R. Subramaniam, Vizianagaram.	The age of the Nāyanārs.
Prof. M. Venkatarangayya, Vizianagaram.	The Āndhras and Telugus.
Pandit A. Venkata Sastri, Vizianagram.	The poet Śrīnātha (Telugu).

VI.—Archæology, including Epigraphy, Numismatics and Indian Art.

Mr. G. V. Acharya, Bombay ...	Memorial stones in the Bombay Presidency.
Dr. P. K. Acharya, Allahabad ...	Styles of Indian Architecture.
Dr. G. Banerji, Calcutta ...	Buddhist art in China.
Bhairavamurti Pantulu, Madras ...	" Music ".
Mr. B. Bhattacharya, Baroda ...	The Identification of an Indian Museum Statuette.
Mr. K. Chattopadhyaya, Allahabad.	Dionysus in Megasthenes.
Mrs. M. E. Cousins, Madras ...	Eastern and Western Music.
Mr. Hirananda Sastri, Nilgiris ...	(i) Wooden pillar with Brāhmi inscriptions. (ii) Worship of images in India.
Mr. Ch. Mahomed Ismail, Bombay.	Laris.
Mr. C. Krishnaswami Rao, Mysore.	Nāṭya Śāstra.
Mr. S. C. Mitra, Daulatpur ...	Bengal School of Art.
Mr. M. K. Ponnuswami, Madura ...	Svaras-sixteen or twelve.
Mr. M. Ramakrishna Kavi, Rajahmundry.	King Nānyadeva of Mithilā on Music.
Mr. M. S. Ramaswami Iyer, Coimbatore.	Kālakṣepam in Hinduism.

Mr. K. S. Ramaswami Sastri, Negapatam.	Concept of Rasa in Indian Aesthetics and Metaphysics.
Mr. P. Sambamurti, Madras ...	Flute.
Dr. K. N. Sitarman, Madras ...	The place of Chidambaram in the evolution of Indian dance.
Mr. K. V. Srinivasa Iyengar, Madras.	Abhinayam.
Mr. R. Srinivasa Raghava Aiyangar, Madras.	Some South Indian Gold Coins.
Mr. K. V. Subrahmania Aiyar, Trivandrum.	The Earliest Monuments of the Pāṇḍya country and their inscriptions.
P. Sundaram Iyer, Madras ...	Some Reforms in South Indian Music.
Prof. S. V. Venkateswara Aiyar, Mysore.	Origin of Hindu Iconism.

VII.—History, Geography and Chronology.

Mr. M. Bhattacharya, Calcutta ...	Historical value of the Indian four ages.
Mr. K. N. Daniel, Trivandrum ...	(i) The grave of St. Thomas. (ii) South Indian apostolate of St. Thomas.
Prof. N. K. Datta, Chinsurah ...	Tribes and Kingdoms in Ancient India.
Mr. D. B. Diskalkar, Rajkot ...	New light on the early Paramāra rulers of Malva.
Mr. R. Gopalan, Madras ...	The Governance of South India in the age of the Pallavas.
Mr. M. Habib, Aligarh ...	The Empire of Delhi in the early Middle ages and the organisation of the Central Government.
Rev. H. Heras, Bombay ...	Three Contemporary letters on King Veṅkaṭa II.
Rai Bahadur Hiralal, Jubbulpore...	The capitals of Jijhauti.
Sirdar M. Kibe, Indore ...	The location of Rāvaṇā's capital in Central India.
Dr. R. C. Majumdar, Dacca ...	(i) Indian Colonisation in the East. (ii) Pulukesin and Khusru II.
Prof. Radhakumud Mukherjee, Lucknow.	Later Gupta History and Chronology.
Pandit M. Raghava Iyengar, Madras.	Ancient Pāṇḍya capitals.

Mr. C. M. Ramachandra Chetty, Coimbatore.	A chapter in the History of Koṅgu Nāḍu.
Mr. A. S. Ramanatha Aiyar, Trivandrum.	(i) Karuṇākara Toṇḍaman.
	(ii) The three Kerala Kulaśekharas.
	(iii) Popular Government in Mediaevál Travancore.
Mr. A. Rangaswami Sarasvati, Madras.	Vikramāditya the founder of the Samvat Era.
Dr. R. N. Ranina, Bombay ...	Expulsion of Buddhism frcm Saurāṣṭra.
Mr. C. K. Rao, Bangalore ...	Śripāda Rāja and Vyāsa Rāja.
Mr. R. Sathianathaiyer, Trichinopoly.	Śrī Raṅga III of Vijayanagar.
Mr. B. Seshagiri Rao, Vizianagaram.	The Gupta Hegemony.
Mr. H. A. Shah, Bombay ...	(i) The date of Mahāvīra.
	(ii) Puṣyamitra—who is he ?
Prof. C. S. Srinivasachari, Madras	Influence of South Indian Imperialism on Mediaeval Hindustan.
Pandit E. M. Subramaniam Pillai, Chidambaram.	The date ot Buddha Nirvāṇa.
Mr. Surandranath Sen, Calcutta ...	Hinduism and Mahomedan Heretics during the Pathan period.
Mr. A. Umakanta Vidyā Sekhar, Madras.	Foreign connection of Buddha.
Mr. V. Venkatarao, Vizianagaram.	Nannaya Coda Deva and his times (in Telugu).
Mr. A. V. Venkatarama Iyer, Madras.	(i) New light on Kulottuṅga.
	(ii) Kaliṅgattupparaṇi.
Prof. S. V. Venkateswara Aiyar, Mysore.	(i) India in the 2nd century, B. C.
	(ii) Sea power in South Indian History.

VIII.—Oriental Philosophy.

Pandit V. Anantachariar, Madras.	(i) Ālavandar's contribution to Viśiṣṭādvaita.
Mr. M. Bhattacharya, Calcutta ...	Mystery of Indian Religion.
Mr. T. R. Chintamani, Madras ...	The commentator on the Māṇḍūkya Kārikās.
Mr. S. N. Das Gupta, Calcutta ...	Yoga Psychology.

Prof. A. B. Dhruva, Benares University.	The Nyāya Praveśa.
Mr. K. Gopala Krishnamma, Madras.	Nyāya conception of Valid Thinking.
Prof. M. Hiriyanna, Mysore University.	Bhartṛprapañca.
Pandit Jagannatha Misra, Cuttack.	Darśanādvaita Darpaṇa (in Sanskrit)
Mr. B. R. Jatar, Bombay, ...	The call to duty.
Prof. Jwala Prasad, Jubbulpore ...	Some reflection's on Śaṅkara's Philosophy.
Prof. S. Kuppuswami Sastri, Madras.	(i) Further light on the Prabhākara problem. (ii) Bodhāyana and Dramiḍācārya two Vedāntins pre-supposed by Rāmānuja.
Prof. R. D. Karmarkar, Poona ...	Devayāna and Pitṛyāṇa.
Mr. P. Lakshiminarayana, Cocoanada.	Religion and Ethics.
Prof. B. C. Law, Calcutta ...	The Buddhist conception of Māra.
Pandit S. K. Padmanabha Sastri, Madras.	The relation between the system of Śaṅkara and other systems of Philosophy (in Sanskrit).
Rev. J. F. Pessein, Nilgiris ...	Māyā the greatest riddle of Advaita.
Pandit. T. V. Ramachandra Dikshitar, Madras.	Pūrva Mīmāṁsā in the light of Uttra Mīmāṁsā (in Sanskrit).
Mr. S. V. Ramamurthi, I.C.S., Ramnad.	Indian Philosophy as a live proposition.
Mr. V. R. Ranganathan, Madras ...	The origin of Tamil Siddhāntam.
Pandit P. Sarma, Poona ...	An Outline of the History and Teachings of Nāthapanthīya Siddhas.
Mr. K. G. Sinha, Srinagar ...	Is Dhāmat religion Buddhism ?
Pandit Sridhar Sāstri Pathak, Poona.	Śuddādvaita.
Prof. Siva Prasad Bhatta Charya, Bengal.	The date and inception of the Yoga Vāsiṣṭha Rāmāyṇna.
Mr. N. Srinivasacharyar, Madras...	Veṅkaṭanātha the Vedāntist.
Prof. P. N. Srinivasacharya, Madras.	Rāmānuja's conception of Jīva as a Prakāra of a Iśvara.
Mr. T. V. Srinivasa Iyengar, Kumbakonam.	The Āryan Religion.
Prof. K. Subramaniam, Madras ...	The metaphysics of the Śaiva Siddhānta System.

Pandit G. Suranarayana Sastri, Vizianagaram.	Puruṣārthas.
Rao Bahadur V. P. Vaidya, Bombay.	Bhāsarvajña, a logician and theologian.
Swami Vedachallam, Pallavaram ...	The conception of God as Rudra.
Prof. T. A. Venkateswara Diksitar, Tirupathi.	An answer to Dr. Thibaut.

IX.—Oriental Science.

Rao Saheb Krishna Rao Bhonsle, Madras.	Electricity and Magnetism in ancient India.
Prof. J. P. Majumdar, Calcutta ...	The genesis and development of medicine in Ancient India.
Mr. V. V. Mirashi, Nagpore ...	Manusmṛti and the Ārtha Sāstra of Kauṭilya.
Mr. C. S. Narayanaswami Aiyar, Madras.	Ancient Indian Chemistry and Alchemy.
Mr. V. Ramachandra Dikshitar, Madras.	Is Artha Sāstra a secular text?
Prof. S. V. Visvanathan, Trichinopoly.	The sphere of the state in Ancient Indian Polity.

X.—Ethnology and Folklore.

Dr. U. N. Ghosal, Calcutta ...	Slavery in Ancient India.
Mr. L. A. Krishnaiyar, Trivandrum.	Hill Paṇḍārams of Travancore.
Mr. S. S. Mheta, Bombay ...	Śākambhari of the Saptaśati.
Dr. J. J. Modi, Bombay ...	Prophylactic disguise for averting evil.
Mr. G. Ramadas, Jeypore ...	Aboriginal tribes in the Rāmāyaṇa.
Prof. K. Rangacharya, Vizianagaram.	Marriage.
Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy, Ranchi.	Some Aspects of Totemism in Chota Nagpur.
Mr. J. A. Saldhana, Madras ...	Some peculiar features of a Koṅkani or Gauḍ Sārasvat Brāhmans and language.
Mr. R. M. Shastri, Kolhapore ...	New light on some foreign element in Hindu population.
Mr. R. Subba Rao, Rajahmundry ...	Anthropological research in the agency division.

XI.—Persian, Arabic and Urdu.

Mr. Dr. J. J. Modi, Bombay ...	The Huns and their religion.
Mr. Mahammad Shafi, Lahore ...	The Nurbakshis.

Mr. Md. Shahidullah, Dacca	...	Pre-Islamic Poetry in the Koran.
Dr. A. Siddiqui, Dacca	...	Loan words in Arabic.
Dr. A. S. Tritton, Aligarh	...	Asseverations and oaths in Arabic.

XII.—General.

Mr. J. F. Bulsara	...	A Lingua Franca for India.
Mr. P. Jhwala Prasad	...	Present condition of the old Traditional Learning.
S. Parthasarathi Miśra, Madras	...	(i) Oriental Culture in our Universities. (ii) A Thesaurus of Sanskrit roots.
Pandit P. I. Raman, Palghat	...	Present Position of the Study of Indian Languages (Malayalam).
Mr. K. R. R. Sastri, Villupuram	...	The Foreign Elements in Indian culture.
Mr. P. P. S. Sastri, Madras	...	Mahârajah Serfoji Sarasvatī Mahal Palace Library, Tanjore.
Dr. N. Subrahmanya Aiyar, M.A., Trivandrum.		The Position of Indian Languages: Its Cause and Cure.

6.—Report of the Proceedings of the Conference.

At the second Session of the Oriental Conference held in Calcutta early in 1922, the invitation sent by the Vice-Chancellor and the Syndicate of the Madras University that the Conference assemble for the next Session in Madras, was accepted unanimously. In pursuance thereof, the Conference appointed Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar as a Joint-Secretary for purposes of organising the third Session at Madras.

By a resolution adopted by the Conference during the Poona Session that the Conference should assemble every alternate year, the Conference was expected to assemble in Madras early in 1924. But the Madras University Act of 1923, having been just put in force, the University was in a transitional condition, the Vice-Chancellor carrying on the administration of the University with an Advisory Committee. When the question of holding the Conference was put before him about the end of 1923, he gave it as his opinion that time might be taken for the assembly of the Conference till the reconstituted University should begin to function. It was accordingly decided, with the consent of the Organisers of the Calcutta Conference, to hold over the Madras Session to the end of the

year 1924. As soon as the Syndicate under the new Act was constituted, a Syndicate Committee of five with Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar as Secretary was appointed in May, 1924, with power to add to their number, to organise the Conference. The various Governments, Universities and Indian States and learned societies were addressed for help and co-operation and were requested to send their delegations. Scholars and *Savants* were also invited to take part in the Conference by contribution of papers and otherwise. The response was very encouraging.

The Executive Committee of the Third All-India Oriental Conference, Madras Session, issued the following report, giving a succinct account of the preliminary work of the Conference and the proceedings of the Session, on the 17th January, 1925 :—

"The second All-India Oriental Conference held at Calcutta in 1922 having accepted the invitation of the Madras University to hold its third Session at Madras, the Syndicate of the University appointed an Organising Committee of five amongst themselves, with power to co-opt, to organise and make all the necessary arrangements for holding the Session. An Executive Committee was then formed with Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, University Professor, and Mr. P. P. S. Sastri, Superintendent of Sanskrit Schools, as Secretaries and Mr. K. Balasubramania Iyer, Vakil, High Court, Madras, as Treasurer. Reception Committee was also formed with the Rev. Dr. E. M. Macphail, D.D., C.B.E., Vice-Chancellor, as Chairman.

Invitations soliciting co-operation were addressed to various Provincial Governments, Indian States, the Universities and other Literary bodies, Scholars and the General Public ; and they met with a hearty response. About 200 papers were submitted and the amount of donations and other contributions exceeded Rs. 10,000, the Local Government and the Madras University each contributing a thousand rupees. The Committee beg to convey their thanks to the various donors and patrons for their generous contributions.

The Committee of the Conference approached His Excellency Viscount Goschen with a request to open the Conference and His Excellency was graciously pleased to accept the invitation.

Opening-day Addresses.

The Conference was held at the Senate House, Madras, on the 22nd, 23rd, and 24th of December, 1924. The proceedings were opened by His Excellency Viscount Goschen, Chancellor of the University, with

befitting Oriental Music, and Vedic, Tamil and Arabic chants. His Excellency delivered a learned and sympathetic address of welcome to the scholars assembled, briefly recapitulating the substantial work already achieved by eminent Orientalists and indicating the immense possibilities for further research work with special reference to the interconnection of the Semitic and Aryan cultures.

The Rev. Dr. Macphail, Vice-Chancellor and Chairman of the Reception Committee, then welcomed the Members of the All India Oriental Conference to Madras in a short speech on behalf of the University and the Public of Madras.

Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Ganganath Jha, Vice-Chancellor of the Allahabad University was then proposed to the Presidential chair by Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar of Madras, Shamsul-Ulema Dr. J. J. Modi of Bombay, Principal Shafi of Lahore and Rao Sahib R. Krishna Rao Bhonsle of Madras. The President then delivered an instructive address exhorting the authorities concerned to conserve and encourage the ancient learning in all its manifold aspects in a manner worthy of its past.

The Conference then adjourned to the Madras Sanskrit College, Mylapore, at 2 P.M., in response to an invitation from the College Committee. After the address of welcome in Sanskrit and Vedic chanting in all its specialised forms appertaining to the three Vedas, a *Vakyartha Parishad* was held when discussions in the traditional style were conducted in all the Sastras, His Highness the Ex-Raja of Cochin being also present. In the evening Mr. Alladi Krishnaswami Aiyar, a member of the College Committee, was 'At Home' to the members of the Conference. This was followed by a lantern lecture by Dr. K. N. Sitaraman on Indian Architecture.

Reading of papers.

The reading of papers submitted to the Conference began on the 23rd morning in three sections, Sanskrit Language, Literature and Philosophy going into one, History, Geography and Anthropology going into another and the Dravidian and other languages constituting the third. The sections were presided over by Drs. Jha, R. C. Majumdar and S. K. Aiyangar. These sections worked over three Sessions on the 23rd and the 24th. Seventy-five, Sixty and Thirty-five papers were read and discussed in the respective sections. This arrangement proved satisfactory and was much appreciated. Every Session was largely attended by scholars and the public.

Oriental Parishad.

The most noteworthy feature of the Conference was the assembling of about 75 eminent Pandits and Maulvis. These scholars, well-versed in Sanskrit, Arabic, and the Dravidian Languages and Literature though scattered all over the Presidency, readily responded to the invitation of the Conference. In the true spirit of ancient Indian tradition, the Conference honoured, on the 23rd evening, the Mahamahopadhyayas, Shamsul-Ulemas, Principals of Oriental Colleges, representatives of learned Sabhas and other Pandits of eminence, with presentation of *Shawls*.

Entertainments.

This was followed by an entertainment given by the Andhra Sahitya Parishad to the members of the Conference at 5 P.M. An exhibition of ancient Sanskrit and Telugu manuscripts of rare value was also arranged.

At the invitation of the Conference Committee, the Presidency College Sanskrit Association put on boards Sudraka's Mricchakatika at 6 P.M. There was a large and learned audience and the performance was regarded as a brilliant exhibition of the literary and histrionic talents of the young student-actors, in appreciation of which, the Conference presented the Association with a silver Toy-cart as a significant souvenir. His Highness the Ex-Raja of Cochin presented a gold medal to the youngest actor of the evening, *Rohasena*. The Hon'ble the Raja of Panagal presented a gold medal to the Association. A Patron of Learning and Art, also offered each and every actor of the evening a medal.

Business meeting.

On the 24th, after the Literary Sessions had come to a close, a business meeting was held between 1-30 and 2-30 P. M., when the report of the Calcutta Session presented by the Secretary was considered and adopted. The proposal of a draft constitution was referred to an All-India Committee (for list see next page) which was also empowered to consider the proposal to start a Journal for the Conference and other questions. At the close of the meeting, the Conference duly honoured in Oriental style, Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Ganganath Jha, the President, with the presentation of a costly *shawl* with fruits and *pansupari*.

Musical exposition.

Another noteworthy feature of this Conference was the exposition of Oriental culture on the side of Art with special reference to South Indian

Music. In the forenoon 6 papers were read dealing with important aspects of the Science and Art of Music.

During the rest of the afternoon, more than thirty musicians, expert in all forms of Indian Music, gave an exhibition of their proficiency in their respective arts. As many as sixteen batches of them played upon a dozen varieties of musical instruments. Curtailed as the programme was, it was appreciated by a discerning audience almost as large as the Senate House could hold. Thanks to Mr. C. R. Srinivasa Aiyengar, this section was an unprecedented success. In token of the appreciation of the Conference, gold medals were presented to these exponents of art who responded at great sacrifice of time and money.

Thanks to Volunteers and other Workers.

The boarding and lodging of the delegates who attended the Conference was satisfactorily arranged in the spacious buildings of the Hindu High School and the Victoria Hostel kindly lent to us by the respective authorities. About forty to sixty young men from the Presidency, Pachaiyappa's and other Colleges in Madras enrolled themselves as volunteers with Mr. P. P. S. Sastri and Mr. C. S. Srinivasachariar as Captains. The success of the Conference was largely due to the earnest work of the assiduous band of volunteers who were each presented with a copy of the Group photo of the Workers by Rao Sahib R. Krishna Rao Bhonsle. Special thanks are due to Messrs. P. N. Appuswami, P. V. Krishnaswami and Abdul Qadir, and the literary assistants, Messrs. A. V. Venkatarama Iyer, L. Venkataratnam, K. R. Appalachariar, T. V. Narasinga Rao, K. A. Sankara Aiyar, R. Gopalan, T. R. Ramakrishna Sastri and T. R. Chintamani, who worked actively for the success of the Conference. A special meed of thanks is due to Mr. K. V. Krishnaswami Aiyar, Vakil, High Court, Madras, for the keen interest he took and the valuable services he rendered to make the Conference a success.

The third Session of the Conference came to a close and the Madras Session showed itself worthy of the reputation of South India, one of the Delegates from North India having put it that, in much that was done in the Session, they had been transported across two milleniums of years backwards to Ancient India itself.

The Secretaries and the Treasurer have by their untiring zeal and work placed the Organisers of the Conference under deep obligation. The Conference itself was an exhibition of the amount of co-operation

that was possible and the success that such a co-operation could achieve. The Executive Committee wish to place on record their high appreciation of the sympathy with which His Excellency the Governor responded to the invitation, the active support of the Vice-Chancellor of the University and the untiring efforts of the office-bearers."

MADRAS,
28th October, 1925.

S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR,
P. P. S. SASTRI,
Secretaries.

All India Committee elected by the Conference on 24-12-1924.

1. Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Ganganath Jha, Allahabad.
2. Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, Madras.
3. Prof. S. Kuppuswami Sastriar, Madras.
4. Mr. P. P. S. Sastri, Madras.
5. Prof. R. C. Mazumdar, Dacca.
6. Dr. S. K. Belvalkar, Poona.
7. Dr. J. J. Moodi, Bombay.
8. Prof. S. V. Venkateswara, Mysore.
9. Mr. K. Balasubrahmanya Aiyar, Madras.
10. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, Calcutta.
11. Dr. Zimmermann, Bombay.
12. Mr. C. K. Rao, Bangalore.
13. Dr. S. K. De, Dacca.
14. Prof. A. B. Dhruva, Benares.
15. Prof. K. Rama Pisharoti, Cochin.
16. Dr. R. Shama Sastri, Mysore.
17. Mr. K. Rangachari, Vizianagaram.
18. Mr. P. V. Kane, Bombay.
19. Poof. K. P. Jayaswal, Patna.
20. Mr. V. P. Vaidya, Bombay.

7.—List of Delegates.

Mr. K. V. Abhayankar ...	Guzarat College ...	Ahmedabad.
Dr. A. S. Tritton ...	Muslim University ...	Aligarh.
Mr. V. R. Ranganadhan ...	Government College	Anantapur.
Mr. N. Chengalvarayan ...	Government High School ...	Bangalore.
,, C. Krishnaswami Rao ...	...	Bangalore.
,, B. R. Arte ...	Baroda College ...	Baroda.
,, B. Bhattacharya ...	Manuscripts Library	Baroda.
,, B. R. Mheta ...	Manuscripts Library	Baroda.
,, V. H. Vader ...	...	Belgaum.
,, G. V. Acharya ...	Prince of Wales Museum ...	Bombay.
,, P. N. Darowalla ...	...	Bombay.
,, J. S. Gambhir ...	...	Bombay.
Rev. H. Heras ...	St. Xavier's College	Bombay.
Mr. Md. Ismail ...	Prince of Wales Museum ...	Bombay.
,, B. R. Jatar ...	...	Bombay.
,, P. V. Kane ...	..	Bombay.
Shams-ul-ulema Dr. J. J. Modi	Anthropological Society ...	Bombay.
Mr. H. A. Shah ...	...	Bombay.
,, V. P. Vaidya ...	...	Bombay.
Dr. R. Zimmermann ...	St. Xavier's College	Bombay.
Dr. S. N. Das Gupta ...	Presidency College...	Calcutta.
Mr. T. N. C. Ganguli ...	Y. M. C. A. ...	Calcutta.
,, N. Ghoshal ...	Presidency College...	Calcutta.
,, S. Krishnamurti Sastri ...	Oriental Training College ...	Chidambaram
,, Shams-ul-ulema K. Ahmed	Chittagong College...	Chittagong.
,, K. Rama Pisharoti ...	Sanskrit College ...	Cochin.
Mr. Abdul Siddiqui ...	University ...	Dacca.
,, Abdul Wahaab ...	University ...	Dacca.
,, U. C. Bhattacharya ...	University ...	Dacca.
Dr. S. K. De ...	University ...	Dacca.
,, R. C. Majumdar ...	University ...	Dacca.
Mr. Shahidullah ...	University ...	Dacca.

Mr.	Abdul Rahiman Khan ...		... Hyderabad
,,	R. Subba Rao ...		... Hyderabad
Mr.	G. Ramadas ...		... Jaipur.
,,	Hiralal ...		... Jubbalpore
Mr.	V. K. Ramchandu ...		... Kampte.
,,	D. Lakshminarayan ...		... Kampte.
Mrs.	D. Lakshminarayan ...		... Kampte.
,,	V. R. Saptarishi ...		... Kampte.
Dr.	L. Sarup ...	University	... Lahore
Mr.	Md. Shafi ...		... Lahore.
,,	Prayag Dayal ...	Museum	... Lucknow.
,,	K. A. Subramania Aiyar...	University	... Lucknow.
Mr.	A. Chakravarti ...	Presidency College...	Madras.
,,	T. R. Chintamani ...	University	... Madras.
,,	V. R. R. Dikshitar ...	University	... Madras.
Rao Sahib	R. Krishna Rao		... Madras.
	Bhonsle		... Madras.
Mr.	S. Kuppuswami Sastri ...	Presidency College...	Madras.
,,	P. S. Murugesam Pillai		... Madras.
,,	T. R. Ramakrishna Sastri		... Madras.
,,	S. Rangaswami Sarasvati		... Madras.
,,	C. Sankararama Sastri ..		... Madras.
,,	K. A Sankaran ...	University	... Madras.
,,	P. P. S. Sastri ...		... Madras.
,,	R. Srinivasa Raghava Aiyangar ..	Museum	... Madras.
,,	T. R. Sesha Aiyangar ...	Pachaiyappa's College	Madras.
,,	C. S. Srinivasachari ...	Pachaiyappa's College	Madras.
,,	P. N Srinivasachari ...	Pachaiyappa's College	Madras.
,,	T. V. Srinivasa Aiyangar		... Madras.
,,	K. G. Subrahmaniam ...	University	... Madras.
,,	K. Subramania Pillai ...		... Madras.
,,	R. Swaminatha Aiyar ...		... Madras.
,,	A. V. Venkatarama Aiyar	Presidency College...	Madras.

Mr. Hiriyanna ...	University ...	Mysore.
Dr. R. Shama Sastri ...	Chamaraja Sanskrit College ...	Mysore.
Mr. A. Shustery ...	University ...	Mysore.
,, S. V. Venkateswara Aiyar	University ...	Mysore.
Mr. N. B. Utgikar ...	...	Nasik.
,, Hirananda Sastri ...	...	Nilgiris.
,, K. V. Subramania Aiyar	...	Nilgiris.
,, Paranavitana ...	...	Nilgiris.
Mr. P. I. Raman ...	Victoria College ...	Palghat.
,, J. Ramiah Pantulu ...	...	Pithapur.
Dr. S. K. Belvalkar ...	Deccan College ...	Poona.
Mr. R. D. Karmakar ...	New Poona College	Poona.
,, V. G. Paran ...	Bhandarkar Institute	Poona.
,, N. G. Sardesi ...		Poona.
Mr. C. Narayana Rao ...	Government College	Rajahmundry.
,, M. Ramakrishna Kavi ...		Rajahmundry
,, R. Subba Rao ...	Andhra Historical Society ...	Rajahmundry
,, S. V. Ramamurti I.C.S....	Collector ...	Ramnad.
,, Sarat Chandra Rai ...	...	Ranchi.
Mr. B. V. Bapat ...		Satara.
,, K. G. Sinha ...	...	Srinagar.
Mr. R. Satyanatha Aiyar ...	St. Joseph's College	Trichinopoly.
,, P. S. Subrahmania Sastri	...	Trichinopoly.
,, S. V. Visvanatha Iyer ...	National College ...	Trichinopoly.
,, K. N. Daniel ...	...	Trivandrum.
Mr. B. Seshagiri Rao ...	Maharaja's Sanskrit College ...	Vijianagaram.
,, G. Somnana ...	...	Vijianagaram.
,, K. Rangachari ...	Maharajah's College	Vijianagaram.
,, M. Venkatarangiah ...	...	Vijianagaram.
,, K. R. R. Sastri ...	...	Villupuram.

8.—List of Subscriptions to the Reception Committee Fund.

	Rs.
Government of Madras	1,000
Government of Bombay	1,000
Government of the United Provinces	1,000
Government of Bengal	500
Government of Mysore	500
Government of Baroda	500
Government of the Central Provinces	500
Government of Travancore	250
Government of Cochin	250
His Holiness the Sankaracharya of Kumbakonam ...	50
The Raja of Bobbili	250
Sir Annamala Chettiar	250
The Raja of Venkatagiri	200
Mr. Alladi Krishnaswami Aiyar	200
Maharajah of Bobbili	100
The Zamindar of Pithapur	100
Mr. H. A. Shah	100
Mr. T. R. Venkatarama Sastri	100
Sir M. C. T. Muthia Chettiar	100
The Zamindar Doddappanayikanur	70
Mr. K. V. Krishnaswami Aiyar	50
Mr. V. Ramadas	50
Mr. H. N. Ibrahim Sait	50
The Raja of Bhadrachalam	50
Rev. E. Macphail...	50
Mr. Justice Krishnan	50
Sir M. Habibullah	50
Mr. V. P. Vaidya	50
Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer	50
Mr. Justice Venkatasubba Rao	50
Mr. Justice Madhavan Nair	50
Mr. R. Littlehails	30
Rev. F. E. Corley	30
Mr. Justice Devados	30
Mr. R. Krishna Rao Bonsle	25
Mr. M. A. Candeth	25
Dr. M. Usman Sahib	25
Mr. P. Sambanda Mudaliar	25
Mr. S. Kuppuswami Sastri	25
Raja of Panagal	25

	Rs.
Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar	25
Dr. Besant	25
Mr. P. C. Dutt	25
Mr. B. Satyanarayana	25
Mr. K. Ramanujachariar	25
Mr. P. Somasundaram	25
Mr. C. Vijayaraghavachariar	25
Mr. H. Krishna Sastrigal	25
Mr. G. Lakshminarayangaru...	25
Mr. K. Subrahmanya Iyer	25
Mr. A. Friend	25
Mr. T. V. Seshagiri Iyer	20
Sir T. Desikachari	20
Lodd. Govindadass	20
Mr. V. Ranganadham Chetti	20
Mr. T. R. Ramachandra Iyer	15
Mr. T. C. Srinivasa Iyengar	15
Mr. D. G. Rai	15
Mr. S. Subrahmanya Sastri	15
Mr. N. Raghavachariar	11
Mr. M. K. Acharya	10
Mr. A. Chakravarti	10
Mr. N. Gopalaswami Iyengar	10
Mr. K. Heigberg	10
Dr. A. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliar	10
Mr. C. A. Parkhurst	10
Mr. C. V. Rajagopalachariar	10
Mr. A. Ramaswami Mudaliar...	10
Hon. T. N. Sivajnanam Pillai	10
Mr. K. G. Sesha Iyer	10
Mr. S. V. Ramamurti	10
Mr. T. Sambamurti Rao	10
Mr. N. Krishnaswami Iyengar	10
Mr. M. C. N. Muthukumara Chettiar	10
Mr. P. V. Seshu Iyer	10
Mr. K. A. Nilakantha Sastri...	10
Mr. C. S. Srinivasachari	10
Mr. P. N. Srinivasaachariar	10
Mr. Salla Guruswami Chetty...	10
Mr. T. Namberumal Chetty	10
Mr. G. Narayanaswami Chetty	10
Mr. G. A. Natesan	10

	Rs.
Mr. T. A. Ramalinga Chetty	10
Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar	10
Mr. J. A. Saldhana	10
Mr. S. Satyamurthi	10
Mr. K. Sundararama Aiyar	10
Mr. C. R. Namasivaya Mudaliar	10
Mr. K. B. Ramanatha Aiyar	10
Mr. V. Venkateswaralu	10
Mr. D. Seshacharlu	10
Mr. M. V. Ramanujachari	10
Mr. P. P. S. Sastri	10
Mr. C. R. Lakshmivaraha Iyengar	10
Mr. L. Venkataratnam	10
Mr. H. Narayana Rao	10
Mr. P. Ranganayakulu	10
Mr. M. Patanjali Sastri	10
Mr. K. Raja Aiyar	10
Mr. V. Rajagopala Aiyar	10
Mr. C. A. Seshagiri Sastri	10
Mr. S. Sundararaja Aiyangar...	10
Mr. C. V. Chandrasekaran	10
Mr. S. E. Ranganathan	10
Mr. Md. Abdul Rahiman Khan Saheb	10
Mr. A. Madhaviah	10
Mr. A. L. Narayan	10
Mr. Arthur Paul	10
Mr. P. G. Sundaresa Sastrigal	10
Mr. A. S. Kalyanasundara Sastri	10
Mr. S. Appu Sastrigal, Rao Bahadur	10
Mr. T. G. Aravamudhan	10
Dr. Guruswami Mudaliar	10
Miss. Chatopadhayaya	10
Mr. C. V. Krishniah	10
Mr. K. Bhashyam	10
Mr. K. S. Jayarama Aiyar	10
Messrs. Kothari & Sons	10
Mr. S. Krishnamachariar	10
Mr. P. Venkataramana Rao	10
Mr. C. Venkatasubarama Iyer	10
Mr. L. D. Swamikannu Pillai	10
Mr. V. T. Krishnamachari	10
K. Ramunni Menon	10

	Rs.
Dr. Mathew	10
Mr. C. R. Tiruvenkatachariar	10
Mr. B. Rama Rao	10
Mr. T. R. Chakrapani Iyengar	10
Mr. G. Venkataranga Rao	10
Mr. J. P. Cotilingam	10
Mahamahopadhyaya V. Swaminatha Iyer... ...	10
Mr. P. A. Subrahmaniya Iyer	10
Mr. S. Muthiya Mudaliar	10
Mr. K. C. Desikachari	5
Mr. S. Panchapegesa Sastriar	5
Mr. V. C. Seshachari	5
Mr. T. S. Ramaswami	5
Mr. P. N. Marthandam Pillai	5
Mr. E. S. Chidambaram Pillai	5
Mr. K. V. Sesha Aiyangar	5
Mr. V. Govindarajachari	5
Mr. N. S. Srinivasa Aiyar	5
Mr T. L. Venkatarama Aiyar	5
Mr. K. Y. Adiga	5
Mr. S. Ramaswami Aiyar	5
Dr. C. V. Krishnaswami Aiyar	5
Mr. K. A. Sankaran	5
Mr. K. G. Subramanian	5
Mr. T. R. Chintamani	5
Pandit Alasingarachariar	5
Mr. C. Ranganayakulu Chetti	5
Mr. K. R. Raghunatha Rao	5
Mr. K. R. Tiruvenkadatha Aiyangar	5
Mr. V. R. R. Diksitar...	5
Miss O. K. Anantalakshmi	5
Mr. P. Panini Rao	5
Mr. T. V. Ramanatha Aiyar	5
Mr. K. V. Ramachandra Aiyar	5
Mr. B. Sitarama Rao	5
Mr. C. P. Venkatarama Aiyer	5
Mr. S. K. Yegnanarayana Iyer	5
Mr. S. Subrahmanya Iyer	5
Mr. Bhavanandam Pillai	5
Mr. P. S. Kumaraswami Raja	5
Mr. P. Subrahmanya Iyah	5
Mr. R. Swaminatha Iyer	5

	Rs.
Mr. N. Srinivasacharya	5
Mr. E. V. Anantharama Iyer...	5
Mr. M. K. Rangacharya	5
Mr. N. Govindaraja Iyer	5
Mr. M. V. Subrahmanya	5
Mr. T. R. Ramakrishna Sastri	5
Mr. A. Venkateswara Iyer	5
Mr. B. Seshagiri Rao	5
Small Subscriptions	10

9.—List of Pandits and Maulvis honoured with Shawls.

Mahamahopadhyayas.

S. Panchapagesa Sastrigal, Mysore.
Kapisthalam Desikachariar, Tirupati.
Tata Subbraya Sastri, Vizianagaram.
Dandapaniswami Diksitar, Chidambaram.
Swaminatha Iyer, Chidambaram.
T. Lakshmana Suri, Madras.

Principals of Sanskrit Colleges.

T. Venkatasubba Sastrigal, Mylapore.
K. Krishna Sastrigal, Chittore.
P. Nilakantha Sarma, Pattambi.
A. Sankara Sastri, Kallidaikuricchi.
P. Venkatachala Sastri, Pudukkode.

Representatives of Vidvat Sabhas.

Sankara Mutt, Kumbhakonam.
Madhva Sabha, Tirupati.
Advaita Sabha, Chidambaram.
Telugu Academy, Madras.
Visistadvaita Sabha, Madras.

Sanskrit.

S. K. Ramanatha Sastri, Kovvur.
S. K. Padmanabha Sastri, Madras.
N. S. Anantakrishna Sastri, Calcutta.
T. N. Narasishmacharya, Madras.
T. Anantachariar, Madras.
T. V. Ramachandra Diksitar, Madras.
S. Narayana Yajva, Madras.

THIRD ORIENTAL CONFERENCE



VIDVAT PARISAD.

D. T. Tatachari, Tiruvadi.
Subrahmanya Sastri, Tanjore.
T. K. Raghavendrachariar, Tinnevelly.
R. V. Krishnamachariar, Kumbakonam.
G. V. Padmanabha Sastri, Trichinopoly.
Lakshmipuram Srinivasachari.

Telugu.

Puranam Panda Mallaya Sastri.
Malladi Ramakrishna Sastri, Bezwada.
Nori Subrahmanya Sastri, Cocanada.
Chadalaval Sundararama Sastri, Madras.
Umnia Lisha.
Umakantam Akkiraj, Madras.
S. V. Srirama Sastri, Bezwada.
J. Seshadri Sarma, Cuddapah.
Kampati Markandeya Sarma.
Gullapudi Lakshmana Sastri.
Puranam Suryanarayana Sastri, Madras.
Pokkulur Lakshminarayana Sastri.
Ganti Suryanarayana Sastri, Vijianagaram.

Tamil.

M. V. Ramanujachari, Manalur.
E. V. Anantarama Iyer, Madras.
M. Raghava Iyengar, Madras.
M. C. Subrahmanya Kavirayar, Tinnevelly.
C. R. Namasivaya Mudaliar, Madras.
D. Satagopachari.
Ulaganatha Pillai, Palace Library, Tanjore.
A. Satagoparamanujachariar, Kumbakonam.

Kanarese.

M. D. Alasingarachariar, Madras.

Malayalam.

A. Krishna Pisharoti, Trivandrum.
Vasudevan Musad, Trichur.
P. I Raman, Palghat.

Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras.

V. Krishnamachari, Sanskrit.
T. Rangachari, Sanskrit.

V. Prabhakara Sastri, Telugu.
P. Sundara Sastri, Kanarese.
Rangachariar, Tamil.

Arabic.

Shamsul-ulema Abdur Rahman Shatir, Madras.
Moulvi Munshi-e-Fazil Syed Ali Muhammad Zakir Sahib Madani, Madras.
Moulvi Abdul Qadir Ahmed Sahib.



HIS EXCELLENCY VISCOUNT GOSCHEN.

10.—Opening Address.

BY H. E. VISCOUNT GOSCHEN,

Governor of Madras.

It is a very great pleasure to me to welcome you all here to-day and to see so many representatives of this Association assembled for this Conference.

We in Madras are glad to think that you have chosen our city on this occasion as your place of meeting and I hope that you will enjoy yourselves in our surroundings and be interested in some of the ancient places we are anxious to show you.

I am sure that our first feeling to-day is one of sadness for the loss of one who took so prominent a part in the proceedings of this Conference last time and to whom it owes so much for his inspiration, his enthusiasm and his constant support. India has by his death lost a great supporter of Arts and Science; but this Conference realises not only the public loss but that of a friend who had won the respect of all his colleagues; with them his memory will be kept green.

To-day you are entering on a Conference which will, I am sure be deeply interesting to you all if I may judge by the programme before you. In these modern days of hurry and bustle, of modern improvements which, however necessary, are not conducive to a quiet life, of practical-mindedness, if I may coin a word which usurps the place of quiet thought and contemplation, it is pleasant to turn from the present-day world, and in imagination to throw our minds back to a world of generations ago and to cogitate on ancient writings and ancient inscriptions, ancient architecture and ancient schools of thought. It cultivates our imagination, using the word in its highest sense, which needs such tending under modern conditions. One of the most interesting forms of speculation especially to one who travels much is the extent of the knowledge which one country has of another, whether it is on the surface, or deep down into the wells of history, and, if deep down, of the connection in the past between the two countries, or even between continents. May I this morning for a few moments dive into those works of history and look into the connection of India with other countries?

It was about the end of the 18th century that Europe became acquainted with Eastern literatures. It is unnecessary to deal with, and indeed, there are very few materials for dealing adequately with, the

vexed question as to the antiquity of Indian literature or with the difficult topic of the extent of indebtedness, if any, of India to Babylonia and Assyria. It is, however, noteworthy that Professor Bühler developed a theory that the Asoka inscriptions were closely akin to the Aramaic type of writing. Another variant of the Indian alphabet is also supposed to be connected with the Phœnician style of writing represented on Assyrian weights. The excavations of Mohenjo-Daro made within the last few months, have opened up a new vista and have pointed to the possibility of a close contact in civilisation and culture between the primeval civilisations of the world. It is difficult to believe, though it is now proved beyond all doubt, that somewhere about 3000 B. C. the people of Sumeria, Accadia, Babylon, and Sindh had lively commercial and cultural intercourse with each other.

It is also suggested that the old Ophir was somewhere on the South Indian coast, that the temple of Solomon was built with materials that came from South India and it is a commonplace that the Hebrew names for ivory, peacocks and sandal were all of Indian origin. The famous story of Solomon and the child competed for by two contending mothers is a variant of a Buddhistic Jataka.

That very discerning scholar, Professor E. B. Havell, has advanced a theory that in the second millennuim before Christ an Aryan people worshipping the same deities as are referred to in the Vedas had founded a powerful kingdom between the Tigris and the Euphrates and he speaks of the Vedic tradition of the fight between the Devas and the Asuras as referable to the struggle between the Aryan worshippers of Surya or the Sun and the Semites of Assyria. He further urges that the masters of Babylon were also Aryans and they assisted in the colonisation of the Punjab. It is also a moot point which further researches may resolve, whether the ancient Dravidian inhabitants of the South Indian coast were not akin to the Sumerians. In any case, it is a most remarkable circumstance that the old King Dasaratha is claimed by the Indian and the Assyrian alike; for the old Semite chronicles demonstrate that about the year 1350 B.C. anarchy arose amongst the Mitanni after the death of King Dasaratha (Dushrata as he is called in those writings), and that as a result of the anarchy a great migration towards the East took place and scientists have seen the connection between this migration and the great advance of Rama down the Gangetic valley to Ceylon. Further excavations and researches and a re-reading of the Hindu Epics and the Vedas in the light of modern research may open up enchanting vistas of fascinating history and disentangle from the legends of old the truth which is often more marvellous than many legends and epics. Among such researches will undoubtedly be the elucidation of

the meaning and significance of that conflict between the newer with the matriarchal theory of society and of the state which now persists only in Malabar but which seems originally to have been very widely spread not only in India but throughout the world. The clash of the ideal with the patriarchal, the significance of the help afforded by the aboriginal monkey-tribes to the advancing Aryan and the imposition of the Aryan culture in Dravida are matters now enveloped in speculation and controversy, but which demand careful and scientific treatment and elucidation. Such a study may reveal that, as has happened in other countries, it was not always the conqueror that won; for, if anything is made manifest by the study of ancient documents, it is that the advancing hosts of Aryans were a warlike, meat-eating and soma-drinking clan who descended upon an agricultural population and who, though they imposed some of their ideas on the aborigines, were yet profoundly modified by their impact with them. The intertwining of cults and of beliefs involves problems which have to be investigated not solely from the point of view of the religious man and the philospher but from that of the student of archæology and of institutions. Thus viewed, the Upanishads and the Vedas may, over and above their religious value, afford help to us in the solution of modern political problems, and in the words of Sir Charles Metcalfe presenting the Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons in 1832, we may discern that the root idea of the village system was to be found in the Vedic religion which, in his own language was, the moving spirit of the organisation of the Aryan village community and which contributed, more than any other cause, to the preservation of the people of India through all the revolutions and changes they have suffered and is in a high degree conducive to their happiness and to the enjoyment of a great portion of freedom and independence.

Scholars have also shown that the rigidity of the caste system was not wholly imposed by craft or subtlety but was largely the product of later and mediæval conditions. The study of Indian archæology and history may do a great deal in many directions for solving not only the problems of old but the questions of to-day. It is a great pity that an intercourse which was so lively and continuous in the dawn of history became more and more intermittent, and finally came to an end. In any event between 2000 B. C. and till the invasion of Alexander, Europe knew very little of the East, and the East was oblivious of the secular changes in the West though Persian inscriptions disclose and Herodotus makes it clear that Persian monarchs ruled over Northern India. The sole materials we have up to the date of Alexander the Great are contained in the narrative of the voyage of Skylax and the chronicle of the physician Ktesias who dwelt in the court of Artaxerxes

After the Alexandrian conquest, for a long time there was a very close intermingling of Greek and Indian learning and culture, and throughout the reigns of Candragupta and Asoka, we have many records, literary and historical, attesting to this intermixture.

After the Gupta dynasty broke down, the darkness which afterwards became dense, commenced its sway and but for the chronicles of the Chinese pilgrims and later on of the Mussalman historian Alberuni, we have a complete isolation for centuries. But Indian culture and literature travelled West in the intervening period in a remarkable way. The collection of folklore translated into Persian and thence translated from Persian into Arabic, spread all over Europe by means of Italian and French translations under the name of the fables of Pilpai. Thus India has its share in the mediæval literature of fairy tale and fable, and it is also advanced that the philosophical speculations of the Greeks and the Pythagoreans were influenced by the Yoga Philosophy. In the matter of science the introduction of the decimal system and early geometrical ideas and even in the matter of games, such as chess, India influenced Europe as the Greeks on the other hand undoubtedly influenced Indian Drama and Indian Astronomy. It is noteworthy that the debt was frankly and openly acknowledged on both sides, and, indeed an Indian astronomical treatise calls itself the Romaka Siddhanta—the Roman Science. Indian medical treatises were translated by the Kalifs of Bagdad and the works of Caraka and Susruta translated by an Arab physician were a part of the equipment of mediæval medicine in Europe. But about the time that the great streams of European invasion of India began, India was split up into separate and quarrelling States and the pursuit of learning was so neglected that there was considerable ignorance on both sides of each other's indebtedness, and Indians had become more and more isolated and self-centred, and in the troubled days of the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries India had forgotten the extent and variety of its heritage. Largely, owing to this reason and because of the lack of historical material in India, we have not yet secured a connected narrative of the rise and growth not only of dynasties but of ideas. The materials for a reconstruction of the past, which is and must be the foundation for guidance for the future, therefore depend upon a study of such things as inscriptions and coins and upon archæological evidence. The excavations in Taxila, for instance, have done much to clear up outstanding questions of Indo-Sythian chronology. The history of Indian art or Indian religion cannot be understood by students who confine their attention to literary evidence.

Much has been said of the absence of Hindu historical literature but a great field for activity still exists in the study of the records of the

various old Indian Courts in the North and in the South. A great deal remains to be done in this direction especially in the South of India where the history of the ancient South Indian Kings has to be pieced out and the work of scholars like Srinivasa Iyengar, the author of *Tamil Studies* and of our University Professor, the enthusiastic Dr. Krishnaswami Iyengar, have to be supplemented by the labours of other historians and students of Art who must follow in their foot-steps. Till recently the reproach was levelled, somewhat justly, that Indians owed their knowledge of ancient Indian history and institutions to the labours of Western scholars. Colebrooke and Sir W. Jones and Elphinstone, not to speak of Fa-hien and Hieun-Tsang, Megasthenes and Alberuni and Ferista, were our chief sources. Mention must also be made of Whitney and other great Americans who have made Harvard one of the centres of Sanskrit research, of the stream of French and German writers such as Burnouf, Bopp, Weber and others who established centres of Indian study in Paris and Berlin, Leipzig and Bonn, and of the labours of Mr. Sewell, the Historian of Vijayanagar, and of the chroniclers of the Moghal period. But thanks to the impulse originally given by Dr. Bhandarkar, the great Bombay Orientalist, and men like Justices Ranade and Telang and later on by Justices Woodroffe and Pargiter and encouraged by the Nationalistic Movement and the labours of the band of scholars whom Sir Asutosh Mukerji gathered around him in Calcutta including such scholars as Dr. Jha, the President of the Conference, and Jadunath Sircar, the reproach can no longer be levelled at Indians. The field of activity is immense and the result is bound to be full of significance.

In most curious and unexpected ways can light be thrown on these subjects by ardent research. For instance, by means of an inscription on a rock near Pudukottai, we are able to discover the way in which the ancient Indian musical score was developed. The study of excavated pottery in Tinnevelly and in Cochin has enabled scholars like Anantakrishna Aiyar to reconstruct certain aspects of Dravidian civilisation. This is a field of activity in which official and non-official, Indian and European, can collaborate. In 1825, Lieut.-Col. John Walker, by laborious research, began the reconstruction of Indian chronology and it is a matter for satisfaction that his work received the encouragement and support of the Hon'ble Company's Board of Revenue. That work owed a great deal to the labours of men like Father Beschi who Indianised themselves for the sake of religion and of science as indeed did Dr. Pope who is popularly known as Pope Aiyar.

Lord Curzon's Ancient Monument's Act and the re-organisation of the Archæological Department were powerful factors in the matter of

the stimulation of research; and Sir John Marshall, the Director-General, has laboured hard to organise systematic work in Archæology. Excavations have been carried on in Taxila and Nalanda, sites of ancient Universities, Patna, Benares and Chitor in Rajputana. The recent excavations in the Montgomery District in Sindh (Mohenjo Daro) have unearthed unexpected and epoch-making material. Sir Austosh Mukerji and the band of scholars that gathered round him have stimulated interest in the ancient Buddhistic literature of India some of which is available only in Chinese and Tibetan translations: and in this task the French Savants have distinguished themselves specially and their work with reference to the culture of the far East, *i.e.*, Assam and Cambodia and Burma, has been of the highest value.

The scope and extent of Indian culture is now seen to be practically co-terminous with the Southern Asian continent. Research work has also taken place with reference to the Hittite monuments and the discoveries at Boghaz-keui are also very important.

The discovery of Pristine pottery has linked up regions so far apart as Pataliputra (Patna) where Terra-Cota figures have been discovered, Hyderabad and Adichanallur in Tinnevelly. A visit to the Madras Museum will elucidate the value of these discoveries. In addition, the explorations of Sir Aurel Stein and the French Missions have enabled scholars to discover the affiliation of the ancient culture in Turkistan and Central Asia with the pre-historic Aryan and has further reinforced the position that at the dawn of time the Semite and the Aryan cultures were closely inter-connected. It is now proved that about 3000 B.C. there was a vigorous Aryan civilization in Armenia and Asia-Minor.

Gentlemen, one could roam at length down these facinating by-paths, each leading on into another and affording glimpses of romantic historical views which urge one on, but you are all far better acquainted than I am with the journey, and I must ask your indulgence for having, as an amateur, though may I say an enthusiastic amateur, attached myself to so distinguished a band of travellers. May the result of your labours be an addition to that sum of knowledge to which your distinguished predecessors to whom I have alluded to-day, have so greatly contributed.

11.—Welcome Address.

BY THE REV. DR. E. M. MACPHAIL, D.D., C.I.E., C.B.E.,
Vice-Chancellor of the University of Madras;
Chairman of the Reception Committee.

It is my pleasant duty as Chairman of the Reception Committee to welcome the members of the All-India Oriental Conference to Madras, on the occasion of this, its Third Meeting. In the ordinary course, this Conference should have been held in Madras last December. As, however the University of Madras, on whose invitation the Conference is meeting here, was at that time undergoing reconstruction and the new authorities were only in process of formation, the University was not in a position to arrange for the Conference and it was decided to postpone the Third Meeting for a year. I trust that the members of the Conference will feel that our welcome to them, though later in time than it was originally intended to be, is no less warm on that account.

It is, I think, a fitting thing that one of the early meetings of this Conference should be held in Madras. Apart from Western influences there are three great elements in Indian culture which have been reacting upon one another during the past centuries. These are the Aryan, the Muhammadan, and the Dravidian, and here in Madras we are in the centre of the sphere of influence of the last of these three. Southern India is a veritable store-house of material worthy of investigation and discussion by Indian scholars, and it may be hoped that this gathering of scholars in Madras may lead to a deeper interest being taken by Northern scholars in the culture of South India. It may be of interest to you if I mention that it is proposed that Dravidian culture should be one of the subjects to receive primary consideration when the development of research and higher teaching is taken in hand by our reconstructed University.

Sir Asutosh Mukerji, whose untimely death we all deplore, in his Address of Welcome at Calcutta to the members of the Second Conference, gave a full and interesting review of the work that had been done in the past in connexion with the subjects for the discussion of which you are now met. It would be unnecessary for me, even if I possessed the knowledge of that great oriental scholar, which I do not, to attempt to repeat what he said so well on that occasion. I shall content myself with a few remarks on what appears to me to be the value of a Conference like this, and of the studies it represents.

The ideal Conference possibly would be one where there was abundance of time—say a month—for the full discussion of all the papers placed before it and for the summing up of results. As things are, however, in this busy world, where time is limited, it seems to me that the chief value of a Conference is the opportunity that it affords for the meeting with one another of men who are engaged in the same or in kindred lines of work. Papers can be printed and circulated, but it is the discussion, formal or informal, the interchange of thought and the comparison of experiences that I personally have found to be the most helpful thing in connexion with such gatherings. Meeting with a distinguished man known hitherto only by name or from his books is often an inspiration, and the talk in gatherings outside the meeting-hall often makes more impression on one and exercises more lasting influence than a paper however learned. In spite of the power of the press and the potency of the printed page it is still found in all departments of life that the spoken word and personal intercourse are the most effective channels of influence.

But a Conference has no right to meet unless the subjects which it is to consider are worthy of the labour which it entails. Now I venture to assert that no one who takes the trouble to see what the subjects are that are dealt with by the different Sections—I need not enumerate them—can deny that they are subjects worthy of a Conference. They are subjects which will be recognised as important by all who believe that "the proper study of mankind is man." This is sometimes described as a utilitarian age, and it is true that the predominance of literary subjects in the education of the West has led to a reaction which is sometimes carried so far as to make men fail to recognise the importance of the study of the humanities. The marvellous advances of Science during the past hundred years, the increase in our knowledge of the laws of nature and in our power to apply them for the comfort and convenience of men, tend to lead to the disparagement of inquiries into the past and into many subjects which always have been, and I believe always will be, of supreme interest to mankind. It is true that men may be so wrapped up in the past that they lose their sense of proportion and fail to realise the importance of the present, but yet I cannot help feeling that in the search for truth men may have often to engage in researches which may seem to practical men of little value because that value cannot be expressed in terms of the current coin of the realm. Life is many-sided and man does not live by bread alone, and the human desire for knowledge fitly leads to the study not only of nature, but of the works of the highest product of nature, to the study of man with all his achievements in language, in literature, in art, in history, in

philosophy,—in a word in all the subjects an interest in which has brought you here.

It is natural that at this time which may fitly be called an Indian Renaissance increased attention should be paid to the study of the past. In the European Renaissance of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries there was an awakened interest in the sources from which the civilisation of Western Europe was derived—in the art, the thought, the language, and the literature of Greece and Rome, and in the early Christian Church. This interest did not imply a return to the conditions of antiquity, for the Renaissance was in fact the beginning of the moden period in European History. But the revival of interest in the past led to a quickening of intellectual life, and to a general enrichment of the life of the time. Those of you who have read Browning's *Grammarian's Funeral* may have felt that the study of Greek Grammar was rather a poor subject on which a man should spend his life ; but after all he had been hammering out one of the keys which were to unlock the treasures of Greek thought, and the man who does something to add to our real knowledge of the past is making a real addition to the possessions of humanity. India during past years may, owing to contact with modern influences, have been inclined at times to neglect its own culture, its languages, its literatures, its art, but the movement of which you are the representatives is a proof that that neglect is ended, and you bring to the study of the past an equipment such as the pioneers of the European Renaissance did not possess. Not only have large accumulations of knowledge been made since then, but, thanks to the development of the scientific spirit, workers of to-day are furnished with those great instruments of scientific method and historical criticism without which much investigation of the past becomes profitless theorising and empty word-spinning.

But it is not only with the past that your Conference deals, for your records and your programme show that you are interested in the present and in the development of modern Indian culture. I have been speaking of the European Renaissance. It is noteworthy that it is during that period that we see the development of the national spirit in the countries that made up the European commonwealth, and the growth of national literatures. Historical analogies are apt to be treacherous, but it seems to me that there is in India at present a somewhat parallel phenomenon. Alongside of the enthusiasm for the motherland there has grown up an intensification of local patriotism and a desire for the development of the different vernaculars. You will find, I think, that this is specially true of Southern India where, as you are aware, there are about sixty million people speaking Dravidian languages. You will find that Tamil and

Telugu, to mention only two of them, are being regarded with a new enthusiasm, and that men here not only are seeking to encourage the study of their classics but are anxious to discover the best means for making the mother-tongue an effective vehicle for modern thought. Here as elsewhere in India the need is felt for the development of a simple vernacular prose style which can be understood by the masses of the people.

The European Renaissance in its enthusiasm for the classics inflicted an injury on European education by the undue prominence that it gave in its system to the study of Latin and Greek. The evil has been exaggerated and has led to an excessive reaction, but it was an evil none-the-less. It is satisfactory, as I have said, to see that this Conference does not neglect the languages of the present. May I remaind you of the plea put forward by Dr. Taraporewala in his Presidential Address to the Philology Section of the Calcutta Conference, when among other things he urged the scientific study of the modern vernaculars of India? He suggested the division of the whole country into "linguistic provinces" each to work out the details of its own language and dialects, and hoped that it might be possible at the Madras Conference to institute a Linguistic Society of India with this end in view.

In conclusion I would express the hope that you may find your stay in Madras both pleasant and profitable, and that by your meetings and proceedings fresh contributions may be made to the important subjects which you are met to consider and to which some of you have devoted your lives. It is well that in this busy complex modern life of ours a place should be found for men who will devote themselves to learning, and once again I offer you a most cordial welcome on behalf not only of the University but of the people of Madras.



MAHAMAHOPADHYAYA DR. GANGANATH JHA.

12.—Presidential Address.

BY MAHAMAHOPADHYAYA DR. GANGANATH JHA,
M.A., D.LITT., VIDYASAGARA.

Vice Chancellor, Allahabad University.

I am unable to express my gratitude to you for this honour which is the highest that can be attained by an Oriental scholar. The distinction is all the greater on account of this chair having been occupied in the past by two of our revered Acaryas, Sir Ramkrishna Bhandarkar and Professor Sylvain Levi. The contrast indeed is so great that I feel a certain amount of diffidence in occupying the same chair; and yet I do so because it is in the course of nature that the pupil should take the place of the *Guru* in the same way as the son succeeds the father.

It is my duty to deliver the presidential address. Here also I am in a quandary, being unable to say anything that would be considered even a poor successor to the last two magnificent addresses that we had the honour of listening to. I feel this so strongly that if I were free to exercise the prerogative of the chair, I would have no hesitation in ruling that the item of the presidential address should be removed from the programme. Unfortunately, however, my great respect for the President and members of our Reception Committee does not allow me this freedom. I have therefore no other option left than to follow, however inadequately, in the path of my predecessors.

येनास्य पितरो याता येन याताः पितामहाः ।
तेन यायात्सतां मार्गम्.......................॥

Unable to produce anything worthy of a presidential address I shall, under cover of that title, attempt to lay before you one or two subjects of practical importance that have been exercising my mind for the last few years.

The first point is that Oriental research as such has not as yet received that attention in this country which is its birthright. With a solitary exception perhaps there is no organisation for this research. Not that work is not being carried on. Much solid work is being done, we know, in various parts of the country. But in almost every case it is the product of the chance proclivities of individual scholars. It is sad indeed that neither the various Provincial Governments nor learned public bodies pay any heed to this very important branch of educational

activity; and yet it is in the field of Oriental research that this country should and can take the lead. In fact, what we have been doing during the last 50 years has demonstrated that we would, if we could, give the lead in this field; and the simple reason for this lies in the fact that even in our present unorganised, or even disorganised state, we have within our reach materials that are not available to students of other countries. What we need most badly however is organisation and a little public sympathy, and also some degree of what I may call 'University partiotism.' For some unaccountable reason the feeling has taken root in our hearts that research in any field of knowledge is impossible within the four corners of this land. This may have been true to a certain extent in regard to the physical sciences, research wherein requires facilities and equipment which may be beyond the resources of some of our Universities, which have nowhere received that support which is their due. But so far as Oriental research is concerned, in the first place, we have any amount of material at hand in the domain of archæology and history, relating to ancient India; herein at any rate, all the material is available to us and to us alone; and in regard to other branches of literature also it is not very difficult to obtain materials for research.

Nor is it true that we Indians are wanting in what has been called the 'critical faculty.' It is strange indeed that people who stand up for scientific accuracy should have made and accepted the sweeping assertion that Indians by their very nature are lacking in the critical faculty. Any one who has read the works of our much-maligned Pandits would readily concede that our literature from the time of Patanjali downwards bears evidence of a very high degree of critical acumen. In fact we find literature of criticism even so early as the Upanisads. Has not every syllable of the sutras of Panini been dissected and analysed by Patanjali and his successors? Have not our modern *Vaiyakaranah* carried this to such an extent as to declare that "*ardhamatralaghavena Vaiyakaranah putrotsavam manyante?*" Do we not again find even the modern Naiyayika hyper-critical in the examination of definitions and inferences? Is there any work in any literature which affords instances of such intensely critical acumen as we find in the Khandanakhandakhadya? I am inclined to think that this work has reached the acme of critical inspection. It may be true that the critical faculty displayed by our writers is somewhat different from that faculty as understood by the modern scholar. For one thing, the critical faculty of Patanjali and his successors is more logical than that of the modern Orientalist. But that cannot justify the assertion that we are absolutely lacking in that faculty. Even that element which may have been lacking in our indigenous scholarship has, it seems to me, been supplied by

the leavening of modern methods of research that have been brought to us by western Orientalists working in this country ; so that I feel that it is high time now that our Universities and institutes shook themselves free from the notion that they could not carry on Oriental research.

It is more than twelve years since an earnest attempt was made by the Government of India to establish a Central Research Institute in this country. For some reason or other that scheme has fallen through. Since then however we have had a Research institute established at Poona, which even during its brief existence has given ample earnest of what we may expect from it. But so far as I know that institute is not sufficiently endowed ; and even if it were sufficiently endowed, it could not serve the needs of the whole country. The Oriental scholar is proverbially poor ; and a scholar from the northern limits of the country would find it very difficult to spend even a couple of years at Poona. It is incumbent therefore on our Universities, of which we have now more than ten, to awake to this duty. The needs of this research are such that they can be supplied even by such impecunious Universities as we have in India. It is the will that is wanted. This opinion of mine is borne out by what has happened in Calcutta. Thanks to the efforts of the late veteran Vice-Chancellor, Sir Asutosh Mukerji, we have under that University a highly-organised Post-graduate Department where Oriental research is being carried on in the right spirit and on the right lines, and it is a great satisfaction to us to have found that the work turned out by the researchers at Calcutta is most valuable and of a high order ; and yet—notwithstanding all that has been said against the institution—the cost involved has been very moderate, specially when compared with the results achieved. Unfortunately this example set by Calcutta several years ago has not yet been followed by any other University ; and the reason for this is not far to seek. The public as such has not given evidence of much sympathy for what has been and is being done at Calcutta. In fact the public has been voicing a sense of apathetic indifference which would have killed the institution had it not been for the resourceful personality of Sir Asutosh. The question of funds need not discourage any University in the field of Oriental research. We do not want any expensive apparatus. We only want brains, a quiet place to work in and a few books and manuscripts within our reach. All this means very little cost ; but it does mean some organisation. This country is subject to such ravages of fire and water that each year we are losing in the shape of manuscripts burnt or washed or crumbled away an amount of treasure which could never be replaced in the future even at the expenditure of millions of rupees ; and the callousness that the public displays towards this would be appalling anywhere else except in this unfortunate country. But for purposes of research we have still got

in various places quite decent collections of manuscripts; for instance, at Calcutta and Benares in Northern India, in Baroda, Poona, Mysore Madras and Travancore in the West and in the South. So that what we need is only the organising of research and the providing of facilities for students who are eager to carry on research, in the way of proximity to one or the other of these collections. Perhaps we shall need a few decent scholarships; but even these scholarships need not be half so extravagant as those that are given annually as scholarships for study abroad.

Reverting to the question of manuscripts, it is nothing short of criminal to neglect them any longer. Hitherto only sporadic attempts have been made to explore this treasure. Under the auspices of the Asiatic Society of Bengal a systematic search for manuscripts was made during the last century; the same was done also to a limited extent in certain other provinces. But for some unaccountable reason this work was not continued. Till recently, we had a very well-organised Department of Manuscripts-search in this Presidency of Madras, and all this search has brought to our knowledge the existence of manuscript-material which should have proved enough to encourage us in carrying on more detailed and more strenuous search for this treasure. But here again evil fate seems to have overtaken us —even in Madras where excellent work was done under the guidance of my esteemed friends Professors Rangacharya and Kuppuswami Sastri, something seems to have happened to the grant, which consisted, I believe, of the paltry sum of Rs. 17,000; at least such is the idea brought to our minds by the fact that we have, of late, not been receiving the red books that we used to receive from the Curator of the Oriental Manuscripts Library. I hope the discontinuance of the issue of those welcome red volumes has been due to causes other than the stopping of the grant. We have to bear in mind that every day thousands of manuscripts are crumbling to pieces and are being lost past recovery. Bihar has come into the field recently; but there also the work is being carried on very half-heartedly. When Madras was doing such splendid work for the sum of Rs. 17,000, I think, if all the Provincial Governments could make up their minds to spend among them a lakh of rupees for this work, incalculable good would result to Oriental scholarship. Is a lakh of rupees too much for this purpose? These manuscripts may be nothing more than rubbish in the eyes of our modernists; but even the most rabid modernist will not deny that if the ancient history of India, political, religious and literary, can be reconstructed on more logical lines than hitherto has been the case, it can be only be by the judicious use of these manuscripts.

Each scholar that we are sending out to Europe for the higher study of the Oriental languages is costing the country about Rs. 4,000 a year and

yet we are throwing away the very material upon which the talents of these scholars could be utilised and the expenditure justified. A lakh of rupees a year cannot be regarded as too much even by the most rigid economist, when it is distributed over all our ten Universities; it works out at the rate of Rs. 10,000 a University, which is less than what it pays for one Professer; and yet what is it that is at stake? We are thankful to the Madras Government for the action they have recently taken in this matter;—in the shape of appointing a Committee for the purpose of framing rules for the working of the Oriental Manuscripts Library, "with a view to providing facilities for the utilisation of the manuscripts," as also "for the acquisition, preservation, restoration and publication of manuscripts." If this newspaper announcement is correct, it seems Heaven has already responded to my prayer, and before long we shall hear of work being carried on in Madras in right earnest. Is it too much to expect that other provinces will follow the lead of Madras? At least Bengal and Bihar and Orissa should not lag behind, having as they have rich stores of manuscripts within easy reach.

I feel sure that there can be no two opinions regarding the necessity of organising the work of manuscript-search. But unfortunately the tendency of modern public life is such that nothing is done unless it is vociferously demanded. I hope our younger scholars will come to our rescue and supply this vocal deficiency in our demand for search.

Now that the matter is going to be considered by a duly-constituted Committee, I should like to put forward a few suggestions. Hitherto our efforts have tended towards preparing a catalogue of the manuscripts found. Not much serious attempt seems to have been made towards acquiring the manuscripts either by purchase or by transcript. Catalogues of manuscripts are very valuable so far as they go; but they do not stop the real danger. They inform us merely of the existence of certain manuscripts at certain places. This information is absolutely essential. But circumstanced as the household of the owners of the manuscripts is, there is no knowing that the manuscripts could be available in the place where they were catalogued. Two instances come to my mind in this connection. In the catalogue of manuscripts published by the late Rajendra Lal Mittra we find the notice of a manuscript of Brahmatattvasamiksa of the great Vacaspati. It is a work in the absence of which the author's Bhamati is in places insipid, as my revered teacher, the late Gangadhara Sastri, once remarked. The place where this manuscript was found is within thirty miles of my village home in Bihar; and yet when I made enquiries, all my search for the valuable manuscript proved futile, though it was made within twenty years of

the cataloguing. Similarly, in Oppert's catalogue (Vol. II) I found the mention of a commentary on the Nyayabhasya, with Sami Dikshit, in a village in the Tanjore district. I requested my friend Prof. Kuppuswami Sastri to find out for me this manuscript; but I am sorry to say that his efforts proved no more successful than mine, and I am afraid that both these manuscripts have been irretrievably lost. It is absolutely essential therefore that we should have two branches in the department of manuscripts-search--one for making lists and another for acquiring manuscripts either by purchase or by transcript—the latter in my humble opinion being much the more important of the two.

While on this subject of manuscript-preservation, I would impress upon the scholars interested in this work the necessity of having new transcripts made of old manuscripts. I have come across several manuscripts which in the mere handling crumble to pieces, so that no use could be made of them. Those manuscripts which bear signs of such crumbling should without any loss of time be transcribed on new paper, so that they may not be destroyed.

What I have said applies not only to Sanskrit manuscripts, but also to Arabic and Persian manuscripts; to these latter perhaps with greater force; as in this field, so far as my information goes, practically nothing has been done. Similarly in the domain of vernacular literature, the only serious effort of which I have knowledge is that being made by the Government of the United Provinces, through the Nagari Pracarini Sabha. I hope however that something on the same lines is being done in the South also.

There is an impression aboard that so much has already been done by scholars during the last fifty years or more in the domain of Oriental research that there is not much work left to be done. This is an entirely wrong idea. My friends in the Archæological Department know full well that there are endless inviting sites lying still unexplored. The exploration of the single site of Pataliputra has shown what treasure may come to light by such exploration, and the sites of most of our ancient capitals have still to be investigated. Has not the merest digging of a site in Sindh provided information which bids fair to revolutionise all modern conceptions regarding the antiquity of Indian civilization. Then again, Meteorology has not been attempted; Astronomy has been barely touched. Similarly, Medicine and Chemistry have been worked just enough to become inviting subjects of research. In Law very little has been done. Dramaturgy and Poetics in general have just begun to be studied. In Philosophy much has indeed been done. But very much more remains. In Nyaya-Vaisesika and in Purvamimamsa all that we have done has been pure spade-work. In the

domain of the Kashmirian Saiva Philosophy, even spade-work has not been done. On the inter-relation of the several philosophical systems, there are many inviting problems still unsolved. In fact, the field is so vast that one feels staggered when one finds the handful of men that there are who could do the work.

In the field of Arabic and Persian studies also, I feel sure, there must be many problems waiting for solution at the hands of indigenous scholars.

Next to the preservation of manuscripts comes the question of their publication. Much is being done already in this field. All honour to the Bibliotheca Indica, Trivandrum, Baroda, Kashmir, Vanivilasa and Chaukhamba series for their admirable work. All that is needed in this department of our activity is a little more co-ordination and advertisement; this alone could save us from duplication and waste of labour and money. In this connection I would suggest that this Conference may publish under its auspices a "book bulletin"—once a year, which should mention the names, prices and publishers of every printed book in and relating to the subjects within its purview. This can be done easily enough with the help of the several local Government gazettes, which publish complete list of all the books printed in the respective provinces. The first issue of the bulletin will involve more labour; as old files of the provincial gazettes will have to be ransacked. But after the first issue, it would be comparatively easy. For the first issue it will be necessary to enlist the services of men at every provincial capital where the files of the gazettes would be easily available. For subsequent issues, if application were made to the provincial governments to send to the Conference Office a copy of the gazettes, I hope the request would not be refused; and the list could be compiled in our central office.

At present we do not know what works have been printed; much less do we know what works are in course of publication; and we are seriously handicapped for want of this information. Authors could also publish in this bulletin previous announcements of the work on which they are engaged.

The above plan will do for books published in India. As regards those published outside India, I think a fairly complete list could be compiled with the help of the volumes of the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, the Journal of the American Oriental Society, the Z. D. M. G., and other representative journals.

While laying stress upon research and modern methods of study let us not neglect the indigenous Pandits and Maulvis. People of

the cataloguing. Similarly, in Oppert's catalogue (Vol. II) I found the mention of a commentary on the Nyayabhasya, with Sami Dikshit, in a village in the Tanjore district. I requested my friend Prof. Kuppuswami Sastri to find out for me this manuscript; but I am sorry to say that his efforts proved no more successful than mine, and I am afraid that both these manuscripts have been irretrievably lost. It is absolutely essential therefore that we should have two branches in the department of manuscripts-search--one for making lists and another for acquiring manuscripts either by purchase or by transcript—the latter in my humble opinion being much the more important of the two.

While on this subject of manuscript-preservation, I would impress upon the scholars interested in this work the necessity of having new transcripts made of old manuscripts. I have come across several manuscripts which in the mere handling crumble to pieces, so that no use could be made of them. Those manuscripts which bear signs of such crumbling should without any loss of time be transcribed on new paper, so that they may not be destroyed.

What I have said applies not only to Sanskrit manuscripts, but also to Arabic and Persian manuscripts; to these latter perhaps with greater force; as in this field, so far as my information goes, practically nothing has been done. Similarly in the domain of vernacular literature, the only serious effort of which I have knowledge is that being made by the Government of the United Provinces, through the Nagari Pracarini Sabha. I hope however that something on the same lines is being done in the South also.

There is an impression aboard that so much has already been done by scholars during the last fifty years or more in the domain of Oriental research that there is not much work left to be done. This is an entirely wrong idea. My friends in the Archæological Department know full well that there are endless inviting sites lying still unexplored. The exploration of the single site of Pataliputra has shown what treasure may come to light by such exploration, and the sites of most of our ancient capitals have still to be investigated. Has not the merest digging of a site in Sindh provided information which bids fair to revolutionise all modern conceptions regarding the antiquity of Indian civilization. Then again, Meteorology has not been attempted; Astronomy has been barely touched. Similarly, Medicine and Chemistry have been worked just enough to become inviting subjects of research. In Law very little has been done. Dramaturgy and Poetics in general have just begun to be studied. In Philosophy much has indeed been done. But very much more remains. In Nyaya-Vaisesika and in Purva-mimamsa all that we have done has been pure spade-work. In the

domain of the Kashmirian Saiva Philosophy, even spade-work has not been done. On the inter-relation of the several philosophical systems, there are many inviting problems still unsolved. In fact, the field is so vast that one feels staggered when one finds the handful of men that there are who could do the work.

In the field of Arabic and Persian studies also, I feel sure, there must be many problems waiting for solution at the hands of indigenous scholars.

Next to the preservation of manuscripts comes the question of their publication. Much is being done already in this field. All honour to the Bibliotheca Indica, Trivandrum, Baroda, Kashmir, Vanivilasa and Chaukhamba series for their admirable work. All that is needed in this department of our activity is a little more co-ordination and advertisement ; this alone could save us from duplication and waste of labour and money. In this connection I would suggest that this Conference may publish under its auspices a "book bulletin"—once a year, which should mention the names, prices and publishers of every printed book in and relating to the subjects within its purview. This can be done easily enough with the help of the several local Government gazettes, which publish complete list of all the books printed in the respective provinces. The first issue of the bulletin will involve more labour ; as old files of the provincial gazettes will have to be ransacked. But after the first issue, it would be comparatively easy. For the first issue it will be necessary to enlist the services of men at every provincial capital where the files of the gazettes would be easily available. For subsequent issues, if application were made to the provincial governments to send to the Conference Office a copy of the gazettes, I hope the request would not be refused ; and the list could be compiled in our central office.

At present we do not know what works have been printed ; much less do we know what works are in course of publication ; and we are seriously handicapped for want of this information. Authors could also publish in this bulletin previous announcements of the work on which they are engaged.

The above plan will do for books published in India. As regards those published outside India, I think a fairly complete list could be compiled with the help of the volumes of the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, the Journal of the American Oriental Society, the Z. D. M. G., and other representative journals.

While laying stress upon research and modern methods of study let us not neglect the indigenous Pandits and Maulvis. People of

Madras do not need to be told how valuable our Sastris of the old school are. Having myself been brought up under that school, I know the value of their discipline. But I daresay even people who have been more fortunate than myself in their sources of inspiration will not be loath to admit that the Sastri and the Maulvi occupy a very important place in the scheme of Oriental study. However much we may advance in the field of modern research, the Sastri and the Maulvi must continue to be indispensable. Without these storehouses of learning in our midst, we would be nowhere in the field of even purely modern studies. If outsiders still look up to this country with deep respect it is by virtue of our Sastris and Maulvis. Let us cherish them in their purity. I am referring to this subject on the present occasion not because people do not realize the value of the old type of scholars, but because there is a danger of their best qualities disappearing under the reforms through which they are being forced. I am referring to the introduction of examinations for Pandits and Maulvis. Examinations are all right in their way; they are very good stimulants; but like all stimulants they are radically deleterious and harmful. We, modern scholars, have suffered in the past from examinations which have arrogated to themselves the position of masters, though they ought to have remained as slaves. We read and work for passing examinations, and the passing of examinations has become our *parama-purusartha.* We know full well that for passing an examination no depth of scholarship is necessary. In fact, it would not be far from the truth to assert that for this purpose, according to the modern system, it is not necessary to know the subject of examination at all. I know from my experience at Benares that the depth of scholarship for which the older Pandits were famous has all but disappeared during the last 20 or 25 years under the stress of the examination system. Like our University Graduates, the indigenous Pandit or Maulvi also has come to look upon the obtaining of a degree as the be-all and end-all of life, and once he has obtained a degree he feels that he need not do any more; and yet the indigenous system was that the man continued his studies as long as he found anyone able to teach him. Pandits like Gangadhara Sastri and Sivakumara Misra, I know, used to read with their *Guru* Bala Shastri even after they had obtained professorships at the best Pathasalas in Benares, so long as that *Guru* was alive. And what was it that gave depth to the scholarship of these Pandits? I have seen them working at a single sentence of an important text-book for hours together, examining and discussing and dissecting it *ad infinitum.* It was in this way that they worked through all the important text-books. You may say this was waste of time. True, if the acquiring of some smattering is the aim of

our life, such thorough study would be a waste of time. But what was it that was gained by this thorough study? No modern scholar can claim to have that knowledge of his subject which these Pandits had and that was due to the thorough specialisation to which I have referred. Even the modern scholar will admit that real scholarship begins to be acquired only after one has passed his examinations,—when alone he is able to put forth that concentrated effort which is essential for specialisation.

I would beseech you, gentlemen—at least those of you who are in power in this department—not to try to modernize the Pandit or the Maulvi. If you modernise him, he will disappear. He does not possess perhaps the wide outlook of the modern scholar; but he more than makes up for that by his depth of learning. His outlook you cannot enlarge, at least to the extent of benefiting him. Why then make an attempt to deprive him of his distinguishing characteristics,—characteristics by which alone he has in the past commanded respect and whereby he can command respect in the future?

There is one more point to which I would invite your attention. On this subject I speak with diffidence, as I have not been a properly trained researcher myself. In the course of my studies I have found that the time has now arrived for a revision of what one may call the 'canons of research.' What is in my mind will be made clear by means of an example. It has been found that Vatsyayana in his Nyayabhasya criticises the nihilistic doctrine. From this learned scholars have deduced the conclusion that this writer lived after Nagarjuna whose work happens to be the oldest exponent of that doctrine that we can find at present. Is this a valid deduction? Is it not possible that other writers might have dealt with the subject before Nagarjuna? Are not traces of the doctrine found in the teachings of the great Buddha himself? At best the said inference could be regarded as mere presumption;—and a very doubtful presumption at that. Similarly, if the Brahmasutra happens to contain a refutation of the atomic theory, it is concluded that it must have been written after Kanada the expounder of that theory. Similar instances may be multiplied. In fact in a general way it seems to have been accepted almost as an axiom that a work which either criticises or refers to Buddhistic doctrines must be relegated to the post-Buddhistic age: and yet we have the authority of the great Buddha himself to the effect that he never propounded any new philosophical doctrines; he simply put the doctrines already in the air during his time in a new setting.

Another example: the Vedic texts that speak of castes are relegated to a period when the Aryans are believed to have come to the Punjab from the North-West; and it is said that when they came to the Punjab

there arose the need for the division of functions on which the caste-system is said to be primarily based. One feels justified in putting the question: Could not the need for this division of functions arise before the Aryans entered India? Was there anything in the atmosphere of this country which created the need for this division?

This leads me on to the question of the interpretation of ancient documents. It will not be new to any scholar here present that from the most ancient times there has been very little unbiased study of our older texts. From the oldest Bhasyakaras, up to our own day, we find that a writer, before he takes up a text for study or annotation, has made up his mind as to what the text contains; and it is only after this that he begins to study it. This procedure has led to the inevitable result that every interpreter has distorted and twisted the ancient texts into which he had to read a meaning which perhaps they were never meant to convey. This may have been excusable in the case of the old writers like the great Sankaracarya, who were avowed propagandists; but there can be no justification for such a thing in the case of the present generation of writers, specially those who set themselves up as unbiased researchers after truth. This is the danger against which I woud warn our younger scholars. Whenever they take up any ancient document for examination, they should remove from their minds the impressions that they may have derived from other sources on that subject. The Brahmasutras, in fact all the more important philosophical Sutras, have still got to be studied in this spirit, and I feel sure that a researcher who carries on this study will be amply rewarded for his troubles by the results he will achieve, which will be striking in more than one respect.

There is an impression abroad that this Conference is intended for only antiquated fossils, who spend their time in lifeless, dry and dull subjects, which have, and should have, no interest for the modern Indian. It is true that the classical languages occupy the major part of our attention; it is also true that there is much scope for research in the ancient language and literature of the East. But I feel sure I am voicing your sentiments when I say that it is equally our aim to endeavour to promote and encourage higher work in the modern languages of India. The classical languages must inevitably be for the learned few; the people at large can be raised and elevated, and can feel the live influence of literature and learning, only through the vernaculars. There is no truth in the belief entertained by some people that vernacular researches are on a lower level, that they demand inferior attainments and weaker equipment, that they are for the ignorant many and not for the erudite scholar. The history of many of these literatures has yet to be written; the origin and development of these languages have yet to be traced.

There is a rich harvest for the earnest reaper, and the man who sets his hand to this task will be engaging in work that will call forth much industry, patient study, careful sifting of details, and considerable literary judgment. The exact relation between Urdu and Brajabhasa, for example, has still to be settled; the connection between Maithili and Bengali is another subject of study; the mutual interaction of Aryan and Dravidian languages, a critical and philological examination of the numerous dialects of the South, the influence of the time-spirit on the literature of these languages, the importance of vernacular bardic literature in historical investigations—all this is still awaiting attention. On your behalf I extend to all workers in this field a warm welcome and assure them that their labours are being watched with sympathy by those who spend their time poring over old, forgotten, far-off things.

To the present audience, consisting as it does mainly of the residents of the Madras Presidency, all this may sound superfluous, because every one knows that in this Presidency, the languages of the people have received attention, at any rate they have not been relegated by earnest scholars to a lower level; some of our best Madrasi scholars have devoted their serious attention to the study of these languages. My remarks are intended for North India where we are still labouring under the misconception that there is no scope for higher research in the Indian Vernaculars. It is to remove this misconception that I have had to make the above remarks.

This, gentlemen, is all that I had to say; and it is my fervent hope that before we disperse we shall have taken practical steps towards the meeting of the needs that I have set forth above. I shall regard myself as amply rewarded if my appeal helps to bring to light, or to preserve, manuscript treasures, to rally together bands of earnest scholars devoted to Oriental research at various centres of culture in the country.

THE THIRD ALL INDIA

Statement of Receipts and Disbursements for the

RECEIPTS.

	Rs.	A.	P.	Rs.	A.	P.
Fees from Reception Committee Members..				2,798	0	0
Fees from Delegates				255	0	0
Donations				7,620	0	0
Loan from Mr. Wilkinson				500	0	0
Miscellaneous :—						
Interest from Bank	77	12	11			
Sale of books	7	0	0			
Sale of lights	13	0	0			
Sale of sovereigns	27	14	6			
Hostel charges recovered	58	13	0			
				184	8	5
Total Rs. ...				11,357	8	5

Audited and found correct.

(Sd.) G. NARASIMHAM,

Auditor.

MADRAS,
5th January, 1926.

K. BALASUBRAHMANYA AIYAR,

Hon. Treasurer.

ORIENTAL CONFERENCE, MADRAS.

period of 1st May 1924 to 4th November 1925.

DISBURSEMENTS.

	Rs.	A.	P.	Rs.	A.	P.
Travelling allowances and conveyance ...				1,431	12	0
Presents and Shawls				1,177	0	0
Medals and sovereigns				733	13	0
Printing and Stationery				3,189	15	0
Postage and Telegrams				234	11	6
Music				114	13	0
Catering				1,052	8	9
Photos				142	2	9
Salaries				385	0	0
Rent				149	10	9
Donation to Sanskrit Association ...				150	0	0
Miscellaneous:—						
Bank Charges	4	14	0			
Electric Charges	83	0	0			
Pandal Charges	117	10	6			
Volunteers	92	12	0			
Sundries	120	14	4			
				419	2	10
Closing Balance ...				2,176	14	10
Total Rs. ...				11,357	8	5

S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR,

P. P. S. SASTRI,

Hon. Secretaries.

THIRD ORIENTAL CONFERENCE.



WORKERS OF THE CONFERENCE.

The System of transliteration adopted in the following pages is the same as followed in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland except in cases where the individual authors insisted on their own methods of transliteration.

The papers are presented in the language of the authors themselves.

THE EDITORS.

CONTENTS.

SECTION I.

SANSKRIT LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE.

SECTION II.

AVESTA IN RELATION TO SANSKRIT.

SECTION III.

PALI, JAIN AND OTHER PRĀKṚTS, HINDI.

SECTION IV.

PHILOLOGY, SANSKRITIC AND DRAVIDIAN.

SECTION V.

DRAVIDIAN LANGUAGES AND THEIR LITERATURE.

SECTION VI.

ARCHAEOLOGY, EPIGRAPHY, NUMISMATICS, MUSIC AND INDIAN ART.

SECTION VII.

HISTORY, GEOGRAPHY AND CHRONOLOGY.

SECTION VIII.

ORIENTAL PHILOSOPHY.

SECTION IX.

ORIENTAL SCIENCE.

SECTION X.

SOCIOLOGY, ETHONOLOGY AND FOLKLORE.

SECTION XI.

PERSIAN, ARABIC AND URDU.

SECTION XII.

MISCELLANEOUS.

I.—Sanskrit Language and Literature.

A STUDY OF KĀLIDĀSA IN RELATION TO POLITICAL SCIENCE

BY

K. BALASUBRAHMANYA AYYAR, B.A., B.L.

Truly can it be said that the study of Kālidāsa is the consummation of scholarship. But tradition, popular impression, and orthodox criticism, though granting to the Poet intuition and mother-wit, deny to him versatile learning and profundity of śāstraic lore. The oft-repeated story of the transmutation of the cow-herd into the poet by the grace of Kāli, the trite saying of '*Kāvyeṣu Māghaḥ*,' the common criticism about the *Sṛṅgāra-rasa-prādhānya* of Kālidāsa, and the not altogether prominent place given to him in the orthodox Nāṭakānta curriculum of studies, all these, indicate the existence of an opinion which will grudge to the Poet the equipment of "*Śrutam ca bahu nirmalam.*" The reason for this is not far to seek. The decadence of ancient Indian culture, the loss of many ancient treatises on the different Śāstras, and the total desuetude of several ancient arts have thinned the vast expanse of oriental learning into the narrow grooves of the specific sciences of Tarka, Vyākaraṇa Mīmāṁsā and Vedānta, and their stereotyped methods of study. The Viṣṇu Purāṇa says that the Kula-Vidyas were eighteen in number, while the Śukra-Nīti-Sāra would mention thirty-two Vidyās. The arts were classified as sixty-four by both Śukra-Nīti and the Prasthāna Bheda of Madhusūdana Sarasvatī. But alas, many of these are quite unknown to us. The Poet, however, lived and moved and had his being in the palmy days of Indian political and cultural sovereignty. It is not surprising therefore that works written with the full sense of the spirit of the times and possibly having a specific meaning and purpose for the peoples of that period are only unmoving and spiritless literature to us. The established principles of the various Vidyās, the proved facts of the material sciences, and the critical observation of a genius on contemporary history and art have all been so interwoven into the fine texture of exquisite poetry with the innate ability of the true artist concealing all art, that to a generation so far removed from the Poet's, and so ignorant of the many branches of ancient Indian learning and art, and so devoid of political and cultural sovereignty, and so much saturated with the crude imitations of the West, the Poet's works may appear to be mere blatant poetry, depicting the pleasures of sensual enjoyment in the usual conventional forms of expression, occasionally rising to the level of the epigrammatic expression of ethical truths.

So far as the Artha-Śāstra is concerned, we stand in a more fortunate position. The Artha-Śāstra was not the least among the sciences

developed by our forefathers, nor is it completely extinct. Though many works have been lost, some still remain. And, thanks to the efforts of Mr. Shama Śāstri of Mysore, the publication of Kauṭilya's Artha-Śāstra, a standard treatise on that subject, has thrown a flood of light into the obscure corners of this branch of learning. A study of Kauṭilya also reveals some of the hidden meanings and allusions in Kālidāsa's poems. Though the commentators, Mallinātha, Hemādri, and Caitra-Vardhana have occasionally quoted from Kauṭilya in the elucidation of the meanings of particular ślokas, still they have not brought out in detail the scientifically close connection and inter-relation of Kālidāsa's works with the Artha-Śāstra. In fact, some of the ślokas are unmeaning unless we have the light thrown by the Artha-Śāstra. To take an example, there is the following śloka in the Kumāra-Sambhava,

स द्विनेत्रं हरेश्चक्षुः सहस्रनयनाधिकम् ।
वाचस्पतिरुवाचेदं प्राञ्जलिर्जलजासनम् ॥ (II, 30.)

We cannot understand what the Poet really meant to convey unless we bring to our aid the words of Kauṭilya, explaining the *Sahasranayana* of Indra, thus:

इन्द्रस्य मन्त्रपरिषत् ऋषीणां सहस्रं । तच्चक्षुः ।
तस्मात् द्व्यक्षमपि सहस्राक्षमाहुः ॥ (Adhi. 1, Adhyā. 15.)

The Poet says "Bṛhaspati was his chief minister, greater than all the thousand ministers of his deliberative council." Similarly one may find on a close study many instances in Kālidāsa's poems and dramas which will be illumined by the light of the Artha-Śāstra. To take an instance in his dramas, the Parivrājikā of the Mālavikāgnimitra has been a fruitful source of confusion to critics. Her exact nature has been misunderstood and she has been confounded with the Bauddha Bhikṣukis. Mr. Kale, in his introduction to the Mālavikāgnimitra refers to the Parivrājikā as a female wandering mendicant of the Buddhist faith; and concludes therefrom that the play was composed at a time when Buddhism was looked upon with reverence. That the Parivrājikā is quite different from the Buddhistic mendicant is clear from the definition of a Parivrājikā spy by Kauṭilya.

परिव्राजिका वृत्तिकामा दरिद्रा विधवा प्रगल्भा ब्राह्मणी
अन्तःपुरे कृतसत्कारा महामात्रकुलान्यधिगच्छेत् । (Adhi. 1, Adhyā. 12.)

This definition accurately fits in with the character of the Parivrājikā in the play. She is frequently referred to in the play as Paṇḍita-Kauśikī, and she says about herself in the fifth act thus:

पुनर्नवीभूतवैधव्यदुःखया मया त्वदीयं देशमवतीर्य काषाये गृहीते ।

The word Artha-Śāstra is rendered by Monier Williams in his dictionary as "the science of polity," and Vincent Smith, in his *Early History of India*, translates it as the "art of government." From the first, the Hindus, though known to history as a metaphysical people, have paid, great attention to the art of government, and the Artha-Śāstra has been developed with scientific precision and wealth of detail. The history of the science has been traced to hoary antiquity and its origin has been ascribed to Brahma himself. (*Vide* the 58th Adhyāya of the Śānti Parva of the *Mahābhārata*.) But we find three original Ṛṣi-authors mentioned, Bṛhaspati, Bāhudanti, and Uśanas. Manu and Yājñavalkya have, also, in their Smṛtis devoted certain chapters to Rāja-Dharma, and from later writers, one gathers that there was also a school of Mānavas in the Artha-Śāstra as in the Dharma Śāstras. The sages, Bṛhaspati and Uśanas, are also referred to as Ácāryas by later Artha-Śāstra writers. We find mention in Kauṭilya of many other schools of thought in the Artha-Śāstra, such as those of Bharadvāja and Piśuna. But the first great writer after the age of the Ṛṣis, who reformed the whole Artha-Śāstra and wrote an authoritative treatise with a mastery of the subject and ripe experience of actual administration, was Viṣṇu-gupta, otherwise known as Kauṭilya or Cāṇakya. The other important treatise is that of his disciple, Kāmandaka. And, coming to recent times, we have the Nītivākyāmṛta of Somadeva.

The Artha-Śāstra has been reckoned as an important science among the eighteen Vidyās to be studied and the Viṣṇu Purāṇa makes specific mention of it. It was an important item in the curricula of studies prescribed for the education of a Prince before he takes upon himself the responsible position of the ruler of a State. Kauṭilya enjoins that Princes should undergo complete training in the four branches of knowledge, namely, Ānvīkṣikī, Trayī, Vārtā, and Daṇḍa-Nīti. That the Artha-Śāstra was developed from a study of the existing governments of kings and by the results of experience, and that the precepts of the Artha-Śāstra were followed in practice by kings, ministers and other officers of State, is clearly established from the internal evidence of the works themselves, and by Kālidāsa's writings. Among the works on Artha Śāstra, that of Kauṭilya acquired the greatest reputation and authority on account of the author's great ability and practical knowledge as a minister of Candragupta Maurya. His marvellous achievement in crushing the powerful Nanda Mahāpadma, and in establishing Candragupta as Emperor, created a fascination in the minds of the people of his generation. In terms of great reverence Kāmandaka in his Nīti-Sāra refers to him—

एकाकी मन्त्रशक्त्या यः शक्त्या शक्तिधरोपमः ।
आजहार नृचन्द्राय चन्द्रगुप्ताय मेदिनीम् ॥

नीतिशास्त्रामृतं धीमानर्थशास्त्रमहोदधेः ।
समुद्दध्रे नमस्तस्मै विष्णुगुप्ताय वेधसे ॥ (I, 5. 6.)

He seems to have acquired the title of Ācārya. Daṇḍin, in the Daśakumāracarita, has the following: इदानीं आचार्यविष्णुगुप्तेन मौर्यार्थे षड्भिः श्लोकसहस्रैः संक्षिप्ता सैवेयमधीत्य सम्यगनुष्ठीयमाना यथोक्तकार्यक्षमेति । And Varāha Mihira refers to Kauṭilya thus: "*Uktam ca Ācārya-Viṣṇuguptena.*" It is a little curious, however, that in the following centuries his name and work fell into disrepute and he earned the notoriety of a Machiaveli. Witness Bāṇa saying in his Kādambarī, अतिनृशंसप्रायोपदेशनिर्घृणं कौटिल्यशास्त्रं ॥ and the Mudrārākṣasa describes Kauṭilya as Kuṭila-matiḥ.

But during Kālidāsa's time his work had retained its respect as a work of considerable authority and his tenets were greatly in vogue, and we find Kālidāsa making great use of Kauṭilya in his poems and dramas.

The writers on Artha-Śāstra approached the subject in the true spirit of scientific analysis, and just like the Austinian conception of sovereignty as based upon "sanction," the Artha-Śāstra writer based the theory of government on Daṇḍa, or Punishment and called it Daṇḍa-Nīti, the Vyutpatti of the word being, *Daṇḍēna nīyate ca idam Daṇḍam nayatī tivā.* (*Vide* 58th adhyāya of the Śānti Parva of the *Mahābhārata.*) The fundamental fact of Ancient India was that it was split up into a number of States, geographically and climatically different from one another, many of them warring with each other, though there was the fundamental unity of religion and civilisation. They were all city-states, and their number could be counted by that of the cities. Therefore the Artha-Śāstra writers defined the State as composed of seven constitutent limbs, or as they called it, *Saptāṅgam.* The seven were, the king, the minister, the city, the Rāṣṭra, the treasury, the army and the ally. That the city-state conception was a fairly rooted idea is clear not only from the works on Artha-Śāstra, but from the following stanza of the Poet in the Raghu-Vamśa, I, 13: *Ananyaśāsanām urvīm śaśāsa ēka purīm iva.* The rest of the Artha-Śāstra mainly deals with every one of the seven separately, and their inter-relation and their proper conduct towards the achievement of the prosperity of the whole. Many chapters are also devoted to the establishment of the principles of foreign relations, of peace and war with other States, and protection against aggression by other States, and the actual conduct of campaigns and military expeditions.

In the language of modern politics, the government may be said to be a bureaucratic one without the power of making laws, which was vested in the lawgivers of the Brāhman community. The king shared the executive power with the ministers, the deliberative council and the eighteen permanent departments of the State, and the

trade-guilds, or the *śreṇis*. None of these had the authority of legislating but only of administering the Dharma Śāstras. According to the Artha-Śāstrā the king is a constitutional sovereign, and he must please his subjects and never estrange them. The minister occupied the most important place in the State. It is the ministers that had the power to decide upon and choose the successor to the king who died without having appointed the Yuva-Rāja. They wielded the sceptre whenever the king was absent on military expedition or pilgrimage or went out hunting, or ceased to take any interest in governmental affairs. The deliberative council had the supreme voice in the State, and no administrative act according to the Artha-Śāstra can be begun without its sanction. The administration of justice, was carried on according to the code of Dharma Śāstras, which was from time to time developed by the Brāhman lawgivers, and the king actually, dispensed justice with three Dharmasthas. The Artha-Śāstra writers have also fixed the amount of the fines that can be imposed for the various criminal offences. Then, the sources of revenue and the ways of replenishing the treasury and the principles of taxation are all described. The last but not the least important feature of ancient Hindu administration was the elaborately developed system of espionage both within and without the State, a system not quite unknown to British India of the present day. The fame of Cāṇakya was that he overthrew the Nandas by his powerful system of spying, known as the Tīkṣṇas.

Having dealt with the main outline of the Artha-Śāstra, it will be interesting to see how the Poet has dealt with these aspects, what his views are on the controversial questions, and what the Poet's own ideals were, and what is the general spirit of his advice on the principles of government. Lastly the question may arise, has the Poet any message to his own generation?

That the Poet was himself in intimate touch with life in the Court and with the problems of government and contemporary politics will be clear from his works. And though not himself an ostensible writer on Artha-Śāstra his works bristle with allusions to the science and a proper reading will also reveal the Poet's own point of view on vexed questions. As a profound thinker the Poet has also indicated his message to the dynasties of kings of his time.

Before embarking upon this discussion, two questions fall to be considered, namely, the age of the Poet and his own equipment in politics. As regards the first question I shall take for the purpose of this article as settled that the Poet lived in the fifth century A. D., which was the Augustan age of Hindu literature under the Gupta emperors of Hindustan. Vincent Smith, in his *Early History of India*, says at page 304: "In my judgment it is now established that Kālidāsa lived and wrote in the fifth century, his literary activity extending over a long

period probably not less than thirty years." "Although it is difficult to fix the date of the Poet's career, with great precision, it appears to be probable that he began to write in the reign of Candragupta II, or early in the reign of Kumāragupta I, who ascended the throne in A. D. 413."—This view is confirmed by internal evidence of the Poet's works and by the testimony of tradition. That solution is the best which tradition and sober criticism alike establish.

As regards the next question, an interesting piece of information throws a flood of light on the incidents of the Poet's life. Kṣemendra, in the Aucitya-Vicāra Carcā, refers to Kālidāsa's Kunteśvara-Dautya, and quotes a śloka from that work. (*Vide* page 139 of Kṣemendra's work, Kāvyamālā Series.)

इह निवसति मेरुः शेखरः क्ष्माधराणां
इह विनिहितभाराः सागराः सप्त चान्ये ।
इदमहिपतिभोगस्तम्भ विभ्राजमानं
धरणितलमिहैव स्थानमस्मद्विधानाम् ॥

And the author explaining it adds, "महाराजदूतोऽपि.......सामन्तास्थाने भूमावेवोपविष्टो.......ब्रूते". From the name of the work itself one can guess it refers to a *dautya* to the Kunteśvara king by the Poet. It does not rest merely with this. Bhoja, in his Sṛṅgāraprakāśikā, mentions that Kālidāsa was sent on an embassy to a Kuntala king by Vikramāditya. It is a fact of history that Candragupta II assumed the title of Vikramāditya. And it will be a legitimate inference to draw that the great emperor chose the Poet to go on a political embassy to the Kuntala king. That the Poet was so chosen to be an ambassador bespeaks the wisdom and the practical knowledge of the Poet in politics and in diplomacy. It is no wonder that the Poet was so well acquainted with the actual administration seeing that he was the renowned court-Poet of a king who ruled, for a pretty long time, a prosperous and peaceful empire. And the Poet's intimate geographical knowledge of the whole country is easily accounted for if we imagine him to have travelled with the king and followed with interest his brilliant conquests of Malwa and Guzerat.

In his three dramas we find that the Poet has adopted the timings of the plays in such a way as not to contravene the directions given by the Artha-Śāstra which has prescribed a time-table during both the day and the night for kings to adopt in the discharge of their kingly functions. In Chapter XIX of Kauṭilya's Artha-Śāstra, the learned author has divided the day and the night into eight parts and has allotted specific duties to be performed during each part. Therefore, in the plays, the time of action is generally during that part allotted for *Svairavihāra* or for *Snāna* and *Bhojana*. The Poet makes specific reference to the time-table of the

Artha-Śāstra in the second act of Vikramorvaśīya, षष्ठे भागे त्वमपि दिवसस्यात्मनश्छन्दवर्ती ॥ Kauṭilya says: षष्ठे भागे मन्त्रः स्वैरविहारोवा ॥ And the Vidūṣaka says, "See the king coming, risen from the *Kāryāsana,*" and so the further action, we must take it, is in the period allotted for *Snāna* and *Bhojana*, in the time-table of the Artha-Śāstra. In the fifth act of the Śākuntala the action is laid only in the period allotted for *Snāna* and *Bhojana* as the Kancuki says thus: "धर्मासनादुत्थिताय पुनरुपरोधकारि कण्वशिष्यस्यागमनमस्मै नोत्सहे निवेदयितुम् ॥" and, then, the Vaitālika refers to the midday "गतमर्धं दिवसस्य". In the sixth act, the scene is laid in the morning, after the king has arisen from bed. According to the Artha-Śāstra he must then look after the administration of justice. That morning owing to the long wakefulness in the night, the king is unable to perform that function, and he therefore appoints his minister, Ārya Piśuna, to be his representative.

"चिरप्रबोधान्न संभावितमस्माभिरद्य धर्मासनमध्यासितुम् ।
यत्प्रत्यवेक्षितमार्येण पौरकार्यं तत्पत्रमारोप्य दीयताम्" ॥ (Śāk. Act. 6.)

And the king asks the minister to commit the whole of his work into writing and return the paper to him.

In the Mālavikāgnimitra in the first act the king is seen holding counsel with his minister in a secret place as to the doings of his enemy, Vaidarbha. ततः प्रविशत्येकान्तस्थपरिजनो मन्त्रिणा लेखहस्तेनान्वास्यमानो राजा ॥

As I have already mentioned, the Artha-Śāstra insists upon the careful and thorough education of the Prince in Daṇḍa-Nīti and the other three branches of knowledge. It is on account of this that we find Ancient Indian History records of many learned kings who were also great patrons of learning, beginning from King Janaka, Aśvapati and Kāśi-Rāja down to Bhoja, Pravarasena, Aśoka, Samudragupta and Harṣavardhana. And Hindu culture and art owes not a little to the taste and munificence of kings. The Poet, therefore, speaking of the boyhood of his hero, Raghu, says—

अथोपनीतं विधिवद्विपश्चितो विनिन्युरेनं गुरवो गुरुप्रियम् ।
अवन्ध्ययत्नाश्च बभूवुरत्र ते क्रिया हि वस्तूपहिता प्रसीदति ॥
धियस्समग्रैस्स गुणैरुदारधीः क्रमाच्चतस्रः चतुरर्णवोपमाः ।
ततार विद्याः पवनातिपातिभिः दिशो हरिद्भिर्हरितामिवेश्वरः ॥(III. 29-30.)

and Raghu was made to lead the strict life of a Brahmacārin and then to learn the Dhanur-Veda.

"त्वचं स मेध्यां परिधाय रौरवीमशिक्षतास्त्रं पितुरेव मन्त्रवत् ॥ "(III. 31.)

The principle of the Arthā-Śāstra was that it is only the Prince well educated in this manner, obedient by nature and amenable to discipline that is fit to be chosen as the Yuva-Rāja. It is not mere heredity or the fact of his being the eldest son that entitles a Prince to become the Yuva-Rāja. So the Kāmandaka-Nīti-Sāra says—

" विनयोपग्रहान्भूत्यै कुर्वीत नृपतिस्सुतान् ।
अविनीतकुमारं हि कुलमाशु विशीर्यते ॥
विनीतमौरसं पुत्रं यौवराज्येऽभिषेचयेत् ॥ " (Sarga VII Ślo. 5, 6.)

The Poet has beautifully expressed this idea in the following Śloka.

ततः प्रजानां चिरमात्मना धृतां नितान्तगुर्वीं लघयिष्यता धुरम् ।
निसर्गसंस्कारविनीत इत्यसौ, नृपेण चक्रे युवराजशब्दभाक् ॥ " (Rag. III, 35.)

Note also the passive voice.

Even in the case of Raghu, the only son of Dilīpa, he was chosen heir-apparent, only as he was *Nisarga-saṃskāra-vinīta*. The Saptāṅgas of the Artha-Śāstra are referred to in I, 60 and the idea of Kāmandaka that the loss of a single one of the *aṅgas* renders the whole imperfect has been artistically conveyed by the Poet in the reply of the king to Vasiṣṭha.

उपपन्नं ननु शिवं सप्तस्वंगेषु यस्य मे ।
दैवीनां मानुषीणां च प्रतिहर्ता त्वमापदाम् ॥ (Rag. I. 60)

In the above śloka the Poet also gives an idea of the important place occupied by the Purohita in the scheme of Ancient Hindu Polity. He it was that averted providential calamities to the State, by the rules prescribed in the Atharva Veda. The qualifications of a Purohit are described by Kāmandaka thus:

त्रय्यां च दण्डनीत्यां च कुशलःस्यात्पुरोहितः ।
अथर्वविहितं कुर्याच्छान्तिकं पौष्टिकं तथा ॥ (Sarga IV. Ślo. 31.)

The *Daivī* calamities are according to the Artha-Śāstra, fire, water, epidemic, famine, and death-rate, and the *Mānuṣī* calamities are those from officers, thieves, friends of kings, enemies, and the king's covetousness. The Purohita is said to prevent all these calamities by the power of the Atharva Mantra. The Poet here preaches the glorious union of the temporal and spiritual power for the commonweal. In the following śloka he loudly and confidently proclaims—

स बभूव दुरासदः परैर्गुरुणाऽथर्वविदा कृतक्रियः ।
पवनाग्निसमागमो ह्ययं सहितं ब्रह्म यदस्त्रतेजसा ॥ (Rag. VIII. 4.)

The great law-giver, Manu, confirms this opinion thus :—

ब्रह्म क्षत्रं च संयुक्तमिहामुत्र च वर्धते ॥ (IX-322.)

It was one of the fundamental principles of the Artha-Śāstra that the Government of a people must neither be oppressive nor weak. Thus Kauṭilya says :—

तीक्ष्णदण्डो हि भूतानामुद्वेजनीयः मृदुदण्डः परिभूयते । यथार्हदण्डःपूज्यः ॥

(Adhi. I, Adhyā. 3.)

This conclusion he came to after discussing a different note struck by previous writers who were in favour of *Udyata Daṇḍa*. The Poet has thrown the weight of his opinion on the side of Kauṭilya and enunciates this principle in a beautiful śloka, in the Raghuvaṁśa :—

स हि सर्वस्य लोकस्य युक्तदण्डतया मनः ।

आददे नातिशीतोष्णो नभस्वानिव दाक्षिणः ॥ (Rag. IV, 8.)

"The king won the affection of the whole world by being *Yukta-Daṇḍa* just like the southern breeze of equable nature." The kingly ideal and functions have not been expressed anywhere more forcibly and beautifully than in the following lines of the Śākuntala :—

स्वसुखनिरभिलाषः खिद्यसे लोकहेतोः

प्रतिदिनमथवा ते वृत्तिरेवंविधैव ।

अनुभवति हि मूर्ध्ना पादपस्तीव्रमुष्णं

शमयति परितापं छायया संश्रितानाम् ॥

नियमयसि विमार्गप्रस्थितानात्तदण्डः

प्रशमयसि विवादं, कल्पसे रक्षणाय ।

अतनुषु विभवेषु ज्ञातयस्सन्तु नाम

त्वयि तु परिसमाप्तं बन्धुकृत्यं प्रजानाम् ॥ (Śāk. Act. 5. Slo. 7-8.)

The ideal set up for kings by the Artha Śāstra was that they should be free from the vices technically called *Vyasanas*, of gambling, sensual enjoyment, hunting and drinking, that they should conquer the *ari-ṣaḍ-varga*, namely, *Kāma*, *Krōdha*, *Māna*, *Mada*, *Mātsarya* and *Lobha*, that they should be like a parent to their subjects and win their loyalty and affection and that he should maintain the *Tri-Vargas* alike so that one may not infringe upon the others. If we turn to the Poet we find him holding up to the admiring gaze of his readers the same glorious ideal in the following ślokas :—

न मृगयाभिरतिर्न दुरोदरं, न च शशिप्रतिमाभरणं मधु ।

तमुदयाय न वा नवयौवना प्रियतमा यतमानमपाहरत् ॥ (Rag. IX, 7.)

प्रजानां विनयाधानाद्रक्षणाद्भरणादपि ।
स पिता पितरस्तासां केवलं जन्महेतवः ॥ (Rag. I, 24.)
कामं प्रकृतिवैराग्यं सद्यः शमयितुं क्षमः ।
यस्य कार्यः प्रतीकारः स तन्नैवोदपादयत् ॥ (Rag. XVII, 55.)
न धर्ममर्थकामाभ्यां बबाधे न च तेन तौ ।
नार्थं कामेन, कामं वा सोऽर्थेन, सदृशस्त्रिषु ॥ (Rag. XVII, 57.)
अध्यापितस्योशनसापि नीतिं, प्रयुक्तरागप्रणिधिर्द्विषस्ते ;
कस्यार्थधर्मौ वद पीडयामि सिन्धोस्तटावोघ इव प्रवृद्धः ॥ (Kumāra. III, 6.)

Touching the subject of *Vyasanas*, there was a controversy among the various schools of Artha-Śāstra as to whether the pastime of hunting can at all be allowed for kings or whether kings can moderately resort to that kind of pleasure. Kauṭilya was of opinion that hunting was not without its advantages and he therefore allowed a moderate use of that pleasure to kings. He says thus :

मृगयायां तु व्यायामः, श्लेष्मपित्तमेदस्वेदनाशः, चले स्थिरे च काये लक्ष्यपरिचयः, कोपस्थानं हितेषु च चित्तज्ञानं, अनित्ययानं चेति ॥

(Kauṭilya, Adhi 8, Adhyāya 3.)

The poet, too, has touched upon this question and he evidently approved the opinion of Kauṭilya. He makes the Senāpati in the Śākuntala express the same ideas in slightly different but more forcible language defending the pastime of hunting, against the attacks of the Vidūṣaka, and in the Raghuvaṁśa, speaking of King Daśaratha who loved hunting, the poet says, that the king resorted to the pastime because he saw some advantages to be derived from the exercise of hunting. (*Vide.* Rag. IX, 40).

सेनापतिः—दृष्टदोषापि स्वामिनि मृगया गुणायैव केवलं संवृत्ता ।

अनवरतधनुर्ज्यास्फालनक्रूरपूर्वं
रविकिरणसहिष्णु स्वेदलेशैरभिन्नम् ।
अपचितमपि गात्रं व्यायतत्वादलक्ष्यं
गिरिचर इव नागः प्राणसारं बिभर्ति ॥

मेदश्छेदकृशोदरं लघु भवत्युत्थानयोग्यं वपुः
सत्वानामपि लक्ष्यते विकृतिमच्चित्तं भयक्रोधयोः ।
उत्कर्षस्स च धन्विनां यदिषवस्सिध्यन्ति लक्ष्ये चले
मिथ्यैव व्यसनं वदन्ति मृगयामीदृग्विनोदः कुतः ॥ (Śāk. Act. II, 4 & 5.)

परिचयं चललक्ष्यनिपातने, भयरुषोश्च तदिङ्गितबोधनम् ।
श्रमजयात्प्रगुणां च करोत्यसौ, तनुमतोऽनुमतस्सचिवैर्ययौ ॥ (Rag. IX, 49)

and in the same śloka the poet adds that the ministers of the king approved of his resolve.

As I have already pointed out, the place of the ministers in the constitution was a very important one according to the Artha-Śāstra and no administrative measure can be begun or carried out without their permission. Therefore the writers of Artha-Śāstra say "*Mantrapūrvaḥ sarvārambhaḥ*" and Kauṭilya, quoting the opinion of an earlier writer, Viśālākṣa, says, "*Mantrasādhyametat.*" This principle the poet has illustrated by a little episode in the Mālavikāgnimitra. The king intends to bestow two portions of his kingdom upon his own near and dear relations, Yajñasena and Mādhavasena, as a mark of his favour. For that purpose he seeks the consent of his councillors and asks the Kancuki to inform the deliberative council of his intention. The Kancuki returns and communicates to the king the decision of the council of the ministers separately arrived at.

देव, अमात्यो विज्ञापयति । अहो कल्याणी देवस्य बुद्धिः । मन्त्रपरिषदोऽप्येवमेव दर्शनम् ॥ राजा—तेन हि मन्त्रपरिषदं ब्रूहि "सेनापतये वीरसेनाय लेख्यतां ' एवं क्रियतां ' इति" ॥ (Mālavikā, Act. V.)

When the king is unable to perform the duty of administering justice he sends his representative, the minister, Āryapiśuna, in the Śākuntala. Manu says :—

अमात्यमुख्यं धर्मज्ञं प्राज्ञं दान्तं कुलोद्गतम् ॥
स्थापयेदासने तस्मिन् खिन्नः कार्येक्षणे नृणाम् ॥ (VII. 141.)

But the poet makes the king take the further precaution of seeing that the minister commits to writing whatever work he has accomplished as the king's representative.

यत्प्रत्यवेक्षितमार्येण पौरकार्यं, तत्पत्रमारोप्य दीयतामिति ॥ (Śāk. Act. VI.)

In the Chapter on Mantrādhikāra Kautilya has prescribed how the deliberative council should act and the poet has given the ideas contained in that chapter in a nutshell in the following śloka of the Raguhvaṁśa :—

तस्य संवृतमन्त्रस्य गूढाकारेङ्गितस्य च ।
फलानुमेयाः प्रारम्भास्संस्काराः प्राक्तना इव ॥ (I, 20.)

Writing on the subject of the consolidation of the State the Artha-Śāstra writers dwell upon three kinds of *śaktis* to be possessed by the

king which are necessary for the prosperity of the State. They are *Prabhu Śakti*, *Utsāha Śakti* and *Mantra Śakti*, the power of resources, the power of enthusiasm and organisation, the power of diplomacy and intrigue. Kauṭilya's opinion is that of the three, *Mantra Śakti* is the best and most effective; next comes *Utsāha Śakti* and last *Prabhu Śakti* *Vide* page 338, Book VIII, S. 5, *Artha-Śāstra*.

But the poet differs from him in this opinion and holds, that even the other two *Śaktis*, if properly used, will be able to produce the desired good. He indicates his opinion in the following sentence in the Kumārasambhava सम्यक्प्रयोगादपरिक्षतायां, नीताविवोत्साहगुणेन सम्पत् ॥ and the following śloka of the Raghuvaṁśa.

अनयत्प्रभुशक्तिसम्पदा वशमेको नृपतीननन्तरान् ।
अपरः प्रणिधानयोग्यया मरुतः पञ्च शरीरगोचरान् ॥ (VIII, 19.)

Whenever the king went on an expedition or started on a pilgrimage or was unable to attend to his Governmental duties it was the minister that wielded the sceptre. In the Raghuvaṁśa it is said that when Dilīpa started on a pilgrimage he placed the government in the hands of his ministers तेन धूर्जगतो गुर्वी सचिवेषु निचिक्षिपे ॥ (Rag. I, 34.) and Agnivarṇa does the same thing as he ceased to take interest in the affairs of his kingdom, being addicted, to excessive sensual enjoyment.

संनिवेश्य सचिवेष्वतः परं स्त्रीविधेयनवयौवनोऽभवत् ॥ (Rag. XIX, 4.)

When the king dies the successor is chosen by the ministers and placed on the throne. The minister is asked to conceal the impending death of the king by various artifices, one of which was, the pretence that the king is engaged in the performance of austerities for the birth of a son. (*Vide* Kauṭilya, the 5th Adhikaraṇa Prakaraṇa 14, Rājyapratisandhāna) पुत्रीयं वा कर्म राजा साधयतीति प्रकृतीनां दर्शयेत् । Therefore we see in the Raghuvaṁśa the poet narrates that the ministers chose the pregnant Queen as the successor after the death of the King Agnivarṇa afflicted by the dire disease, consumption.

बाढमेषु दिवसेषु पार्थिवः, कर्म साधयति पुत्रजन्मने ।
इत्यदर्शितरुजोऽस्य मन्त्रिणः, शश्वदूचुरघशंकिनीः प्रजाः ॥ (Rag. XIX, 52.)

For some time the ministers, it is said, concealed the rapid decay of the king by the pretence that he was engaged in austerities for the birth of a son.

That the king was entitled to one-sixth share of the produce, from the people as tax was the fixed rule of the Artha Sāstra and the writers of that science justified the taking of this one-sixth as a compensation to the king for the protection afforded by him to his people. This was

called *Bali* or *Kara* and by this fixed taxation it was not made the subject of the whims and caprices of sovereigns. The poet enunciates these principles of the Artha-Śāstra in the following stanza of the Raghuvaṁśa :—

तपो रक्षन्स विघ्नेभ्यः, तस्करेभ्यश्च सम्पदः ।
यथास्वमाश्रमैश्चक्रे, वर्णैरपि षडंशभाक् ॥ (XVII, 65.)

Though according to Kauṭilya and other writers the wealth of Śrotrias was exempt from taxation, in the above śloka the poet speaks of the king being entitled to the one-sixth share even from *Tapasvis*, though, in the Śākuntala, he makes King Duṣyanta say that the one-sixth share in the *Tapas* of Āraṇyakas is preferable to the one-sixth share in the material objects of the world.

यदुत्तिष्ठति वर्णेभ्यो नृपाणां क्षयि तत्फलम् ।
तपष्षड्भागमक्षय्यं ददत्यारण्यका हि नः ॥ (Śāk. Act. II, 13.)

As regards increasing of the treasury the Artha-Śāstra in giving advice to kings holds that they should not be avaricious and should not pollute the treasury by indiscriminately taking hold of properties to which they are not legitimately entitled according to the law of the Dharma Śāstra. This ideal the poet illustrates in the character of King Duṣyanta depicted by him in the Śākuntala. When the minister decided that the properties of a rich merchant who died on a voyage in the sea without leaving any issue, escheated to the crown the king disapproves of his decision and instituted enquiries to be made as to which of his wives was pregnant. For, the king holds ननु गर्भः पित्र्यं रिक्थमर्हति and the king acts according to the advice of the Law-giver, Manu, अनादेयं नाददीत परिक्षीणोपि पार्थिवः । When the king asked to be proclaimed throughout his realm येन येन वियुज्यन्ते प्रजाः स्निग्धेन बन्धुना । स स पापादृते तासां दुष्यन्त इति घुष्यताम् ॥ he was only strictly giving effect to the great Law-giver's injunction in the 8th Adhyāya :—

बालदायादिकं रिक्थं तावद्राजाऽनुपालयेत् ।
यावत्स स्यात्समावृत्तो यावच्चातीतशैशवः ॥
तथाऽपुत्रासु चैव स्याद्रक्षणं निष्कुलासु च ।
पतितास्वपि च स्त्रीषु विधवास्वातुरासु च ॥ (27 & 28.)

In the Chapters on Diplomacy and Foreign Policy Kauṭilya dwells on the fourfold policy of *Sāma*, *Dāna*, *Bheda* and *Daṇḍa* and the Ṣāḍguṇyas of *Sandhi*, *Vigraha*, *Āsana*, *Saṁśraya*, *Yātrā* and *Dvaidhībhāva*. If these are used properly by a government it is bound to have according to the Artha-Śāstra writers very good and successful

foreign relations and is bound to rise in prosperity and glory. The poet has given a conspectus of the literature on the subject in the few following stanzas of the Raghuvaṁśa :—

पणबन्धमुखान्गुणानजः, षडुपायुङ्क्त समीक्ष्य तत्फलम् ॥ (VIII, 21.)

सुरगज इव दन्तैर्भग्नदैत्यासिधारै-
र्नय इव पणबन्धव्यक्तयोगैरुपायैः ।
हरिरिव युगदीर्घैः दोर्भिरंशैस्तदीयैः
पतिरवनिपतीनां तैश्चकाशे चतुर्भिः ॥ (X, 86.)

पणबन्धः सन्धिरिति कौटिल्यः ॥

One of the guṇas is *Vigraha* and the principle of the Artha-Śāstra was, according to Kauṭilya, हीनेन विगृह्णीयात् ॥

This principle the poet has illustrated by a little incident in the Mālavikāgnimitra. When Agnimitra decides to fight the Vaidarbha king he discusses the position of that king and comes to the conclusion that he was *hīna*. The king refers to the "*Tantrakāra Vacanam*" as being "*Avitatham*" and the minister compliments the king on his decision to fight as being "Śāstradṛṣṭa". The other guṇa of Yātrā is also referred to by the poet in :—

शक्येष्वेवाभवद्यात्रा, तस्य शक्तिमतस्सतः ।
समीरणसहायोऽपि नाम्भःप्रार्थी दवानलः ॥ (XVII, 56)

The poet has also made reference to the six kinds of armies of those days, *viz.*, Maula or hereditary troops, Bhṛta or mercenary troops, Subṛt or volunteers, Śreṇi or troops, Dviṣat or enemies and wild tribes.

स गुणानां बलानां च षण्णां षण्मुखविक्रमः ।
बभूव विनियोगज्ञः साधनीयेषु वस्तुषु ॥ (Rag. XVII, 67.)

and what should be done when marching an expedition is also described in the following śloka of Raghuvaṁśa ;

स गुप्तमूलप्रत्यन्तः शुद्धपार्ष्णिरयान्वितः ।
षड्विधं बलमादाय प्रतस्थे दिग्जिगीषया ॥ (IV, 26.)

As regards Paṇabandha the poet again would rather approve the opinion of Kauṭilya than that of some of the earlier writers on the subject. Discussing the comparative merits of treaties depending upon the honour of the contracting parties and those depending upon the binding force of hostages or money considerations, both the poet and Kauṭilya are of opinion that treaties depending upon honour are much more durable.

Kauṭilya says this :—संहिताः स्म इति सत्यसन्धाः पूर्वे राजानः सत्येन सन्दधिरे ॥ (Kauṭilya, Adhi. 7. Adhyā. 17). And the poet mentions a king whose name itself was Dhruvasandhi in the list of the kings of the Solar race and speaks of him thus in the following stanza of the Raghuvaṁśa.

यस्मिन्नभूत् ज्यायसि सत्यसन्धे, सन्धिर्ध्रुवस्संनमतामरीणाम् ॥ XVIII, 34.

As regards conquest and the relations of the conquered with the conqueror, the poet has struck an independent line of his own and has emphasised aspects which have not been given prominence to by the later writers on Artha-Śāstra *viz.*, Kauṭilya and Kāmandaka. The poet is strongly of opinion that conquests must be made only for the purpose of earning fame and that the hand of the conqueror should not be stained by needless annexation and aggrandisement. Therefore, the poet says in the following śloka :—

गृहीतप्रतिमुक्तस्य स धर्मविजयी नृपः ।
श्रियं महेन्द्रनाथस्य जहार न तु मेदिनीम् ॥ (Rag. IV, 43)
सोऽभूद्भग्नव्रतश्शत्रूनुद्धृत्य प्रतिरोपयन् ॥ (Rag. XVII, 42.)
पराभिसन्धानपरं यद्यप्यस्य विचेष्टितम् ।
जिगीषोरश्वमेधाय धर्म्यमेव बभूव तत् ॥ (Rag. XVII, 74.)
न खरो न च भूयसा मृदुः, पवमानः पृथिवीरुहानिव ।
स पुरस्कृतमध्यमक्रमो, नमयामास नृपाननुद्धरन् ॥ (Rag. VIII, 9.)

While the poet was certainly for conquest wide as the earth and for the exhibition of scintillating bravery, he was not for the destruction of the conquered king or the annihilation of his kingdom. The poet was a determined enemy to the 'doctrine of lapse.' In this he has shown individuality as a profound thinker on Artha-Śāstra. Nor was the poet in favour of unscrupulous methods of warfare. On the other hand he fondly turned back to the days of the Mahābhārata when *Dharma Yuddha* prevailed and he strongly condemned the method of Kūṭa Yuddha or war by secret methods and contrivances which has been much expatiated on by Kauṭilya. Thus he says of a king in the Raghuvaṁśa that though he knew the art of Kūṭa Yuddha he was always scrupulous in his methods of warfare and fought with the principle of Dharma Yuddha. *Vide*

कूटयुद्धविधिज्ञेऽपि तस्मिन्सन्मार्गयोधिनि ।
भेजेऽभिसारिकावृत्तिं जयश्रीर्वीरगामिनी ॥ XVII, 69.

The poet has also made reference to the eighteen departments of the State or *Aṣṭādaśa Tirthas* of Kauṭilya in the following stanza of the Raghuvaṁśa.

इति क्रमात्प्रयुञ्जानो राजनीतिं चतुर्विधाम् ।
आतीर्थादप्रतीघातं स तस्याः फलमानशे ॥ (XVII, 68.)

Lastly, the poet wished for a centralised administration of all the Hindu States with one powerful overlord instead of an India split up into a number of warring independent principalities. That is why the poet loves to speak of the Solar race which stands till to-day as the ideal for all Kṣatriya kings as "*Āsamudra Kṣitīśā*" and that is why he named his favourite hero among the kings of the Solar race, Raghu and called his work Raghu Vaṁśa as he it was that brought the whole country by his *Digvijaya* under his suzerainty. The poet says of him thus:—

श्रुतस्य यायादयमन्तमर्भकस्तथा परेषां युधि चेति पार्थिवः ।
अन्वीक्ष्य धातोर्गमनार्थमर्थविच्चकार नाम्ना रघुमात्मसम्भवम्॥ (Rag. III, 21.)

Again in the Sākuntala the poet speaks of the king's son and prophesies him as a Cakravarti तथाभाविनं चक्रवर्तिनं पुत्रमवगच्छतु ॥ (Śāk. Act. VII.) and says thus:—

रथेनानुत्खातस्तिमितगतिना तीर्णजलधिः
पुरा सप्तद्वीपां जयति वसुधामप्रतिरथः ।
इहायं सत्त्वानां प्रसभदमनात्सर्वदमनः
पुनर्यास्यत्याख्यां भरत इति लोकस्य भरणात् ॥ (Śāk. VII, 33.)

The ideal state, according to the poet's fancy, was one where the King conquering all the senses and himself highly learned in the Vedas and Śāstras, maintained the Trivargas and pleased his subjects like a parent protecting the Varṇāśramas according to the Vedic Dharmas and the Tapasvis from all obstacles from their Tapas, where spiritual power and temporal supremacy worked together for the commonweal, where trade was carried on briskly without any let or hindrance and the king maintained law and order equably and had righteous foreign relations and maintained the utmost scrupulous rectitude in his dealings with foreign states and made conquests only for the purpose of fame and not for the destruction of the enemy. Such was the glorious ideal preached by the poet in his works to the people of his generation.

Let me conclude with the poet's Bharata Vākya.

प्रवर्ततां प्रकृतिहिताय पार्थिवः
सरस्वती श्रुतमहतां महीयताम् ।
ममापि च क्षपयतु नीललोहितः
पुनर्भवं परिगतशक्तिरात्मभूः ॥

I

FOUR UNPUBLISHED UPANIṢADIC TEXTS, TENTATIVELY EDITED AND TRANSLATED FOR THE FIRST TIME

BY

PROFESSOR S. K. BELVALKAR, POONA.

Dr. F. Otto Schrader, the former Director of the Adyar Library, announced in 1908 the discovery of four old Upaniṣadic texts till then entirely unknown. One of them which he regarded as the "precursor of all known Upaniṣadic literature" he forthwith edited as an Appendix to the first volume of the Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Mss. in the Adyar Library. The others have so far remained unknown to the world of scholars. The names of the other three works are; Chāgaleya, Ārṣeya, and Śaunaka. They are extant in only one Ms. now in the Adyar Library, and through the kindness of the present Director of that Library I was provided with a copy of these texts, which are none of them very large in extent. The texts are however quite interesting, especially the Chāgaleya, and they had the honour of being included in the famous collection made for Dārā Shukōh, the eldest son of the Emperor Shāh Jahān, and so included in the Perso-Latin translation of Anquetil Duperron. On the basis of the solitary Ms. which is a paper transcript in Devanāgarī characters of the Kāśmīrian type, and withal not very accurate, it is not possible to give definitive editions of these important texts; but it were a pity to keep the world quite in the dark about them. Dr. Schrader, I had expected, would give some information about them; but if he has, I have nowhere seen it. I therefore offer here a tentative text in which I introduce certain unavoidable conjectural restorations, and an equally tentative translation. The Bāṣkalamantropaniṣad has a modern commentary written upon it: the Upaniṣadic text in fact exists only as preserved in that commentary. I give the text alone, permitting myself a few minor changes in Schrader's text.

A few words as to the subject of these texts and their position in the general Upaniṣadic literature may perhaps be necessary for a proper appreciation of them. THE BĀṢKALAMANTROPANIṢAD consists of 25 stanzas in the Triṣṭubh metre and, like the Īśāvāsyopaniṣad, it might have formed part of the Bāṣkala Saṁhitā of the Ṛgveda. Some lines from the Upaniṣad are actually found in the current Ṛgveda text. The topic is the story of Medhātithi and Indra, alluded to in Ṛgveda VIII. 2. 40 but nowhere fully set forth. It is however prepetuated in the so-called

"Subrahmaṇya" formula where Indra is invoked as the "Ram of Medhātithi". The Upaniṣad gives a poetico-philosophic dialogue between the Sage and the God, there being an enumeration of the well-known exploits of Indra, followed by his henotheistic exaltation, and concluding with the identification of Indra with the One in the manner of the Indra-Pratardana story in the Kauṣītaki Upaniṣad.

THE CHĀGALEYA UPANIṢAD begins in the right Brāhmaṇic style with the sages practising penance on the banks of the Sarasvatī. It launches into a discussion as to what makes a Brāhmin a Brāhmin and mocks at the exaggerated claims of the priesthood. Its main purpose however is to bring out the relation of the Soul to the Body by the "Metaphor of the Cart." Chāgaleya is probably earlier than the Kaṭha, and like the Milindapañho where the same theme is discussed with the help of the same metaphor (251, See Warren, pp. 129-135), it concludes with a couple of Gāthās or stanzas summarising the theme.

THE ĀRṢEYA UPANIṢAD records a conversation between the sages Viśvāmitra, Jamadagni, Bhardvāja, Gautama, and Vasiṣṭha, the theme being the most adequate definition of the "Brahman." The best definition offered is that of Vasiṣṭha who identifies Brahman with Ātman. Herein is found a reproduction of the negative language of Yājñavalkya just as we found a reproduction of Chāndogya I. vi. 6 in the definition given by Gautama. Like the Chāgaleya the Ārṣeya also concludes with a Gāthā.

THE ŚAUNAKA UPANIṢAD, is the least interesting of these texts. It glorifies the Upāsanā of the *Om* as the Udgītha, and by introducing the usual Deva-Asura *motif* seeks to explain why certain metres and certain gods are restricted to the successive Savanas. Towards the end it offers an explanation of the famous "Catvāri śṛṅgā" stanza, Ṛgveda IV. 58. 3.

It may be added that for the Bāṣkalamantropaniṣad I do not give the actual ms. readings, as they have been already faithfully reported by Dr. Schrader. The Chāgaleya Upaniṣad I had the opportunity of personally comparing with the original ms. in the Adyar library, and the readings of that ms. I give in the foot-notes in those cases where I have to venture upon conjectural emendations. I have to thank the authorities of the Adyar library for affording me this opportunity, which (owing to my too brief a stay in Madras) I could not obtain in the case of the last two-texts, for which my sole basis has been the copies that I had procured. I have not therefore thought it necessary, for the purpose of the present tentative attempt, to report the readings from my copies where I had to alter them. Mere scribal errors I have in all cases passed over in silence.

BĀṢKALAMANTROPANIṢAD.

TRANSLATION.

1. Assuming the form of a goat the wise Indra carried away to Heavens Medhātithi, son of Kaṇva.

The latter questions the peaceful [Indra] so that he might discourse with him upon the Highest goal.

2. Who now art thou so different from things of ordinary knowledge: I have absolutely no knowledge of thee.

Thou dost bounce in a graceful fashion: seeing thee in this wise none would call thee a goat.

3. In thy bouncings thou dost not at all touch this earth: Who indeed could mount up to this [world]?

So teach me who thou art, the most wise of all: May not the effulgent Brāhmin-lustre overtake thee in wrath.

4. For, it is Indra the guardian of men, the bull who quickly overwhelms and subdues, who in his might cares for me.

He the one God of terrific exploits, may he not through his fervour smite down thee thus transgressing Law.

5. Whereto art thou carrying me the helpless from here? Where is thy abode, thou most strange being?

And where indeed might God our Father be sleeping, inasmuch as he knows not me thus being led away nor him who is leading me away.

6. Behind nor below nor in front nor at the two sides are they [the gods]; I certainly have not not-worshipped them.

Me certainly they have not known in this plight, since they, false of appearance, do not come this way.

7. The other one, smiling, dispelled his doubt [saying], Whom art thou deeming as thy shelter?

I certainly will not release thee, thus threatening me, before I reach my own residence.

8. I am the Giver [of gifts] unto the singers; I am the one who consumes this libation, the Soma portion:

I supervise all these worlds: I give nourishment into the mouth of the gods.

9. The World's Egg-shells are my residence: I the loud roaring one move away from, and come into contact with, it.

'Twas I who smote the Dragon sheltering on the mountain: I who am fierce with my might, and withal minded to protect.

10. I smote down the sides of the mountains, what indeed Indra did [have to] accomplish with his troops:

Who indeed is there who knows or would proclaim this? Who would encompass the onslaughts of the smiting one?

11. Who in all these worlds has seen all these my acts of gift and protection of the worshipper everywhere?

For I often and often assume birth in different forms with my miraculous powers, the One shining God that I am.

12. I look upon the world closely controlling it: None other can claim to my greatness.

I, spreading through Heaven and Earth, sustain the *Gharma* for the protection of men.

13. I do know this sacrificial High-road, and I know the navel of the world;

I am in every way the friend, the father, and the mother of this [world]: I carried the divine drops and those in the mid-region.

14. I have knowledge of the Vedas, of the sacrifices, of the metres, of the riches;

I develop that which is beyond this Lake—what springs as it were in the midst of the Waters.

15. I alone am the highest *Jātavedas* whom the *Adhvaryu* kindles upon the *Lokampṛṇā* bricks;

What time [the singer] chants in tune with him, like unto a bird of Heaven, bursting the bounds this way and that with his chants.

16. I am the one who, with the never-falling chariot with a felly of twice two spokes, am called the One-wheeled one;

I am he who shining forth day by day sustain my body and hold the nectar.

17. I do purify on all sides the quarters and the intermediate quarters and the sub-intermediate quarters and so encompass the world.

I deposit in the seed all the herbs wherewith all the pious sacrificers would satisfy the world.

18. I wander in the midst of the world and anon take to the upward and the downward path;

He who knows me as placed in the Cave, he alone may repeatedly succeed to obtain repose [therein].

19. I remain in the word five-fold, ten-fold, one-fold, thousand-fold, and not-even-one-fold ;

Whoso knows that I have pervaded this, he attains it ; were they to know it otherwise they would become otherwise.

20. No singer is able to encompass me : he encompasses me not by all these words (*gobhiḥ*) ;

Neither the non-giver nor the giver is able to comprehend me : they all approach me from all sides.

21. Where's the beast of prey, where the deer and where a mere goat ! All this I do severally (*tvat-tvat*) sustain ;

That for which they are afraid of me that is my single [uniform nature] : they devour (?) me not—I devour them in succession.

22. In that thou hast formerly in many wise practised penance for me, so have I for your good luck become a goat.

Thou hast alighted upon the path of Law for thy welfare. So approach thou my one real [form].

23. I am light and immortality, I am the bond [of the world] ; what has been, is being, and will be born [that I am].

I am thyself and I am alone myself and thyself, but understand that thou art my own self : Do you not doubt through simplicity.

24. Ruler of all, Sustainer of all, having universal form ; in leadership Rudra and Peaceful Prajāpati.

The Swan, free from sorrow, ageless, ancient, and straight-forward-going am I in sooth.

25. I am the singer all-faced, all-pervading, all-higest, and observer of men ;

I am everywhere, I am full of propitiousness ; I alone am all that all this whatsoever is.

॥ अथ छागलेयोपनिषद् ॥

ऋषयो वै सरस्वत्यां सत्रमासत । तेऽथ कवषमैलूषं दास्याः
पुत्र इति दीक्षायायाच्छिदन् । ते होचुरप वा एतदृग्यजुषादप साम्न
३ इति ॥ स होवाच । भगवन्तो यदिदं सत्रमाध्वै यदृचोऽधीध्वै यद्यजूंषि
यत् सामानि कस्यायं महिमेति । ते होचुर्ब्राह्मणा वाव स्मस्तेषामेवमिति ॥

स होवाच। यदिदमित्था माच्छिद्य[1] चिद्दीक्षध्वै के तद्यनि ब्राह्मणा इति। ते होचुर्यदिदमृग्यजुषैरेवोपवत्वं(?)[2] नो जुहुवुर्यद्वैनमुपाघ्रासिषुर्यदुपानेषतैतद्ब्राह्मणा इति ॥

स ह अविदूर एव शवशयितमात्रेयमच्छावदमुपदर्शयन्नुवाच। यदिदमृग्यजुषैरुपवत्वं जुहो[षतो]पाघ्रासीदथोपानेष्ट नैतदत्यगादिति। किं तदिति होचुः ॥ स होवाच। नैमिषेऽमी। शुनकाः सत्रमासत। तेषामात्रेयोऽच्छावदः सर्वाण्येवावर्तयत् यद्याज्या यदनुवाक्या यत् प्रातरनुवाको यत् प्रउगं यदाज्यं यन्मरुत्वतीयमित्यथ यन्महावीरसंभरणानि यदग्नेरभिवर्तनानि यद्राजाभिक्रयणानि यदभिषावित्राणि[3] यदौप्यामानि[4] यदुपमन्त्र[5]णान्यथ यत् त्रिवृत् पञ्चदशः सप्तदश एकविंश इति क्वास्य तदगादिति। ते हामुहन् ॥ अथैते सर्व एवोपसमेत्योचुरुप नो नयस्वेम एव त इति। स ह स्मयमान उवाच। संपश्यध्वा एव मा प्रमदत। न होत्तमानधम उपनेतेति। ते होचुर्भैव स्मोपनथा गतिस्तु त्वमिदिति ॥

स होवाच। कुरुक्षेत्र एवोपसमेत्य ये बालिशास्तानुपाध्वै। ते व इदं प्रवक्ष्यन्तीति। ते ह तत एवोपसमेत्य कुरुक्षेत्रमुपजग्मुः ॥ ते ह बालिशानेवोपासदन्। तानिम उपसीदत एव विदांचक्रुरितिकामुका इति। ते होचुर्यत्किमिव बालिशानुपासदत महाशाला वै महाश्रोत्रिया वर्षीयांसः [सन्तः], यन्महाशाला महाश्रोत्रिया वर्षीयांसः कुरुक्षेत्रमध्यासत इति। ते हान्योन्यस्याभिसमीक्षामासुः ॥ ते हापश्यन्न हास्मान्मिथुचिदेवासाववोचद्बालिशानेव चैतान् विचक्षतेति[6]। ते होचुर्नमस्यानतीव वचो रेचयिष्यथ यदन्तर्नोऽसाविह प्राहैयात् (?)। यथैव तु स्मोपसन्ना अथानसूयवो यथोपश्रद्धिन इति ॥

ते होचुः किं वा अस्मत् प्रतीच्छथेति। ते होचुः। नैमिषेमी शुनकाः सत्रमासत। तेषामात्रेयोऽच्छावदः सर्वाण्येवावर्तयत् यद्याज्या

---

1. यदि[illegible]दीक्षध्वै
2. षैरेवे:पवत्वन्नोजुहुवु
3. v. l. अभिषावित्राणि
4. यदैपयामानानि
5. यदुभंभ्रमणानि
6. विचक्षेमेति

यदनुवाक्या यत् प्रातरनुवाको यत् प्रउगं यदाज्यं यन्मरुत्वतीयमित्यथ यन्महावीरसंभरणानि यदग्नेराभिवर्तनानि यद्राजाभिक्रयणानि यदभिषावित्राणि यदौपयामानि यदुपमन्त्रणान्यथ[1] यत् त्रिवृत् पञ्चदशः सप्तदश एकविं(त्रिं?)श इति । कास्य तदगाद्यदयं शवशयितमशयिष्टेति ॥ ते होचुर्नहासंवत्सरवासिनामनुब्रूयादिति खलु नः पूर्वेऽन्वशिषन् । यत् संवत्सरं वत्स्यथ अथ वेदिष्यथेति । ते ह संवत्सरमूषुः ॥

ततो ह बालिशा ऊचुरवात्त वा संवत्सरमिमे ब्राह्मणाः । हन्तैषामनुब्रवामेति । ते ह गृहीत्वैवैनान् पथोऽभिसमीयुः ॥ ते ह संक्रीडत एव कूबरिणो रथचर्यामविन्दन् । ते होचुः संपश्यध्वमिति । किं हीति । कूबरिणमेव सौम्या इति । तथेति ॥ कथमिवेति । यथैवोपसृत्वरो वार्धि[स्ति]र्येगुल्ललन्ती[2]भिरिव वीचिभिः शफरीभि[3] रेवोपस्कन्दन्नुत्प्लवेदेवं हैवैषोऽभिसृत्वराणामेव धुर्याणां चंक्रमतामरिणा(?)मुत्प्लवतीति । यथैवासौ प्रतिसृत्वरेण समः[4] समेन क्रीडेदेवं हैष संक्रीडतीति । यथैवासावितश्चेतोऽमुतश्चामुतश्च संप्रद्रवत इवोपशु(?घु)ष्यत इवोपस्कन्दमभिगृह्यताभिपातयेदेवं हैष इतश्चेतश्चामुतश्च संप्रद्रवत इवोपशु(घु?)ष्यत इवोपस्कन्दमभिगृह्यात्याभिपातयति । यथैवासौ राजानं वा राजपुरुषं वा निलयनं प्रापयेदेवं हैवैष यन्ता[रं]निलयनं प्रापयतीति ॥ ते होचुरपीदं साधीया इति । साधीय इति होचुः । ते ह तस्यैव पन्थामनुप्रातिष्ठमन्तं ह सायाह्न्येवोपसंपादयामासुः ॥

तं यदावसायाश्वांस्तक्षापोह्यापागादथ व्यलिष्ट । अदीदृशत[5] कथमिवेति । ते होचुर्यथैतं काष्टभारमानद्धमनुपश्यामस्तथैवावशो भूस्थः स्पन्दते[6] । नेङ्गते न विवर्तते न च वीत इति ॥ ते ह बालिशा ऊचुर्यदयमीदृगभूत् किमस्यापागादिति । तक्ष्णैवेति ॥ तथैवैतत् सौम्या इति । आत्मा वा अस्य प्रचोदयिता करणान्यश्वाः शिरा नद्धयोऽस्थीन्युपग्रहा असृगाञ्जनं कर्म प्रतोदो वाक्यं क्वाणनं त्वगुपनाह इति । स यथा प्रचोद्यित्रापोज्झितो नेङ्गेन्न रुरुवीतैवं हैष प्राज्ञेनात्म[ना]पोज्झितो न ब्रूते न

1. मन्त्रान्यथ
2. वाह्लियउल्ललित्तीभिरिव
3. शफाभिरेवो
4. सनः समेव
5. अहीदृशत्
6. स्तथैवैशोभूभ्रस्पंदते

चैत्यपि न श्वस(सि)त्यपि पूयत्यपि श्वान उपधावन्त्यपि काकाः पतन्त्यपि गृध्रा आस्कन्दन्नपि शिवा जिघत्सन्निति ॥ ते तत एव द्रागिव व्यज्ञासिषुः। ते ह पादयोरेवाभिमर्श्य बालिशानूचुः। न ह वाव नस्तद्येन निष्कुर्म इममेवेत्यञ्जलिं कृत्वोपस्थिषतेत्याह भगवाञ्छागलेयस्त इमे श्लोकाः—

यथैतत् कूबरस्तक्ष्णापोज्झितो नेङ्गते मनाक्।
परित्यक्तोपमात्मा(?)नस्तद्वद्देहो विरोचते ॥ १ ॥
यदस्य प्रधयश्चक्रा युगमक्षो वर(रू)त्रिका।
प्रतोदश्चर्मकील .... ॥ २ ॥
.... ।
.... ॥ ३ ॥

CHĀGALEYOPANIṢAD.

TRANSLATION.

The sages once held a sacrificial session on the bank of the Sarasvatī. And they debarred from the Initiation Kavaṣa Ailūṣa as being the son of a maid-servant. Said they: this is counter to Ṛk and Yajus, counter to Sāman. He said: Revered Sirs! That you come to the session, recite the Ṛks, the Yajus, and the Sāmans—through the greatness of what is all this? They replied: We are Brāhmins, and that is [permitted] to us. Said he: Inasmuch as you are thus going through the Initiation and debarring me from it, what is it by which you are Brāhmins? They answered: the fact that they performed our birth-rites by Ṛk and Yajus formulas and kissed this head and performed the Upanayana—because of that, we are Brāhmins.

Thereupon he pointed to them Ātreya the *Acchāvāka* whose corpse was lying hard by, and said: that performance of birth-rites by Ṛk and Yajus formulas and the kissing of the head and the Upanayana—was it wanting to this [corpse]? What is that, they asked. He replied: In the Naimiṣa forest these Śunakas held a session. They had this Ātreya as their *Acchāvāka* who recited everything: be it *Yājyās* or *Anuvākyās* or *Prātaranuvāka* or *Praüga* or *Ājya* or *Marutvatīya*; be it also the mantras to accompany the decorating of the Mahāvīra pot or those by which the Fire is circumambulated or King Soma is purchased or the juice pressed from it or the second pressing is made the next day or the juice is dedicated; whether it be the *Trivṛt* Chant or *Pañcadaśa* or *Saptadaśa* or *Ekatriṃśa*. Where has all that departed from him? And they were at

a loss to know. And so they all together came up to him and said: Do you teach (upa+naya) us. Here we are thine pupils. And he smiling said: Look well and do not make a mistake. Surely a lowborn one cannot be a teacher to the highest persons! But they said: Do not formally teach us, but you it is that must show us the way.

He said: Do you all go together to Kurukṣetra and wait upon those there who are leading the life of children. They would explain this to you. At that they all in a body repaired to Kurukṣetra. They approached the Child-sages. These knew as the sages were approaching them that they wanted such and such a thing. They said: Why do you approach Child-sages being as you are great house-holders and great experts in the Scriptures? For there are surely great house-holders and great experts in the Scriptures in the Kurukṣetra. At that the sages looked at each other's face. And they found: it was not in vain that he told us Seek you these very Child-sages. And they said: You make your words transcend [those of] the most revered ones in that [you have done] as if some one here were to win by a dice-throw what is in our mind. And accordingly here are we approaching you, being further more free from malice and full of credence in whatever is taught.

They asked: What is it that you seek from us? They replied: In the Naimiṣa forest these Śunakas held a session. They had Ātreya as their *Acchāvāka* who recited everything: be it *Yājyās* or *Anuvākyās* or *Prātaranuvāka* or *Praüga* or *Ājya* or *Marutvatīya*; be it also the mantras to accompany the decorating of the Mahāvīra pot or those by which the Fire is circumambulated or King Soma is purchased or the juice pressed from it or the second pressing is made the next day or the juice is dedicated; whether it be the *Trivṛt* Chant or *Pañcadaśa* or *Saptadaśa* or *Ekavi* (?*tri*) *mśa*. Where has all that departed from him in that he is lying down the way a corpse lies down? The [Child-sages] replied: The Ancients have indeed enjoined upon us not to teach those that have not been in residence [as pupils] for a year. Reside therefore for a year and you will know. And they stayed one year.

Then the Child-sages said: These Brāhmins have resided for a year: well, let us instruct them. So they just took them out with them and went along the high-ways. Anon they came upon a chariot undergoing driving exercise for pleasure. And the Child-sages inquired: Do you notice this? What is it? 'Tis but a chariot, Gentle Sirs! Quite so. What manner of a thing is it? Just as an advancing ocean with its transverse up-tossing waves would bounce forward bearing aloft the glittering fish, even so does it bound forward following the movement of the galloping horses and revolving spokes (?); just as one who is a match would run the race with the rival-runner, even so is this [chariot] racing in sport. Just as this [horse] is galloping hither and thither

and from this side to that, is roaring, is taking a bounce and would anon drop himself down, even so does the [chariot] gallop hither and thither and from this side to that, roars, takes a bound and anon drops itself down. And just as a [horse] would carry the King or may-be a royal-officer to the resting place even so would this [chariot] carry the charioteer to the resting place. Asked the Child-sages: And you are *sure* of this? Quite sure, they replied. And they kept on along the track of the same [chariot] and they came to the end [of the journey] at evening time.

And when the driver unyoked the horses and went away leaving [the chariot] behind, it tumbled down. Did you mark how it fares with it now? They replied, Just as we see a bundle of fuel tied up even so we see it lying outstretched on the ground powerless. It neither moves, nor turns, nor goes away. At that the Child-sages asked: If it has become like that, what is it that has departed from it? The driver of course. Quite so, my Gentle Sirs! The soul is the impellor of this [body], the senses the horses, the veins the straps, the bones the reins, blood the lubricant, volition the whip, speech the creeking, and skin the outer top. And just as [the chariot] abandoned by the driver would not move nor creak, even so [this body] abandoned by the intelligent Ātman neither speaks nor goes nor even breathes; it just putrifies: and dogs may run at it and crows alight upon it and vultures tear it and jackals devour it. Thereat the sages at once knew and they touched the feet of the Child-sages and said: We have not the wherewith to repay this; but here is this: and they folded their hands in reverence.

Thus has the revered Chāgaleya declared. And here are the verses:—

Just as the chariot-frame abandoned by the driver moves not a whit,

Even so does this our body deprived of the intelligent Ātman appear:

What is to it [chariot] the fellies and the wheels and poles and yoke and covering,

And whip and thong and yokepin: [so has this human frame its manifold parts.

And when the body collapses and the organs cease to function,

The lamentations and wailings of friends and relations avail nought to the corpse.]*

* Completed with the help of the Perse-Latin version.

॥ अथ आर्षेयोपनिषद् ॥

ॐ ऋषयो वै ब्रह्मोद्यमाह्वयितवा ऊचुः परस्परमिवानुब्रुवाणाः । तेषां विश्वामित्रो विजितीयमिव मन्यमान उवाच । यदेतदन्तरे द्यावापृथिवी अन[?च]श्नुवदिव सर्वमश्नवद्यदिदमाकाशमिवेतश्चेतश्च स्तनयन्ति विद्योतमाना इव, अवस्फूर्जयमाना इव तद्ब्रह्मेति । तस्योपव्याख्यानम् । यदिदमग्निभिर्ज्वलयन्ति प्रोप्लूलयन्त्यद्भिरभिषावयन्ति ब[व]ध्रीभिरभिप्रघ्नन्ति वरत्राभिरभिघ्नन्त्ययोघनैर्विध्यन्ति सूचीभिर्निखानयन्ति शङ्कुभिराभितृन्दन्ति पड्बीशिकाभिर्लिम्पन्ति मृत्स्नया तक्ष्णुवन्ति वासीभिः कृण्णन्ति फलिभिर्न हैव शक्नुवत इति नास्येशीमहि नैनमतीयीमहि ॥

तदु ह जमदग्निर्नानुमेने । आर्तमिव वा एष तन्मेने यदिदमन्तरेणैनदुपयन्ति पर्यास इवैष दिवस्पृथिव्योरिति । स होवाच । अन्तरिक्षं वा एतद्यदिदमित्थेत्थोपधारय इति । महिमानं त्वमुष्येह पश्यामीति यदिदमस्मिन्नन्वायत्तमिति । स यदिदमेतस्मिन्नन्वायत्तं वेदाथ तथोपास्तेऽन्वायत्तो हैवास्मिन् भवति । तदेतदविद्वानेवास्मिन्नन्वायत्तमुपास्ते वीव पद्यदार्तिमृच्छेत् । तस्मादेवमेवोपासीत ॥

तमितरः पप्रच्छ । कतम[स्त्व]मनार्तं मन्यस इति । तं होवाच । यदिदमिति द्यावापृथिव्योरनारम्बमिव नोपयन्ति नाभिचक्षते नाश्नुवन्ति । तस्योपव्याख्यानम् । यदिदमितश्चेतश्चाण्डकोशादुदयन्ति नापद्यन्त इव, न विस्रंसन्त इव, न स्खलन्तीव, न पर्यावर्तन्त इव । न ह वा एनत् केचिदुपधावन्तो विन्दन्ति नाभिपश्यन्ति । यदिदमेक इदप एवाहुस्तम एके ज्योतिरेकेऽवकाशमेके परमं व्योमैक आत्मानमेक इति ॥

तदु ह भरद्वाजो नानुमेने । यदिह सर्वैवेत्थेत्थेति [समू]दिरे नास्य तद्रूपं पर्याप्तमिति । स होवाच । आर्तमिवेदं ते विज्ञानमपिस्विदेनद्रोदस्योरेव पर्यायेणोपवन्वीमहि यदिदमित्थेत्थोपव्या[ख्यास्याम] इति । महिमानं त्वेवास्योपासे यदिदमत्रान्वायत्तमिति । स यदिदमत्रान्वायत्तं वेदाथ तथैवोपास्तेऽत्रैवान्वायत्तो भवति । स य इहान्वायत्तमिदमविद्वा-

नेवैतदुपास्ते पापीयान् भवत्यार्तिमार्छत्यव म्रियते । स यदेवमेतदन्वायत्त-मुपास्ते सर्वमायुरेति वसीयान् भवति स य एवमेनमुपास्ते ॥

तमितरः पप्रच्छ । कतमत् त्वमनार्तं मन्यस इति । स होवाच । यदेतदस्मिन् मण्डलेऽर्चिर्दीप्यते बम्भ्रम्यमाणमिव, चाकश्यमानमिव जाज्वल्यमानमिव देदीप्यमानमिव लेलिहानं तदेव मे ब्रह्म । तस्योप-व्याख्यानम् । यदिदमद्धेव पराः परावतोऽभिपद्यन्ते संपन्नमेवैतत् संमित-मेव यथोपयातमात्मैवाभिचक्षत इति । य एतदभिपद्येव गृह्णीयादथो विस्फुरन्तीव धावन्तीवोल्यवन्ती(?)वोपश्लिष्यन्तीव न हैवाभिपद्यन्ते । तदिदमन्तिके दवीयो नेदीय इव दूरतो न वा अस्य महिमानं कश्चिदतीति ॥

तदु ह न मेने गौतमो यदिदमार्तमिव स्तिमितमिव पर्यायेण पश्यन्तीवेमं मोघं संविदाना इति य इमे पुण्ड्राः सुह्मा ऊलुम्भा(?) दरदा बर्बरा इति । न ह वा असंविदा एव द्रागिवाभि तत् पद्यन्त इति । महिमानं त्वेवास्योपासे य एतदस्मिन्नन्तर्हिरण्मयः पुरुषो हिरण्यवर्णो हिरण्यश्मश्रुरा नखाग्रेभ्यो दीप्यमान इव । स य एवमेनमुपास्तेऽतीव सर्वा भूतानि तिष्ठति सर्वमायुरेति वसीयान् भवति । न ह वा एष परमतीवोदेति । यस्त्वेनं परमतीवोद्यन्तं पश्यन्नुपास्ते पापीयान् भवति वीव पद्यत आर्तिमृच्छति । यस्त्वेनं परमनूद्यन्तं वेदाथ तथोपास्ते परं ज्योतिरुपसंपद्यते सर्वमायुरेति वसीयान् भवति स य एवमेनमुपास्ते ॥

तमितरः पप्रच्छ । कतमत् त्वमनार्तं मन्यस इति । तं होवाच । विस्फुरन्तीरिवेमा लेलायन्तीरिव संजिहाना इव नेदीयसितमा इव दवीयसितमा एव दवीयसितमा इव नेदीयसितमा एवेति । यदपि बहु धाक्षीरन्न किंच प्रतिपद्यत इति तन्मे ब्रह्मेति ॥

तदु ह वसिष्ठो नानुमेने । यदिमा विस्फूर्जयत एवाभिपद्यन्ते वीव यन्ति मिथु चेति विचक्षतेऽकाण्ड इवेमा न ह वै परमित्था कश्चनाश्नोत्यसंविद्वान इव । अप ये संविद्रते तदेतदन्तर्विचक्षत इति । महिम्नः पश्येमाविज्ञान(?)इति । स य एवमिमा महिम्न एवास्य पश्यन्नुपास्ते महिम्न एवाश्नोति सर्वमायुरेति वसीयान् भवति । यस्त्विमा अवयती(?)-रेवोपास्ते न परा संपद्यमाना नो एव परेति पापीयान् भवति वीव

पद्यते प्रमीयते । अथ य इमाः परा संपद्यमाना एवोपास्ते परैव संपद्यते
सर्वमायुरेति वर्सीयान् भवति ॥
५७ तमितरः पप्रच्छ । कतमत् त्वमनार्त मन्यस इति । महाविज्ञान-
मिव प्रतिपदेनाध्यवसायमिव यत्रैतदित्थेत्थेत्यभिपश्यति । अथ नेति
नेत्येतदित्थेत्थेति । स वा अयमात्मानन्तोऽजरोऽपारो न वारे बाह्यो
६० नान्तरः सर्वविद्धारूपो विघसः प्रसरणोऽन्तर्ज्योतिर्विश्वभुक् सर्वस्य वशी
सर्वस्येशानः सर्वमभिक्षियन्न तमश्नोति कश्चन—

परोवरीयांसमभिप्रणुत्यमन्तर्जुषाणं भुवनानि विश्वा ।
६३ यमश्रवन्न कुशिकासो अग्निं वैश्वानरमृतजातं गमध्ययी ॥ १ ॥
भरेभरे षु तमुपह्वयाम प्रसासहिं द्युम्म(?)मिन्द्रं वरेण्यम् ।
सत्रासा[ह]मवसे जनानां पुरुहूतमृग्मिणं विश्ववेदसम् ॥ २ ॥
६६ अहिघ्नं तमर्णवे शयानं वावृहाणं तवसा परेण ।
तदु ह प्रतिपेदिरे । तेवाभिवाद्यैवोपसमीयुः ॥ नमोऽग्नये । नम
इन्द्राय । नमः प्रजापतये । नमो ब्रह्मणे । नमो ब्रह्मणे ॥

ĀRṢEYOPANIṢAD.

TRANSLATION.

The sages maintained a challenging discourse with each other setting riddles. Amongst them Viśvāmitra deeming himself pre-eminent said: That which is between the Heaven and the Earth, which pervades everything and passes the ken of our vision, that which—like the Ākāśa—is this way and that and where they thunder and glitter and throb, that is Brahman. This is its further description—Were they to burn it with the fires, drown it into the waters, tie it up with fetters, secure it with leather straps, strike it with iron hammers, pierce it with needles, infix it with pegs, torment it with leg-fasteners, plaster it up with clay, chisel it with axes, or plough it with plough-shares: they would not be able to do so. We have no power over it, we cannot transcend it.

To that would Jamadagni not assent. He considered it as deficient in that it was possible to flit through it, it being just the circum-edge of the Heaven and the Earth. Said he: It is merely the mid-region that thou hast ascertained as being thus and thus; but in it I see only the power of That which interpenetrates it. He then who knows this as being interpenetrated by That and accordingly worships it, he becomes in-close-bonds with this [world]; but he who worships it not knowing that it is interpenetrated by That, he would come by grief and suffer calamity. Therefore one should worship it thus only.

And to him the former asked: What then in your view is non-deficient? To him the latter replied: That which cannot be so to say engulfed as 'this' or 'that' within the Heaven and the Earth, and which they can neither approach nor see nor pervade. This is its further description—That wherein from one side to the other, from the Egg-shell, [the luminaries] rise up and fall not and do not drop down or falter or turn round as it were: that in no wise can beings attain by running up, or can see. That which some designate as Waters, others as Darkness, others as Light, others as Vacuum, others as the Highest Heaven, and others as Ātman.

To that would Bharadvāja not assent, thinking that what all have described as thus or thus, that form of it is not adequate of That. Said he: Deficient is this your view; whatever we can describe in this and that manner, that we can attain even as another form of the Two Worlds. Thou art worshipping what is merely the power of That which interpenetrates this. He therefore who knows this as being interpenetrated by That and so worships it, he becomes in-close-bonds with this. But he who worships this, not knowing that it is interpenetrated by That, he becomes more miserable, meets calamity and dies. He, however, who worships this as being in this manner interpenetrated by That, he lives a full length of life and becomes more prosperous—he who worships this as That.

And to him the former asked: What then in your view is non-deficient? He replied: That Light which shines in this orb, incessantly throbbing, glittering, flaring, throwing brilliant shimmer, and suffusing everything—that is my Brahman. This is its further description—Even though indeed they were to attain beyond what is most high, still would they observe it in its fullness, uniform, as it really exists (ātman) on a nearer view. But if one were to snatch at it by pouncing, at once there are throbbing-lights running forward, roaring, as though devouring: they cannot reach it. When near it looks far away; when far away it looks near: None can transcend its greatness.

To that would Gautama not assent, urging that it was deficient, was inert, in that it remains in turn open to the view of those who have false knowledge, *e.g.*, these Puṇḍras, and Submas, and Ulumbhas (?), and Daradas, and Barbaras. But surely the ignorant ones could not all at once attain to it. You are then merely worshipping what is only the greatness of That who is within this as Golden Man, golden-hued, golden-bearded, resplendent upto the nail-ends. He who worships Him thus, he stands forth pre-eminent beyond all beings, lives a full length of life, becomes more prosperous. This [sun] here does not rise without the behest of Him who is the Most High. Whoso thinks that he rises without the behest of the Most High and so worships him, he becomes more miserable, comes by grief, meets calamity. He on the other hand who knows him as rising after the behest of the Most High and as such worships him, he

उद्गीथो वसवः प्रातःसवनमिति । तदाहुः । सर्वं वा एतदिन्द्रो यज्जगद्यथैवेति ॥

ततो हासुराः पुनरेवोदयान्ति । ते ह माध्यंदिनस्यैव सवनस्य [illegible]नेषु यज्ञवास्त्वभ्यायन् । तेषां जरितारो बिभ्यत एव वसतीवरी- [illegible] ते ह ताभिरेव जिघांसन् । तेषामिन्द्रो रुद्रानेव सेनान्योऽकः । त रु[illegible]ष्टुभमेव प्रतिसंददत् । साब्रवीत् । बिभेम्येत- देतेभ्यो य[illegible]मे पराभवन्निति ॥ स ह प्रणवमेवोवाच पुरोगायमेवारभस्वे[illegible] मेऽतः स्यादिति । यदहं स त्वं ममैव रूपेण न्यूङ्खयिष्यन्ति [illegible]। स हापश्यत् । सर्व एव न्यूङ्खयन्तो मामभिचक्षीरन्निति । स ह सर्वमेवात्मानमुपसंहृत्य शृङ्ग एवागूहयत् । स ह विशृङ्ग एवाभवत् । तस्मादित्थैव न्यूङ्खयन्ति ॥ ततो हासुराः पराभावयन् । तस्माद्रुद्रानेव माध्यंदिनं सवनं त्रैष्टुभं चेति ॥

ते हासुराः पुनरेवोदपतिषन्त । ते [illegible]तृतीयस्येह सवनस्य पवमानेषु यज्ञवास्त्वभ्यायन् । तेषामिमे बिभ्यत एवांशूनुपाकल्पयन् । ते ह तैरेव देवानपाजिघांसन् ॥ तेषामिन्द्रो जगतीमेव प्रतिसंदिदेश । साब्रवीद्बिभेमि वा एतदेतेभ्यो यथौजीयांसो बलीयांस इमे पराभृतन्निति ॥ तस्या इन्द्रः प्रणवमेव पुरोगामकरोत् । स होवाच । किं मेऽतः स्यादिति । स होवाचेन्द्रो यत् त्वामुद्गीथेनोपावनेष्यन्ते तेनैव ते कल्पयिष्यन्तीति । सेनान्यो हि तर्ह्यादित्यानकल्पयंस्तस्माज्जागतं तृतीय- सवनमादित्यानाम् ॥ स हापश्यदादित्यो वा उद्गीथोऽसौ खल्वादित्यो ब्रह्म । न ह वा एनं मिथुचिदेमीति । स ह स्वेनैव रूपेणादित्यान- गच्छत् । स ह तेनैव वज्रेणासुरान् पराभावयन् ॥ तद्यत् स्वेनैव रूपेणाविस्तरामगच्छत् तत् प्रतिष्ठामविन्दन् । प्रतिष्ठा ह वा एषा यत् प्रणवः । सर्वाणि ह वा इमानि भूतानि प्रणव एव प्रतितिष्ठन्ति । तस्य ह वा एषा प्रतिष्ठा यत्रासावात्मानमुपसंहृत्याजूगुपत् । तस्मात् तदेवोपन्वीतेति तदेवोपासीत । तदेतदृचाभ्युक्तम्—

चत्वारि शृङ्गा त्रयो अस्य पादा
द्वे शी[illegible] सप्त हस्तासो अस्य ।
त्रिधा बद्धो वृषभो रोरवीति
महो देवो मर्त्याँ आ विवेश ॥ इति ।

यद्दिमास्तिस्रोऽथासाविति चत्वारीति । यद्दिमे द्वे एवाक्षरे त्रिभि-
६० रुपन्वन्ति तत् त्रय इति । यत् प्रत्यक्षं तद्द्वे इति । यदुद्गीथं सप्तभि-
रभिप्रपद्यन्ते तत् सप्तेति । अथो खल्वाहुः । सप्तभिरेनं स्वारयन्तीति ।
यदीमांश्चीनभिधत्ते तत् त्रिधेति । यदिन्द्र एवोद्गीथस्तद्वृष[illegible]इति ।
६२ तदेतदृचाभ्युक्तम्—

मरुत्वन्तं वृषभं वावृ

यद्द्रावयन्ति

३६ यदेष सर्वाणि भूतान्यनुप्र। ...ा अप्रविवेशेति । तस्मादोमित्येका-
क्षरमुद्गीथमुपासीतेत्याह भगवान् शौनकः शौनक इति ॥

ŚAUNAKOPANIṢAD.

TRANSLATION.

The Gods and the Asuras were locked in combat. Indra did not join the combat. The Gods wished to conquer having placed the Vasus at the head in the morning libations. As soon as the *Nārāśaṁsa* chants were started the [Asuras] approached the sacrificial house of the sages saying: We would destroy this your [rite] if you would not cause the Gods to be defeated. The [sages] in fear assigned them [a few] drops saying: Do you conquer *after* them. The [Asuras] at that came immediately by grief but subsequently defeated the others. Then did Indra reflect. He set Gāyatrī herself against them. She said: I am just afraid of them lest they should come back hither. Indra placed the syllable "*Om*" at her head saying, May he protect thee. She said: if he is to be at the head he would claim a portion [of my glory]. [Indra replied,] He would not at all claim thy share; for, great is his greatness. The great do not aspire for a division in the gains. Do you therefore take hold of the whole universe. And you are to infuse vigour into those in the fore amongst the leaders of the army. "*Om*—Yes" said she. If you were not to pronounce me at the outset by taking my name (*Om*) I would not stay here. Hence it is that they assent to everything by taking the name (*Om*). It is everything, and attains to everything. It is the Akṣara [imperishable]. Therefore they permit by saying "*Om*" and they receive by "*Om*" and they accept a thing by "*Om*" and they place a thing at the head by "*Om*." This is that syllable which brings victory and suffers no routing, and interpenetrates all beings, and being one as well as manifold it assumes many colours and many forms and many sounds and many smells and many

juices and many touches. And they even say that Indra himself uttered this syllable. All these beings are dependent upon this syllable as also all the Vedas and all the sacrifices; while it is itself dependent upon Indra.

Now the [syllable] flared forth to the accompaniment of a low tune with a view straightway to smite down the rivals. Hence it is that the morning libation was in a low tune; and because Gāyatrī was used, it became the practice to use it always, and because the Vasus were invoked that practice also continued. And the Praṇava (*Om*) asked. If I become everything while Gāyatrī is at the head, what would I gain thereby? They would in the course of the *Gāyatra* chanting and after the Gāyatrī make thee have all accordant forms and utter the syllable "*Hiṅ*". He thought: this is not right that they should thus view all my forms. He therefore contracted himself upto the extremities and caused only that much of himself to be apprehended. And he became hornless. Hence it is that they chase after what is hornless. And so it is said: that which is its vigour, its strength, its brilliance, its immortality, its agelessness, that is the reverberation (?); and it is through that that they attain to the light, the immortality, the agelessness. Thence the Asuras got defeated. All this is Indra—this Gāyatrī and Udgītha and the Vasus and the morning libation. So they say: All this that moves and howso it moves: all that is Indra.

Once again after that the Asuras rose up. They approached the sacrificial house while Soma was being strained for mid-day libations. The singers being again afraid assigned them the Vasatīvarī waters. They wanted to attack even with their help. And Indra made the Rudras the army-leaders. But they got worsted. He sent Triṣṭubh against them. The latter said: I am now afraid of them seeing that these [Rudras], vigorous and powerful as they were, got worsted. [Indra] said unto Pranava: Continue to be at the beginning of the Chant. He asked: What would I gain by it? What I am that thou art: they would repeat you as my own form. He reflected: While thus reciting they would all obtain sight of me. He, withdrawing all his body, concealed just the horns. He again became hornless. Hence it is that they recite him thus only. Thereat the Asuras got defeated. Hence it is that they invoke Rudras alone and use the Triṣṭubh for the mid-day libation.

Once more yet the Asuras rose up. They now came to the sacrificial house while the Soma was being strained for the third libation. The [sages] in fear again assigned them a few drops. And they essayed to strike at the Gods with the same [drops]. Indra set against them Jagatī herself. She said: I am afraid inasmuch as these vigorous and powerful ones have been routed. Indra made Praṇava go ahead of her. He said: What would be my gain from this? And Indra replied: With what

Udgītha they associate you, that they will assign unto you. And at that time they appointed the Ādityas as the leaders of the host; and therefore is the third libation given to the Ādityas with the Jagatī metre. He perceived that Āditya is the Udgītha and this Āditya above is the Brahman. 'I shall not go to him in false form.' So with his own real form he repaired unto the Ādityas. And with that itself as the Bolt he caused the Asuras to be defeated. So, in that by his own form he became most manifest, they attained stability. And this Praṇava is itself the stability [of this world.] And all these beings have their stability in the Praṇava. This is its stability in view of which he protected himself by withdrawing his body within himself. Therefore should one associate the Chant with that, should one worship that. And this has been declared by the Ṛk stanza:

> Four are his horns, three his feet;
> Two heads, and seven hands has he:
> Tied in three places the Bull incessantly roars,
> And the Great God has entered the mortals.

As we have these three [metres] and himself [the fourth], therefore "four". Since it is just these two syllables which they in chant associate with three, therefore "three". The "two" are those which are actually seen. Inasmuch as they recite the Udgītha with seven, therefore "seven". And accordingly it has been said: They cause him to be put into tune with the seven. Since he utters these three, therefore "in three places". Since Indra himself is the Udgītha, therefore "the Bull". And this has been declared by the Ṛk passage:

> May we further [by worship] the Bull who has a troop
> Of Maruts, when they cause to downpour and to roar.

And since he has successively entered all beings, therefore "he has entered the mortals". Therefore "*Om*" should be worshipped as the one syllable as the Udgītha—So said the revered Śaunaka, the revered Śaunaka.

II

THE PARYAṄKA-VIDYĀ (KAUṢĪTAKIBRĀHMAṆOPANIṢAD, CHAP. 1)

AN ATTEMPT TO SETTLE AND INTERPRET THE TEXT.

The Paryaṅka-vidyā receives its name from the *paryaṅka* or couch on which the text describes the Highest Brahma as seated. It is one of the most remarkable of Upaniṣadic texts inasmuch as it describes the path and progress of the Spirit after death and introduces several interesting items of eschatology and beatific vision which are rarely to be met with in the pre-Purāṇa literature of India. Of older texts of this type we have the episode in the Śatapathabrāhmaṇa (XI. vi. 1) in which Varuṇa gives his proud son Bhṛgu the vision of a black man with yellow eyes and a staff in hand (typifying Wrath) and of two ladies (typifying Faith and Unfaith); Jaiminīyabrāhmaṇa (I. 42—44), which is another form of the same Bhṛgu legend in which the visions are definitely said to be of the other world (*sa ha paraṁ lokam ājagāma*) and where occurs a sixth vision of the Vāruṇa-worlds in which were "*pañca naḍīḥ puṣkariṇīḥ puṇḍarīkiṇīr madhūdakāiḥ syandamānās, tāsu nṛttagītaṁ viṇāghoṣo-'psarasāṁ gaṇas surabhir gandho mahān ghoṣo'bhūt*"; Bṛhadāraṇyaka Up. (III. 3) with a divergent eschatological geography; and above all, the two texts from the Jaiminīyabrāhmaṇa (I. 17—18 and I. 49—50), first brought to light by H. Oertel (JAOS, Vol. XIX), which are of great importance for the proper understanding of the text before us. Böhtlingk in BKSGW, 42, 198ff. explained, not very successfully, two sentences from the first section of the present Adhyāya. Windisch (BKSGW, 59, 111ff.) was the first to explain the two stanzas of reply in section 2 as the replies of *two different* souls. And Hertel (Die Weisheit der Upanischaden, 1921, pp. 156—164) has given the so far most successful translation of the whole Adhyāya. Other translators (not excluding Deussen) have misunderstood the text, and the Commentators offer absolutely no help.

The Kauṣītaki Upaniṣad has been edited in the Bibliotheca Indica (1861), in the Ānandāśrama (No. 29, 1895; No. 90, 1922), in the Minor Upaniṣads Series of Adyar, vol. 3 (1921), and in several other (uncritical) Upaniṣadic collections. It is a matter of great regret that none of these editions should have paid the slightest attention to the proper constituting of the text of the first and in several ways the most original Chapter of this Upaniṣad: the latest editions have been the greatest sinners in this respect. It is true that the text had become very early unintelligible, and it is doubtful if in the absence of the light furnished by the recently discovered Jaiminīyabrāhmaṇa anybody could have made much with the

corruptly preserved text. But in the light of that discovery and on the lines suggested by Hertel, it is now possible to attempt a fresh edition of the whole Chapter. This is what I have done below. I have noted all the published variants in the printed editions and reproduce the more important of them in the foot-notes. In a few cases I have ventured conjectural emendation indicating it as such. I give my own English translation of the Chapter at the end. After that it is perhaps unnecessary to explain and annotate the text or to defend my interpretation where it differs from my predecessors. One or two points, however, call for a special remark.

The text of the reply given by the Soul who is to mount up to the higher worlds, and which Hertel finds senseless and unmetrical, can be made to yield sense and form a tolerably metrical line if, like the alternative readings "*Dhanur hastād*" and "*Daṇḍam hastād*" cited by Windisch (Op. Cit. p. 12ff.) we understand here the alternative readings "*dvādaśa-māso dvādaśena pitrā*" and "*trayodaśa-māso trayodaśena pitrā.*" The point of comparison is not the mysterious or *ayonija* birth as of the thirteenth intercalary month from the twelve months of the year, as Hertel understands it in agreement with Windisch,—the upamā would hardly be possible or normal—but the plain fact of the twelfth or the thirteenth month of the year (as the case may be) being *the very last* of the year. The Soul in effect makes the reply: "I am he that is being born and reborn, and have now *reached the last of my births* on the earth below. Hence do ye lead me upwards to Immortality". The text as I have constituted and interpreted it has the merit of saving the author of the Upaniṣad itself from the rather serious charge of having misunderstood the sense of these traditional replies, which were nearer to *his* times than they are to our oldest commentator.

Our text presents another example of such alternative readings in the sentence "*Tam itvā saṁprativido majjanti*". It is not to be translated with Hertel as, "Kommen an ihn dagegen Leute, welche nur an die Gegenwart glauben, so gehen sie in ihm unter"—as though *samprati* were one word; because, people who think only of the passing moment will not be in the first place permitted to reach the shore of this lake in question. I believe that *saṁpratividaḥ* stands for *saṁvidaḥ* plus *prati-vidaḥ* or the accordant and discordant thoughts, the "*dvandvas*" of the Soul himself to be mentioned shortly below in this very text. These are drowned in the lake and he becomes *dvandvātīta*. Compare also the third pāda of the second stanza of reply. How such alternative readings are written one over the head of the other in Mss. and what fate such superscript words meet is no news to those that are accustomed to deal with Indian Mss.

For the rest, I allow the re-edited text and its translation to speak for themselves.

॥ कौषीतकिब्राह्मणोपनिषद् ॥

प्रथमोऽध्यायः ।

चित्रो ह गाङ्ग्यायनि[1]र्यक्ष्यमाण आरुणिं वव्रे । स ह पुत्रं श्वेतकेतुं प्रजिघाय याजयेति । तं हाभ्यागतं[2] पप्रच्छ । गौतमस्य पुत्रास्ति[3] संवृतं लोके यस्मिन् मा धास्यसि, अन्यतमो वाध्वा तस्य, मालोके धास्यसीति । स होवाच । नाहमेतद्वेद । हन्ताचार्यं पृच्छानीति । स ह पितरमासाद्य पप्रच्छ । इतीति माप्राक्षीत् कथं प्रतिब्रवाणीति । स होवाच । अहमप्येतन्न वेद । सदस्येव वयं स्वाध्यायमधीत्य हरामहे यन्नः परे ददति । एह्युभौ गमिष्याव इति । स ह समित्पाणिश्चित्रं गाङ्ग्यायनिं प्रतिचक्रम उपायानीति । तं होवाच । ब्रह्मार्होऽसि[4] गौतम यो न मान-[5]मुपागाः । एहि व्येव त्वा ज्ञपयिष्यामीति ॥ १ ॥

स होवाच । ये वै के चास्माल्लोकात् प्रयन्ति चन्द्रमसमेव ते सर्वे गच्छन्ति । तेषां प्राणैः पूर्वपक्ष आप्यायते । तानपरपक्षेण[6] प्रजनयति । एतद्वै स्वर्गस्य लोकस्य द्वारं यच्चन्द्रमाः[7] । तं यः प्रत्याह तमतिसृजतेऽथ यो न प्रत्याह तमिह वृष्टिर्भूत्वा वर्षति । स इह कीटो वा पतङ्गो वा मत्स्यो वा शकुनिर्वा शार्दूलो वा सिंहो वा [वराहो[8] वा] परश्वा वा पुरुषो वा अन्यो वा तेषु तेषु स्थानेषु प्रत्याजायते यथाकर्म यथाविद्यम् । तमागतं पृच्छति कोऽसीति । तं प्रतिब्रूयात्—

" विचक्षणादृतवो रेत आभृतं पञ्चदशात् प्रसूतात् पित्र्यावतः ।
तं मा पुंसि कर्तर्येरयध्वं पुंसा कर्त्रा मातरि मा निषिञ्चत[9] " ॥

1. v. l. गार्ग्यायणिः
2. v. l. हासीनं
3. v. l. पुत्रोसि, पुत्रास्ति
4. v. l. ब्रह्मार्घोसि, ब्रह्मग्राह्यसि
5. v. l. यो मामुपागाः
6. v. l. °पक्षे न
7. v. l. यश्चन्द्रमाः
8. v. l. Om. वराहो वा; also the order varies.
9. v. l. निषिञ्च, निषिक्त, सिषिक्त, etc. The reading adopted is a conjecture.

"स जायमान[10] उपजायमानो { द्वादशमासो[11] द्वादशेन[12] पित्रा / त्रयोदशमासो त्रयोदशेन पित्रा } ।
सं तद्विदे प्रति तद्विदेऽहं तन्म ऋतवोऽमृत्यव आभरध्वम् ॥

तेन सत्येन तेन तपस ऋतुरस्म्यार्तवोऽस्मि"—"कोऽसि"[13], "त्वमसीति"—तमतिसृजते ॥ २ ॥

स एतं देवयानं पन्थानमापद्या[14]ग्निलोकमागच्छति, स वायुलोकं, स वरुणलोकं, [स आदित्यलोकं][15] स इन्द्रलोकं, स प्रजापतिलोकं, स ब्रह्मलोकम् । तस्य ह वा एतस्य ब्रह्मलोकस्यारो ह्रदो, मुहूर्ता येष्टिहा[16], विजरा नदील्यो वृक्षः, साल्लजं[17] संस्थानमपराजितमायतनमिन्द्रप्रजापती द्वारगोपौ, विभु प्रमितं, विचक्षणासन्द्य[18]मितौजाः पर्यङ्कः, प्रिया च मानसी, प्रतिरूपा च चाक्षुषी पुष्याण्यादायावयतो[19]वैराजगानि[20] । अम्बाश्चाम्बायवीश्चाप्सरसोऽम्बया नद्यः[21] । तमित्थंविद्गच्छति[22] । तं ब्रह्मा ह्यभिधावति, मम यशसा विजरां वा अयं नदीं प्रापन्न वा अयं जरयिष्यतीति ॥ ३ ॥

तं पञ्चशतान्यप्सरसां प्रतियन्ति[23], शतं फलहस्ताः[24] शतमाञ्जनहस्ताः शतं माल्यहस्ताः शतं वासोहस्ताः शतं चूर्णहस्ताः । तं ब्रह्मालंकारेणालंकुर्वन्ति । स ब्रह्मालंकारेणालंकृतो ब्रह्म विद्वान् ब्रह्मा-

---

10. v. l. जाय; most mss. the word, which is restored as a conjecture.
11, 12. v. l. द्वादशत्रयोदश and द्वादशत्रयोदशेन. Obviously they are two alternative readings. I restore the metre *ex. conj.*
13 v. l. कोऽस्मि
14. v. l. आसाद्य
15. v. l. Om. स आदित्यलोकं
16. v. l. यष्टिहा, ऽन्वेष्टिहा । The reading adopted is to be explained as a double saṁdhi, ये इष्टिहा:
17. v. l. सालज्जं, सालज्यं
18. v. l. °क्षणासन्ध्या
19. v. l. आवयतौ, आवयन्ति
20. v. l. वै च गानि, वै च जगानि
21. v. l. नद्यः changed to नद्यः *ex. conj.*
22. v. l. °विधा गच्छन्ति
23. v. l. प्रतिधावन्ति
24. v. l. फण, फणा, कणा । The order also differs.

भिप्रैति[25] । स आगच्छत्यारं ह्रदम् । तं मनसात्येति[26] । तमित्व सं-प्रति-विदो मज्जन्ति । स आगच्छति मुहूर्तान् येष्टिहाः[27] । तेऽस्मादपद्रवन्ति । स आगच्छति विजरां नदीम् । तां मनसैवात्येति[26] । तत्सुकृतदुष्कृते धूनुते[28] । तस्य प्रिया ज्ञातयः सुकृतमुपयन्ति अप्रिया दुष्कृतम् । तद्यथा रथेन धावयन् रथचक्रे प्रत्यवेक्षेतैवमहोरात्रे पर्यवेक्षत एवं सुकृतदुष्कृते सर्वाणि च द्वन्द्वानि । स एष विसुकृतो विदुष्कृतो ब्रह्म विद्वान् ब्रह्माभिप्रैति ॥ ४ ॥

स आगच्छतील्यं वृक्षं तं ब्रह्मगन्धः प्रविशति । स आगच्छति सालज्जं संस्थानं तं ब्रह्मरसः प्रविशति । स आगच्छत्यपराजितमायतनं तं ब्रह्मतेजः[29] प्रविशति । स आगच्छतीन्द्रप्रजापती द्वारगोपौ तावस्मादपद्रवतः । स आगच्छति विभु प्रमितं तं ब्रह्मयशः[29] प्रविशति । स आगच्छति विचक्षणामासन्दीं, बृहद्रथन्तरे सामनी पूर्वौ पादौ श्यैतनौधसे चापरौ पादौ वैरूपवैराजे अनूच्ये शाक्वररैवते तिरश्ची । सा प्रज्ञा प्रज्ञया हि विपश्यति । स आगच्छत्यमितौजसं पर्यङ्कं । स प्राणः । तस्य भूतं च भविष्यच्च पूर्वौ पादौ, श्रीश्चेरा चापरौ, भद्रयज्ञायज्ञीये शीर्षण्ये, बृहद्रथन्तरे अनूच्ये, ऋचश्च सामानि च प्राचीनातानानि[30], यजूंषि तिरश्चीनानि, सोमांशव उपस्तरणमुद्गीथोऽपरश्रयः[31], श्रीरुपबर्हणम् । तस्मिन् ब्रह्मास्ते । तमित्थंवित्पादेनैवाग्र आरोहति । तं ब्रह्माह[32] कोसीति । तं प्रतिब्रूयात् ॥ ५ ॥

“ ऋतुरस्म्यार्तवोऽस्म्याकाशाद्योनेः संभूतो भार्यायै रेतः, संवत्सरस्य तेजो, भूतस्य भूतस्यात्मा । भूतस्य भूतस्यात्मासि । यस्त्वमसि सोऽहमस्मि ” । तमाह कोऽहमस्मीति । सत्यमिति ब्रूयात् । किं तद्यत् सत्यमिति । यदन्यद्देवेभ्यश्च प्राणेभ्यश्च तत् सत्, अथ यद्देवाश्च प्राणाश्च

---

25. v. l. ब्रह्मैवाभि°

26. v. l. अप्येति

27. To be explained as in note 16.

28. v. l. धुनुते, धुनुवाते, धुन्वतः

29. तेजः and यशः change place in some mss.

30. v l. प्राचीनातानं

31. v. l. अपरश्रयः, उपश्रीः । The reading adopted is *ex. conj*.

32. v. l. ब्रह्मा ह पृच्छति

तत् त्यं, तदेकया वाचाभिव्याह्रियते सत्यमित्येतावदिदं सर्वम् । इदं सर्वमसीत्येवैनं तदाह ॥ ६ ॥ [तदेतदृक्श्लोकेनाभ्युक्तम्[33] —

यजूदरः सामशिरा असावृङ्मूर्तिरव्ययः ।
स ब्रह्मेति विज्ञेय ऋषिर्ब्रह्ममयो महान् ॥ इति ।]

तमाह केन मे पौंस्यानि नामान्याप्नोषीति, प्राणेनेति ब्रूयात् । केन नपुंसकानीति, मनसेति । केन स्त्रीनामानीति, वाचेति । केन गन्धानिति, घ्राणेनेति । केन रूपाणीति, चक्षुषेति । केन शब्दानिति, श्रोत्रेणेति । केनान्नरसानिति, जिह्वयेति । केन कर्माणीति, हस्ताभ्यामिति । केन सुखदुःखे इति, शरीरेणेति । केनानन्दं रतिं प्रजामित्युपस्थेनेति । केनेत्या इति, पादाभ्यामिति । केन धियो विज्ञातव्यं कामानिति, प्रज्ञयैवेति ब्रूयात् । तमाह[34] । यो वै खलु मे लोकोऽयं तेऽसाविति । या ब्रह्मणो जितिर्या व्यष्टिस्तां जितिं जयति तां व्यष्टिं व्यश्नुते य एवं वेद । य एवं वेद ॥ ७ ॥

॥ इति शाङ्खायनारण्यके कौषीतकिब्राह्मणोपनिषदि प्रथमोऽध्यायः ॥ १ ॥

33. The portion in the brackets is omitted in some mss., and probably is an interpolation.

34. v. l. तमाहापो in most mss. The mislection is quite natural.

KAUSHĪTAKIBRĀHMANOPANIṢAD.

CHAPTER FIRST.

TRANSLATION.

Citra, the son of Gāṅga, about to offer a sacrifice, chose Āruṇi [for his Hotṛ]. The latter sent his son Śvetaketu to officiate. As he arrived, [Citra] asked: "Son of Gautama, lest you might not put me into the wrong-world (*aloke*) [1], [I ask,] is it closed up (*saṁvṛtam*), the world into which you are going to put me, or is there some other egress from it?" He replied, "I know this not,; well, let me ask the Teacher." So he went back to his father and asked, So-and-so he inquires of me; how shall I reply? He said, "I too do not know this. After having completed the [normal course of our] studies, it is in the [learned] assemblies that we receive whatever [instruction] they give us [2]. Come let us both go." He went up to Citra, the son of Gāṅga, *samidhs* in hand, saying, "I approach thee [as a pupil]." To him he replied, "Worthy of Brahma-knowledge are you, O Gautama, in that you did not affect pride. Come: I shall indeed make you know." 1

He said: Whoso depart from this world, they all go just to the Moon. With their life-breaths [the Moon] waxes in the earlier fortnight. In the latter fortnight he causes them to be born. It is the gateway of the World of Heaven, this Moon. Whoso gives [proper] reply to him, him he sets free [to go to the higher worlds]; but whoso does not give the reply, him he showers down here [upon the earth] after transforming himself into rain. This one is [then] born here, be it as a worm, as a moth, as a fish, as a bird, as a tiger, as a lion, [as a wild-boar], as a serpent (? *paraśvā*), as a man, or as anyone else, in all the various places in accordance with his Work or his Knowledge. As one arrives he asks him, Who are you? Him one [3], might reply:

"From the Illustrious-one (the Moon), the fifteenfold, the [new-] born Lord of the World of the Manes, O ye Seasons, the seed was gathered.

Do ye, then, send me on into a male progenitor, and with the help of the male agent deposit me into the mother."

---

1. Or, separating *mā* from *loke*, we can translate; now that you are going to put me into *some* world [by your officiating at this sacrifice].

2. I follow the interpretation suggested by Hertel. The distinction intended is between the *upetapūrva* and the *anupetapūrva*.

3. This soul is liable to rebirth.

[Or the reply might be :]

"I am he that is being born and reborn as the $\frac{\text{twelfth}}{\text{thirteenth}}$ month from the $\frac{\text{twelvefold}}{\text{thirteenfold}}$ Father [the Year]—

This I know well and am assured against the contrary : therefore, ye Seasons, hand me over to Deathlessness."

[To which may be added :] "With that Truth, with that Fervour, I am myself the Season, the Child of the Seasons". "Who art thou ?"—"I am thyself". He sets this one free. 2

He now gains this Devayāna-path and reaches the World of Agni, [thence] the World of Vāyu, the World of Varuṇa, [the World of Āditya,] the World of Indra, the World of Prajāpati, [finally,] the World of Brahma. In this World of Brahma there, is the lake Āra, the moments [spent on the borders of it] subduing all desires (*iṣṭi-ha*). There is also the river Vijarā (ageless), the tree Ilya, the spot Sāllaja (the source of the existence (*sat*), mergence (*la*), and emergence (*ja*) of everything), the residence Aparājita (unassailable), with Indra and Prajāpati as the two door-keepers. Also the audience-chamber (*pramita*) called *Vibhu*, the throne *Vicakṣaṇā* (reason), the couch *Amitaujāḥ* (endless splendour). Here also the beloved *Mānasī* (power of mind) with her counterpart the *Cākṣuṣī* (power of vision), weaving [garlands] after having collected flowers produced-by-the-Cosmic-Spirit (*vairājagāṇi*). There are besides Ambāḥ and Ambāyavīḥ as nymphs and Ambayāḥ as the dancing-attendants (*naṭyaḥ*). To such a World one who knows thus [to make the proper reply] comes. Him the Brahmā quickly advances [to meet] thinking, 'It is on account of my own glory that he has attained the Vijarā river ; may he never become aged'. 3

Five hundred nymphs approach him, one hundred with fruits in their hands, one hundred with ointments in their hands, one hundred with garlands in their hands, one hundred with garments in their hands, one hundred with perfumes in their hands. Him they adorn with Brāhmic adornments. Adorned with Brāhmic adornments and knowing the Brahman he advances towards Brahma. He comes up to the Āra lake and crosses it beyond by the mind only. In crossing it (lit. having crossed it) all his accordant and discordant thoughts are drowned underneath. He approaches the Moments that subdue all desires ; they fly away from him [4]. He then gains the Vijarā river and crosses it also by the mind. And then he shakes off all good and bad actions. His dear relatives appropriate the good deeds, and the enimical ones the bad deeds. And like unto a man who, while driving in a chariot, would turn backwards to look upon the two chariot-wheels, even so he looks back [as things of the past] upon the day and the night, the good and the

4. He transcends, in other words, the limitations of Time.

bad actions, and all duals whatsoever. And so he, knowing the Brahman, and freed from the good deeds and freed from the bad deeds, advances towards Brahma. 4

He comes up to the tree Ilya and the fragrance of Brahman enters into him. He comes to the spot Sāllaja and the flavour of Brahman enters into him. He comes to the residence Aparājita and the splendour of Brahman enters into him. He comes upon Indra and Prajāpati, the two door-keepers, and they ran away before him. He gains the audience-chamber Vibhu and the glory of Brahman enters into him. He advances to the throne Vicakṣaṇā with the Bṛhat and the Rathantara Sāmans as its front legs and Śyeta and Naudhasa [Sāmans] as its rear legs, with Vairūpa and Vairāja [Sāmans] as the length-wise joining-pieces and with Śākvara and Raivata [Sāmans] as the cross-wise joining-pieces. That is Reason, because it is with [the help of] Reason that one sees. He proceeds onwards to the couch Amitaujas. That is Life. Of it the Past and the Future are the front legs and Splendour and Sustenance the rear legs; the two head-pieces are the Bhadra and the Yajñāyajñīya [Sāmans] and the two lengthwise pieces the Bṛhad and the Rathantara [Sāmans] 5, while Ṛcas and Sāmans [in general] form the warp and the Yajus formulæ the woof [of the webbing]. The Soma-stalks 6 constitute the mattress, the Udgītha the spreading-cloth, and Śrī (glory) the cushion. Upon it is Brahma seated. One who knows all this touches it even with his feet and mounts it up. Him Brahma asks, who art thou? Unto him the reply should be: 5

"I am the Season, the Child of Seasons, sprung from the womb of infinite-space (Ākāśa) as the seed in the wife, the quintessence of the Year, and the Self in each and every being. Thou art also the Self in each and every being, so that what Thou art that I am." He asks him, Who then am I; one should reply, Thou art Truth.—What is this so-called Truth?—"Whatever is other than the Gods and the Vital-breaths, that is *Sat* (existence), the Gods and the Vital-breaths make up the *Tyat* (the beyond): these two, when expressed in a single speech, form the *Sat-tyam* (Satyam), which is one with all this that exists." So he in effect replies 'Thou art all this.' 6 [This has been declared in the following Ṛik-stanza.

"With the Yajus for his belly, the Sāman for his head, and the
Ṛk for his form: he the Immutable;
He is to be known as the Brahma, the Great Sage consisting of
Brahma (Veda)."]

---

5. These two Sāma-melodies have already figured under another role. We expect some new names here, but perhaps the repetition of an earlier clause may have ousted the real clause.

6. Or, we can translate, *moon-beams*.

He asks him: With what will you acquire my masculine names? With Prāṇa, he should reply. — With what the neuter ones? With the mind. — With what the female names? With speech. — With what the odours? With the Nose. — With what the colours? With the eye. — With what the sounds? With the ear. — With what the food-juices? With the tongue. — With what the actions? With the two hands. — With what the pleasure-pain? With the body. — With what the joy, the bliss, the projeny? With the generative-organ. — With what the walkings? With the feet.—With what the thoughts, the knowledge, the desires? With the intellect itself, he should reply. At that He tells him: What was indeed my world, this here is now thine. What constitutes the triumph of Brahma, what His omnipresence, that triumph he wins, that omnipresence he attains who knows thus—who knows thus. 7

IN THE KAUṢĪTAKIBRĀHMAṆOPANIṢAD
FROM THE ŚĀṄKHĀYANĀRAṆYAKA,
HERE ENDS THE FIRST CHAPTER.

THE TEACHERS OF THE UPANIṢADS

BY

MR. U. C. BHATTACHARYA.

A distinction can easily be drawn between an author and a teacher. In the history of ancient times, examples are not rare of a teacher being a different person from an author. The Bhagavadgītā is one such example. The author of the Gītā—*i.e.*, the person who reduced it to writing and gave it the form it has, was, according to all traditions, Vyāsa, the author of the Mahābhārata: but the teachings, even the majority of the verses in the book, fell, we are told, from the lips of Lord Kṛṣṇa. Says Śrīdhara :

> " *Tatra ca prāyaśaḥ Śrīkṛṣṇamukhād viniṣṛtān eva ślokān alikhat, kān cit tat-saṅgataye svayam ca vyaracayat.*"

which means, " He (Vyāsa) mainly wrote down the ślokas which came from the mouth of Śrīkṛṣṇa ; some, however, he himself also composed for supplying the links."

Similarly, Śaṅkara says on the same point :

> " *Tam dharmam bhagavatā yathopadiṣṭam Veda-vyāsaḥ sarvajñaḥ bhagavān Gītākhyaiḥ saptabhiḥ śloka-śataiḥ upanibabandha.*"

which means that the teaching belongs to Kṛṣṇa but the authorship of the ślokas belongs to Vyāsa.

One more example from the West would suffice to establish our position. We know that Socrates was a great teacher but not at all an author. Christ himself was a great teacher but his doctrines were reduced to writing later on by others.

It is, therefore, just possible that the teacher of a cult and the author of a book on the same, need not be an identical person.

The Upaniṣads speak of various teachers-Yājñavalkya, Janaka, Ajāta-Śātru, Satya-Kāma Jābāla, Satya-Kāma Śaibya, Pravāhaṇa Jaibali, Śvetāśvatara, and a host of others ; accounts are given of their teachings, of synods and symposia ; of brisk and lively dialogues between rival teachers and between teachers and intending disciples. But who are the authors of these accounts ? Are they the teachers themselves ?

A writer referring to himself by name as a third person, is not altogether unknown in Ancient India. Rather it is the usual custom ; perhaps it is a kind of modesty : the authors placing themselves on the same level as others whom they were criticising. Thus we find in the

Vedānta-Sūtra, Bādarāyaṇa referring to himself as "so says Bādarāyaṇa" just as he refers to Jaimini, Auḍulomi, Āśmarathya, Kāśakṛtsna and others. Can it be so with the authors of the Upaniṣads?

Again, the author very often keeps himself in the back ground. It is the principles that matter with them, and not the persons. Truth can tell its own tale: the person giving it out, is immaterial. Can it be the same with the authors of the Upaniṣads?

The question that faces us, therefore, is: Are the authors of the Upaniṣads the same persons as those whose names appear in the body of the texts, or are they different persons, who simply give an account of what they learnt from others and did not consider themselves of importance enough to deserve any further notice even from themselves?

The first hypothesis seems impossible in the present case.

For, when we find in the same book, *e.g.* the Bṛhadāraṇyaka or the Chāndogya, accounts of different conferences held at different places and diverse discourses given by diverse teachers, it would be preposterous to suppose that all these men put their heads together and wrote the book. The author of the *book*, therefore, is almost certainly, some other person. He may have been one of the persons mentioned in the book—perhaps the one whose doctrines the book prefers to all others; but it is more likely that he is not. It is more probable that the composition took place later on and is due to other hands.

The authors of the compositions that have come down to us, may, therefore, be reasonably separated from the teachers whose doctrines the books deal with. That done, we turn to the second question, *viz.*, who were the teachers of the Upaniṣads? Who started the cult and propounded the doctrines of the Upaniṣads?

The question is not so much about individuals as about classes or castes.

Perhaps we shall never know the individual or individuals who started the cult, just as history will never know the man who discovered the use of fire. We do not even know who introduced the worship of the various gods and goddesses in ancient society—Eastern or Western. But something can certainly be known as to the sort of men who ushered the Upaniṣadic doctrines into existence.

Were they Brāhmins or non-Brāhmins?

A solution of this question may be attempted from two kinds of evidence:

(i) the internal evidence of the Upaniṣads themselves; and

(ii) external evidence gathered from elsewhere, such as the Purāṇas, the Mahābhārata, etc.,

we shall confine ourselves here to the first kind of evidence.

Scholars like Deussen, Garbe, etc., have started the theory that the Upaniṣadic cult is essentially of Kṣatriya origin and that the Brāhmins only adopted it later on. But Indian writers, *e.g.*, Prof. Dās Gupta (History of Indian Philosophy), are inclined to take the traditional view that all learning in Hindu Society was primarily due to the Brāhmins and the other castes, especially the Kṣatriyas, only took an active and intelligent interest in it; and so, the Upaniṣads, too, owe their origin to the Brāhmins.

The reasons in favour of the first view, may be summed up as follows:—

(*a*) The Protestant character of the Upaniṣads. They imply a breach with the Vedic religion, more or less complete. The Vedic gods are depreciated or are shown to owe their origin and their power to the higher reality, *viz.*, Brahma. The Vedic cult of karma is either regarded as useless, or, at least only a preliminary of doubtful utility to the attainment of true knowledge. It is *Avidyā—Apara Vidyā*—leads to *Preya* but not to *Śreya* (cf. Isa 10, 11; Kena I. 4; I. 5-9, 3 & 4; Kaṭha 2nd Vallī; Muṇḍaka 1; etc. Compare also Gītā II. 46).

(*b*) The second and more important argument in support of the theory, is to be found in certain anecdotes contained in the Upaniṣads themselves. These give instances of a Brāhmin approaching a Kṣatriya, like a disciple approaching a preceptor, for instruction in Brahma-Vidyā. We propose to analyse this evidence here.

In the first place, we ought to remember that there is nothing improbable in the suggestions of Garbe. The Kṣatriyas were not Śūdras. They were entitled to read the Vedas; read them as a matter of fact; performed vedic ceremonies; and there were ceremonies which they alone could perform, *e.g.*, Rājasūya; and they always took an active interest in intellectual speculation. They have supplied great teachers themselves *e.g.*, Kṛṣṇa, the speaker of the Gītā was a Kṣatriya; Bhīṣma was an erudite man. The Courts of Kṣatriya Kings were seats of learning and they were great patrons of learned men (cf. Janaka, in Bṛ. Up. and elsewhere: and also Mahābhārata Śānti-Parva Ch. 218 "*Tasya sma śatam ācāryā vasanti satatam gehe*"):—The Mahābhārata itself was spoken at a ceremony performed by a Kṣatriya Prince and was only repeated at Naimiśāraṇya at the assembly of the Brāhmans. And lastly, important

reform-movements were inaugurated by the Kṣatriyas, the greatest of which was, of course, that of Buddha, who was a Kṣatriya Prince.

But this abstract possibility does not *prove* that the teachers of the Upaniṣads *were* Kṣatriyas. Nor are passages like Bṛ. I. iv. 11—"*Tasmāt Kṣatrāt param nāsti tasmāt brahmaṇaḥ kṣatriyam adhastāt upāste,*" are of much importance; for they only repeat the simple fact that the rulers of the land were Kṣatriyas.

Even the exclamation of *Ajātaśatru* (Bṛ. II. i, repeated in Kauṣītaki IV. i) that 'people run to Janaka'—*Janaka iti vai Janāḥ dhāvantīti*—in connection with Brahmavidyā, does not prove more than the fact that the Court of Janaka was the resort of many men learned in Brahmavidyā. This is confirmed by Bṛ. 3rd and 4th Chaps. and Mahābhārata, Śānti Parva, etc.

The Protestant character of the Upaniṣads does not necessarily prove that the teachers were Kṣatriyas: The revolt might have been started by one sect of Brāhmaṇas against another. The phenomenon is not unknown in history. The story of Śaṅkarācārya and Maṇḍana Miśra where *Jñāna* and *Karma* come to a sharp conflict, is one of the latest examples.

We require more positive evidence however for holding that the teachers of the Upaniṣads were Kṣatriyas. Let us now examine the anecdotes (Ākhyāyikās).

(i) The story of Balāki and Ajātaśatru (Bṛ. II. i; Kauṣītaki IV. i). This story certainly shows that a proud Brāhmin had to confess that Brahma he had not known; and ultimately he actually did receive instruction from a Kṣatriya. That the Kṣatriya instructor protested against the Brāhmin becoming a regular disciple and gave the instruction without the formality of initiation (*Upanayana*), perhaps only indicates that he was not devoid of the formal courtesy due to the superior caste. It is a case of the teacher being a Kṣatriya. The anecdote finds place in two Upaniṣads and cannot be lightly disposed of as a myth.

(ii) The story of Śvetaketu Āruṇeya [Bṛ. VI. ii; Ch. V. iii; also Kauṣ. 1 (slightly varied]. The story occurs in three Upaniṣads, and cannot be a mere myth. [The three accounts agree substantially; the only difference worth noticing is that in the Kauṣītaki, it is Citra Gārgyāyaṇi instead of Pravāhaṇa Jaibali as in the other two Upaniṣads, to whose court (*Samiti* or *pariṣad*) Śvetaketu goes. In all these accounts, Śvetaketu, the son of Āruṇi, has to confess that he does not know the mysteries of *Deva-yāna* and *Pitṛ-yāna*; and he goes back to his father who has been his instructor, for the answer of the questions which his Kṣatriya friend [*Rājanya-bandhu*] asks him. The father too, frankly admits that he too never knew these things; and approaches the Kṣatriya friend and receives instruction from him.] Here too, we have the example of a Kṣatriya teacher. Not only that, but

the Kṣatriya makes a very significant remark while admitting the old Brāhmin to his discipleship. "This knowledge," says he, "never before was imparted to a Brāhmin; it has all along belonged to the Kṣatriyas; you are the first Brāhmin to receive it"—Ch. V-iii-7. ["*Iyam na prāk tvattaḥ purā vidyā Brāhmaṇān gacchati*".—Ch. V-iii-7. *Iyam vidyā itaḥ.pūrvam na kasmin cana brāhmaṇe uvāsa.*—Bṛ. VI. ii-8.]

What is this 'Vidyā' that the Kṣatriya King imparts to his Brāhmin disciple? Is it only that which is covered by the five questions that he put to his son, Śvetaketu or, does it cover the whole of Brahmavidyā? The answer is immaterial; we cannot really expect that one single teacher developed all the doctrines that are to be found in the Upaniṣads. But the outstanding fact is that an old Brāhmin whose son was old enough to preside over the performance of Vedic ceremonies, (cf. Kauṣ. I. 1.)—such a Brāhmin was ignorant of these truths; and had to learn from a Kṣatriya Prince.

Did the Brāhmin become an actual disciple formally initiated? The Kauṣītaki says he did:—*sa ha samit-pāṇiḥ citram gārgyāyaṇim praticakrame upāyānīti*; but the language of the Bṛ. is somewhat uncertain: *Upaimi aham bhavantam iti vācā āha. . . . . . upāyankṛtyā uvāsa*" —which Śaṅkara explains to mean that it was only a verbal declaration and not an actual performance of the services of an ordinary disciple; for this was all that a pupil of a higher caste had to do in case he had to learn anything from a teacher of a lower caste; Śaṅkara further suggests that it was a kind of '*āpad-dharma*'; he actually uses the word '*āpadi*'.

Both the Bṛ. and the Ch., however, emphasise the fact that the Brāhmin was very importunate: '*sa ha Kṛchri vabhūva*'—says the Ch.

But does it really matter if the Brāhmin underwent all the formalities of ordinary intiation or not? He did become a pupil and learnt from a Kṣatriya.

(iii) The story of Uddālaka Āruṇi (Ch. 6th Chap.) Evidently, this is the same person as the father of Śvetaketu in the 5th Chap. It is he who received instruction in Brahmavidyā from Pravāhaṇa Jaibali; now that he is well up in the learning, he calls his son Śvetaketu to himself and instructs him; his teaching is summed up in the famous formula "*Tattvamasi Śvetaketo*"

Of course, here it is a Brāhmin giving instruction to a Brāhmin. But the most significant fact is that this great and successful teacher of Brahmavidyā, whose doctrine of identity (*Tattvamasi*) has become the by-word of Vedānta Philosophy, is said, in the preceding chapter of the Chāndogya, to have himself received instruction in Brahmavidyā from a Kṣatriya Prince.

Can there be any doubt about the identity of the man? There is no room for any. The son is Śvetaketu Āruṇeya, as before; and the father

is Āruṇi ; the appearance of the personal name Uddālaka, instead of the '*gotra*' name '*gotama*' makes no difference ; for in Ch. V. xvii this Uddālaka is addressed by King Kekaya as 'Gotama'. (Note : this Uddālaka Āruṇi is also said to be the teacher of Vājasaneya Yājñavalkya Bṛ. VI. iii. 7 and also of several others ; Ch. V. xi.

(iv) The story of Pravāhaṇa Jaibali and two others (Ch. I. viii-ix).

The name is the same as that of the Kṣatriya instructor of Uddālaka Āruṇi (Ch. V. iii) and there is no reason why he should not be the same person.

Here two Brāhmins who pretended to be clever (*Kuśalāḥ*) in Udgītha were shown to possess only a superficial knowledge and the true knowledge was imparted to them by the Kṣatriya Pravāhaṇa.

(v) The story of the King Kaikeya and several Brāhmins (Ch. V. xi)

It is a very significant anecdote. Five well-to-do (*Mahāśāla*) Brāhmins, well-versed in Vedic lore (*Mahāśrotriya*) had a discussion among themselves as to what is soul and what Brahma. Having failed to arrive at a conclusion, they approached Uddālaka Āruṇi presumably the same as the father of Śvetaketu. He shifts them on to King Kaikeya Aśvapati by name, and himself accompanies them.

This Uddālaka on another occasion (Ch. V. iii) received instruction on *Pitṛyāṇa* &c., from Pravāhaṇa. Now he, along with several others, goes to a second Kṣatriya. All six wait upon the King in the manner of a disciple (*Samit-pāṇayaḥ pūrvāṇhe praticakramire*) and are instructed.

This is an indubitable case of a Kṣatriya owning elderly Brāhmins as pupils, though the instruction was given without the formal ceremony of initiation (*tān ha anupanīya eva etad uvāca*).

(vi) The story of Buḍila and Janaka (Br. V, xiv-8.)

This Buḍila Aśvatarāśvi was one of the five who went to Uddālaka Āruṇi (See Ch. V, xi) and were taken to King Aśvapati Kekaya.

Here in the Bṛ. he was asked a question by King Janaka, which he could not answer ; and Janaka gave him the answer. The fellow seems to have been a vain pedant and was destined to meet with rebuffs everywhere. At least twice, his ignorance was removed by Kṣatriyas—once by King Kaikeya and again by King Janaka.

(vii) The story of Satyakāma Jābāli (Ch. IV. v-14).

This is a well-known story. Satyakāma's father is not known--he is the illegitimate son of his mother. He was admitted formally to Brahmavidyā by a Brāhmin of the Gautama clan, Hāridrumata by name. What is more significant, however, is that, later on, he himself became a great teacher, and taught, perhaps amongst others, Upakosala, the son of Kamalā.

It is the example of a teacher being one who could not be regarded as a regular Bráhmin.

If these stories had stood by themselves, a very strong case could be made out in favour of the theory of Kṣatriya origin of the Upaniṣads. With regard to the meaning of the two-fold path (Dve sṛti) of *pitṛ-yāṇa* and *Deva yāna*, the meaning of Gayatrī. of Udgītha, &c., Brāhmins go to Kṣatriyas, for instruction. To this may be added the suggestion that the Upaniṣads imply a breach with the Vedic religion of sacrifices, and the conclusion would be almost irresistible that these books arose among non-Brāhmin classes—almost certainly among Kṣatriyas.

But the protestant character is a very gradual development. In fact, the Upaniṣadic doctrines primarily develop round some vedic ceremony such as Aśvamedha (Cf. Bṛ. I. i), or some Vedic text such as the Gāyatrī (Cf. Bṛ. V. xiv. 8) ; and very often it is at a Vedic sacrifice that learned men assemble and hold the discussion (Cf. Bṛ. Ch. III). The fling at the Vedic Gods, as we find in the Kena and the contemptuous description of Vedic lore as Apara Vidyā, as we find in the Kaṭha, Muṇḍaka and also Ch. Chap. VII, may, therefore, be considered to be a later growth. Besides, as already suggested the protest in itself does not prove that those who revolted against the empty formalism of ritualistic religion, were necessarily non-Brāhmins.

Again, in addition to the anecdotes referred to above, there are still others which give other accounts of the origin of the Upaniṣadic Brahmavidyā.

Supherhuman origin.

In the first place, the doctrines of the Upaniṣads are attributed to superhuman sources also. In Ch. VIII. vii. 2, Indra among the Gods and Virocana among demons, go to Prajāpati for instruction. In Ch. VIII. xv. 1, we are told that this Vidyā was first imparted by Brahmā to Prajāpati and by the latter to Manu, and by Manu to men.

In the Kaṭha, Naciketa learns Brahmavidyā from Yama, the god of the nether world.

In Bṛ. V. ii, we are told that men, demons and gods, all children of Prajāpati, receive instruction from the father. [Cf. also the vaṃśas Br. II. vi and IV. vi.]

In Muṇḍaka I. i, Brahmā the first among the gods, is the instructor and he imparted his knowledge to his eldest son, Atharva ; and hence to others.

In Taittirīya III. i Bhṛgu goes to Varuṇa, his father, for Brahmavidyā.

In Śvetāśvatara VI.21, the Ṛṣi acquired a knowledge of Brahma by dint of penance and by the grace of the gods.

In Kaivalya I. 1, Āśvalāyana obtained the knowledge from Parameṣṭhi.

In Kalisantaraṇa, Nārada goes Brahmā for instruction.

In the Hayagrīva, too, Nārada is instructed by Brahma.

The Muktika is a dialogue between Hanumat and Rāma, who, though a Kṣatriya, was deified.

These and similar accounts, though they do not establish any definite conclusion, certainly suggest that Brahmavaidyā was not the special property of any class or caste. Here we find the tendency which became more pronounced later on, to regard the Vedānta-Vidyā, as revealed in the same way as the Vedas proper were.

But revelation took place through human agencies, and it is not proved that the agency selected in this particular case, could not belong to the Kṣatriya class.

Contrary cases.

The anecdotes which support the Kṣatriya origin, are, however, more than matched by anecdotes of an opposite nature.

(i) The Jābāla begins with the name of Bṛhaspati—who spoke to Yājñavalkya. Then Yājñavalkya is the main teacher, who answered enquiries from Atri and Janaka and others.

(ii) In the Jābāli Upaniṣad, Jābāli is questioned by Paippalādi and gives an account of how he obtained the knowledge. He obtained it, he says, from Ṣaḍānana, who got it from Īśāna and he obtained it by worship (*upāsanā*).

(iii) In the Bṛhajjābāla Upaniṣad, the enquirer is one Bhūsunda by name and the teacher is Kālāgni-rudra (ii, iii, iv and vi Brāhmaṇa).

In the seventh Brāhmaṇa of the same book, the name of Janaka occurs as a learner, and the teacher is Yājñavalkya. Some information Janaka obtained from Viṣṇu himself, to whom he repaired with Paippalāda.

(iv) In the Rudrākṣa Jābāla, too, strangely enough the enquirer is Bhūsunda and the answers are given by Kālāgnirudra.

Presumably, the teachers mentioned in the above books, were Brāhmins. But it is possible to doubt this in some of the cases at least. Besides, the authenticity itself of some of these books, is open to doubt. So we turn to the more positive cases of Brāhmin teachers.

(*a*) In the Muṇḍaka 1.3., the enquirer is Śaunaka and the teacher is Angirasa certainly not a Kṣatriya name. And the line of teachers, of whom Angirasa is last, is also significant. Angirasa learnt this Brahmavidyā from Bharadvāja, who got it from Angirasa: he from Atharva and Atharva from Brahmā himself.

(*b*) In the Praśna, the teacher is Pippalāda—not a Kṣatriya, to be sure.

(*c*) A large part the Bṛhadārṇyaka is filled with the teachings of Yājñavalkya. The third chapter gives an interesting account of a debate between Yājñavalkya on the one side and a host of others on the other, held at the Court of Janaka. The persons taking part in it were all Brāhmins (III. i. 2); and Janaka was only an interested spectator.

In the 4th chapter, we are told that lots of teachers—presumably all Brāhmins as the names seem to suggest—had been to Janaka and given discourses on Brahmavidyā. Yājñavalkya goes last of all and shows that their teachings have been imperfect. So, ultimately Janaka receives fuller instruction from Yājñavalkya.

These are, doubtless, examples of teaching being in the hands of Brāhmins.

There is another significant thing in the Bṛhadāraṇyaka. At the end of the second chapter, it gives what is called a Vaṁśa: and the identical list is repeated at the end of the 4th chapter. It is the line of teachers of the Vidyā, and starts from Svayambhu Brahmā. The names are all Brāhminical in appearance.

(*d*) In the seventh Chapter of the Chāndogya, Nārada goes to Sanatkumāra for instruction in Brahmavidyā and receives it. Incidentally he says that he had heard before from men like Sanatkumāra that one who knows the soul, overcomes all pain ("*Śrutam hyeva me bhagavad dṛśebhyaḥ tarati śokam ātmavid iti*"—Chap, VII, i. 2.)

Now, the way in which Nārada addresses Sanatkumāra—he calls him 'Bhagavaḥ'—leaves no room for doubt, if doubt were at all possible otherwise, that the teacher approached here was a Brāhmin.

In the cases where a Brāhmin goes to a Kṣatriya for instruction,—Ch. V, iii. Ch. V, xi. Bṛ. II, i. Bṛ. VI, ii, &c.—he receives the honour due to his caste and addresses the Kṣatriya usually as *Rājan*. In Ch. V, xii. the word '*bhagavaḥ*' is prefixed to '*rājan*'; but in no case, is the Kṣatriya addressed as only "*bhagavaḥ*". When we remember, how carefully the forms of address were regulated in ancient India * this will not appear as a mere accidental difference. So, even if the other reasons were wanting, from the form of address alone, we would be justified in

* Cf. Manu, Chap. 2, 122, *et seq.*

inferring that Nārada was applying to a Brāhmin. But the name Sanatkumāra, as it appears elsewhere in literature, is the name of a Ṛṣi; and so it has been understood here, too, by commentators. (See Śaṅkara).

Then, again, in the fourth Chapter of the same book, when Satyakāma frankly confesses to Hāridrumata Gautama that he does not know his father and cannot therefore tell his Gotra, the would-be teacher, struck with his simplicity and boldness, passes a significant remark. "Surely", says he, "none but a Brāhmin could say so" (*naitad abrāhmaṇaḥ vivaktum arhati.*)

Whether the qualities of simplicity and boldness, belonged only to a Brāhmin or not, is not the point. The point rather is that the teacher felt the need of satisfying himself—though rather on precarious grounds—that he was not admitting a non-Brahmin to his discipleship. Of course, he was anxious to exclude a Śūdra. A Kṣatriya as one of the twice-borne was entitled to instruction.

The story of Jānaśruti and Raikva (Ch. IV, i. 2) also deserves notice in this connection. It has been the subject-matter of a separate *sūtra* in the Vedānta-Sūtras (Ch I, iii. 34. see also 35). There Raikva addresses Jānaśruti as Śūdra : And the author of the Sūtras considers it necessary to explain at length that the term 'Śūdra' was used here in its etymological sense and not in the Technical meaning as applying to the fourth caste. This solicitude on his part is due to the then accepted creed that a Śūdra was not entitled to study Brahmavidyā, as he had no right to study the Vedas.

A Kṣatriya was not excluded from this study; he could not possibly be. He was a twice-born himself and in these matters, had almost equal rights with the Brāhmins.

But the rigour with which a Śūdra is excluded from this study, does not support the theory that the Upaniṣads were due to a Kṣatriya revolt against the Brāhmins. Had it been a revolt against the Brāhmins as such, very likely it would have been on grounds of caste and the lower castes would have been allowed to join it. Buddhism, for instance, did not close its doors to any of the lower castes.

Barring the case of Staya-kāma and this doubtful case of Jānaśruti, there is no other instance in the Upaniṣads of one, other than a twice-born, receiving instruction in Brahmavidyā.

As to the case of Satayakāma, it has been already pointed out that the teacher somehow made sure that he was not a non-Brāhmin. Compare also Vedānta Sūtra I, iii. 37, where this very argument is used to show that he was, at least, not a Śūdra.

The Sūtras were of course a production of later times. Still, in the absence of strong proofs to the contrary, we have no reasons to disregard the interpretation they put upon the texts of the Upaniṣads.

So, even though the Upaniṣads entered a protest against the ritualism of the Vedas, they did not involve a revolt against the Brāhmins as such ; and so far as this was only a protest against a particular form of religion Brāhmins themselves could very well lead it. Instances are not wanting in History of reform being introduced in a religion by the followers of that religion itself.

On the other hand, even when a Brāhmin approaches a Kṣatriya for knowledge, he is uniformly treated with the respect to which he was entitled as a member of the superior caste. (Cf Ch. V. xi. 5, *Arhāṇi Karayāñcakāra* ; Br. VI. ii 4, *Arghyam Cakāra*, &c). Even when the Kṣatriya declared categorically (Ch. V, iii.) that the knowledge in question had never before been imparted to a Brāhmin, he did not forget to do honour to his intending Brāhmin disciple (*Arhām Cakāra*).

Now, to sum up the evidence on both sides. Excepting in the case of Pravāhaṇa Jaibali of Pañcāla (Ch. V, iii.), we have no other categorical assertion that Brahmavidyā passed from Kṣatriyas to Brāhmins. Even there, it may be reasonably doubted whether the remark that never before had a Brāhmin known this Vidyā, applies to the whole of Brahmavidyā or only to the five questions that Pravāhaṇa proposed and answered.

Taking the other cases together, with these, the net result will be this: The teaching is more or less uniformly in the hands of the Brāhmins.* But the Court of a Kṣatriya Prince was often the seat of this learning. Not only this, but the discussions on Upaniṣadic problems took place at Vedic ceremonies and sacrifices performed by Brāhmins on behalf of Kṣatriyas. Even Pravāhaṇa Jaibali of Pañcāla, was performing a sacrifice (see Kauṣītaki) to preside over which he had invited Āruṇi, who sent his son Śvetaketu, as a substitute.

So the influence of the Kṣatriyas on the development of the Upaniṣadic speculation, does not appear to be more than that of powerful patrons. This influence they had exercised even on the development of the Vedic sacrificial religion ; for the bigger ceremonies like Aśvamedha could be performed only by them. They were the ruling class and it lay in their power either to encourage learning or to stifle it.

And as to the Brahmins, we think, it must be said that a true and a good Brahmin always enjoyed honour and respect and maintained his

* Compare Manu X. 1.—"*Adhīyīran trayo varṇāh svakarmasthāh dvijātayah ; Prabrūyād Brāhmaṇah teṣām netarā-viti niścayah.*"

rank and position in the social order of the Hindus. Even in Buddhist India, he did not completely lose it.* But there were of course good Brāhmins as well as bad; men like Yājñavalkya as well as those like Buḍila, just as there were good Kṣatriyas as well as bad. But as a class, the Brāhmin hardly ever forfeited his position as the leader of thought in Indian Society; and in the development of the Upaniṣads, too, almost certainly, he did maintain it.

——"All three twice-born castes should read (the Vedas), as part of their duties; of them, however; the Brāhmin (alone) should teach, not the other two; this is the decided practice."

Fick's Social Organisation, Chap. viii (C. U. publicaton).

A NOTE ON THE HISTORICO-LITERARY IMPORTANCE OF MALLINĀTHA'S COMMENTARIES

BY

MR. P. K. GODE, M.A.,

Bhandarkar Research Institute, Poona.

The name of Mallinātha is a house-hold word in India. He is regarded as a typical commentator. A marvellous capacity to enter into minute detail with extraordinary perspicuity of elucidation characterises all his commentaries. Whenever a person's comment on any topic of conversation is full of details, we humorously call it Mallināthī. But apart from this analytical habit of Mallinātha and his wonderful appreciation and elucidation of a difficult and at times a dry text such as the Bhaṭṭikāvya, his commentaries are important to us from the historical point of view and it is proposed in this short note to illustrate this importance.

2. The modern scientific method of linguistic and historical research has utmost reverence for facts and the importance of Mallinātha's commentaries consists in the fact that they are quite *factual.* The method of accurate quotation proposed by him comes up to the required standard of modern efficiency. He confidently announces at the beginning of his commentary on the Raghuvaṁśa :—

नामूलं लिख्यते किंचित् नानपेक्षितमुच्यते ।

This fidelity to facts and scrupulous avoidance of all irrelevant matters make him an ideal commentator as we shall see from the following brief analysis of the commentary Sañjīvanī on the Raghuvaṁśa.

3. The Sañjīvanī contains in all about 2155 quotations. Of this total number about 1151 quotations are definite, as the sources from which they have been taken are indicated in the commentary. The class of indefinite quotations needs separate treatment as they need identification before any conclusions therefrom become possible. Some times quotations from familiar works are ushered in with the words :—' उक्तंच', 'इत्युक्तम्,' ' इति शास्त्रम् ' and the like. Some of these quotations will be found to be from the works, which are often quoted from, in the commentary, and mentioned by name.

4. The total number of authorities either quoted or referred to in the Sañjīvanī is more than 100. They comprise the names of authors

and works mentioned as such in the commentary. The following alphabetical list will speak for itself :—

1. अमर:
2. अलङ्कार:
3. अश्वलायन:
4. अश्वलायनानां सीमन्तमन्त्र:
5. आगम:
6. आचार्या:
7. आपस्तम्ब:
8. आह्वयात्रा
9. आख्यातचान्द्रिका
10. आर्यभट्ट:
11. उणादिसूत्राणि
12. उत्पलमाला
13. कात्यायन:
14. कामन्दक:
15. कुमारसम्भव:
16. कूटस्थीयम्
17. केशव:
18. कैयट:
19. कोश:—ष:
20. कौटिल्य:
21. क्षीरस्वामी
22. गणरत्नमहोदधि
23. गणव्याख्यानम्
24. गार्ग्य:
25. गीता
26. गोनर्दीयम्
27. गौतम:
28. घण्टापथ:
29. चाक्षुष:
30. चाणक्य:
31. तार्किका:
32. दण्डनीति:
33. दण्डी
34. दशरूपकम्
35. दुर्गसिंह:
36. नारद:
37. नारसिंह:
38. नैषधम्
39. न्यासकार:
40. न्यासोद्योत:
41. पराशर:
42. पाणिनि:
43. पाणिनीया:
44. पारस्कर:
45. पालकाप्य (पालक:)
46. पुराणवचनम्
47. बुद्धचरितम्
48. बृहस्पति:
49. ब्रह्मपुराणम्
50. भरत:
51. भविष्योत्तर
52. भट्टमल्ल:
53. भागुरि:
54. भूपाल:
55. भोजराज:
56. मनु:
57. महाभारतम् (भारतम्)
58. महाभाष्यम् (भाष्यकार:)
59. माघकाव्यम् (माघ:)
60. मातङ्ग:
61. मान्त्रिका:
62. मार्कण्डेय:
63. मिताक्षरा
64. मीमांसका:
65. मृगचर्मीयम्
66. याज्ञवल्क्य:
67. याज्ञिका:
68. यादव:
69. रतिरहस्यम्
70. रससुधाकर:
71. राजपुत्रीयम्
72. राजमृगाङ्क:
73. रामायणम्
74. लघुजातकम्
75. वराहसंहिता
76. वसिष्ठ:
77. वाग्भट:
78. वात्स्यायन:
79. वामन:
80. वायुपुराणसंहिता
81. वार्तिककार:
82. विश्व:
83. विष्णुपुराणम्
84. वृत्तिकार:
85. वैजयन्ती
86. व्यास:
87. शकुनार्णव:
88. शङ्ख:
89. शब्दार्णव:
90. शाश्वत:
91. शास्त्रम्
92. शौनक:
93. श्रुति:
94. संग्रह:
95. सज्जन:
96. सिद्धयोगसंग्रह:
97. सूत्रकार:
98. स्कान्द:
99. स्मर्यते (स्मृति:)

and others.

The names in this list not only give us an idea of the literature known to Mallinātha and his versatility therein but they form a literary strata very useful for the history of Sanskrit literature.

An analysis of all the commentaries of Mallinātha may bring forth more data which would point to certain works, from which Mallinātha has quoted *verbatim* but which are lost to us. It may also happen that the manuscript of a particular work from which Mallinātha might be quoting in a particular context may be found to be different from the extant manuscripts of the same work. To test this probability, I have tried to identify all the quotations from the Vaijayantī lexicon given by Mallinātha in his commentary on the Meghadūta and find that the passages referred to by Mallinātha do not exactly tally with those in the printed edition of the lexicon edited by Gustav Oppert. There are good many variants.

5. Whatever be the importance of these quotations from the point of view of textual criticism the fact remains that they show us clearly the literary predilections of Mallinātha. I admit that the mere frequency of quotation does not always prove that the writer has a special liking for a particular author ; for instance, the Amara has been quoted 613 times in the Sañjīvanī while the Vaijayantī only 52 times. We might conclude from these figures that Mallinātha knew the Amara by heart while he had to refer to Vaijayantī in a few cases only, where probably the help of the Amara was not sufficient. To take another instance, the Śabdārṇava has been quoted 3 times in the whole of the Sañjīvanī, which comments all the 18 cantos of the Raghuvaṁśa while in the commentary on the Meghadūta the same lexicon has been quoted 50 times. This is significant and proves to my mind that Mallinātha was not so very familiar with this lexicon, at the time, when he wrote his commentary on the Raghuvaṁśa. The data from all the commentaries will enable us to institute more comparisons which are bound to throw much light on the career of Mallinātha as an ideal commentator. It is, therefore, desirable that the frequency of quotation of a particular work or author in a particular commentary should be recorded in the first instance and then a comparative table of frequencies of quotation of the same work should be prepared to give more accurate and comprehensive results. As I have restricted myself to the analysis of the commentary on the Raghuvaṁśa I note below the works or authors mentioned by Mallinātha in the order of the frequency of quotation.

S. No.	Frequency of quotation.	Work or author.
1	613	अमर:
2	124	विश्वः
3	51	यादवः—(see वैजयन्ती in No. 20 below)
4	30	मनु:
5	28	हलायुधः
6	26	श्रुतिः
7	25	केशवः
8	23	शाश्वतः
9	20	कामन्दकः
10	12	हैम:
11	11	कौटिल्य:
12	10	रामायणम्
13	8	याज्ञवल्क्यः
14	7	वृत्तिकारः, दण्डी
15	6	महाभारतम् (भारतम् 3)
16	5	वामनः, रतिरहस्यम्
17	4	सज्जनः, क्षीरस्वामी, पालकाप्यः, वाग्भटः, कोशः-षः (पालक 1)
18	3	पराशरः, शब्दार्णवः, वात्स्यायनः
19	2	गौतमः, महाभाष्यम् (भाष्यकारः 1), व्यासः, भविष्योत्तरः, आपस्तम्बः, आगमः, विष्णुपुराणम्, माघकाव्यम् (माघः 1) दशरूपकम्, उत्पलमाला, वसिष्ठः, गणव्याख्यानम्, न्यासकारः, शास्त्रम्, आचार्याः, उणादिसूत्राणि, पाणिनिः, भरतः.
20	1	वायुपुराणसंहिता, मीमांसकाः, चाणक्यः, दण्डनीतिः, मान्त्रिकाः, मातङ्गः, न्यासोद्योतः, हरिवंशः, अश्वलायनानां सीमन्तमन्त्रः, संग्रहः, पारस्करः, अश्वलायनः, नारदः, लघुजातकम्, राजमृगाङ्कम्, कूटस्थीयम्, शङ्खः, वराहसंहिता, आहवयात्रा, राजपुत्रीयम्, मृगचर्मीयम्, ब्रह्मपुराणम्, नैषधम्, भूपालः, गणरत्नमहोदधि, चाक्षुषः, अलङ्कारः, कैयट सिद्धयोगसंग्रहः, रससुधाकरः, मार्कण्डेयः, घण्टापथः: कुमारसंभवः, कात्यायनः, सूत्रकारः, मिताक्षरा, गीता, शौनकः, भट्टमल्लः, पुराणवचनम्, स्कान्दः, पाणिनीयाः, वार्तिककारः, आर्यभट्टः, बुद्धचरितम्, याज्ञिकाः, नारसिंह्मः, भागुरिः, शकुनार्णवः, भोजराजः, आख्यातचन्द्रिका, तार्किकाः, हारीतः, दुर्गसिंह्मः, वैजयन्ती, गार्ग्यः, बृहस्पतिः, स्मर्यते (स्मृतिः), गोनर्दीयः.

It will be seen from the foregoing names that they include varied works such as lexicons, works on rhetoric, law, politics, astrology, prosody, music, erotics, technical sciences (such as Gajaśāstra) Purāṇas and others.

6. Though it is not possible to establish the chronological order of Mallinātha's commentaries on the basis of my analysis of the Sañjīvanī on the Raghuvaṁśa I may state that it is possible to establish this order after exhausting all the commentaries. Mallinātha gives references to matters commented upon in other commentaries *e.g.* the Raghuvaṁśa-Sañjīvanī on VI, 48 refers to Ghaṇṭāpatha (Mallinātha's commentary on the Kirātārjunīya) while the Meghadūta-Sañjīvanī quotes Raghuvaṁśa-Sañjīvanī (*vide* commentary on verse 38 of the Pūrva-Megha). These references show that the Ghaṇṭāpatha was written first, Raghu-Sañjīvanī next and Megha-Sañjīvanī last. A reference to the list of authors given above will further show that the Raghu-Sañjīvanī refers to Māgha Kāvya, Naiṣadha, and Kumārasambhava. We need not necessarily infer from this that the commentaries on these works were written before the Raghu-Sañjīvanī was written.

7. A further off-shoot of our inquiry would be to test the exactitude of Mallinātha's quotations and trace them all to their original sources to see how far his sense of literary veracity has been sustained not only throughout the Raghu-Sañjīvanī to which we have confined ourselves at present but throughout all his extant commentaries. This would enable us to see if Mallinātha ever 'nods.' It may come to light that he is quoting from memory at times or referring to manuscripts of works different from the extant mansucripts of those works which may explain the variance with the extant texts in certain cases.

The points which this brief analysis of one commentary of Mallinātha suggests and on which additional definite information from other commentaries will throw more light, are the following :—

(i) the characteristics of Mallinātha's commentaries.

(ii) the literature known to Mallinātha and its importance to the History of Sanskrit Literature.

(iii) the importance of the commentaries from the view-point of textual criticism.

(iv) the literary biography of Mallinātha.

(v) the chronological order of the commentaries.

(vi) an evaluation of Mallinātha's method in the light of the principles of modern literary criticism.

(vii) identification of the references given by Mallinātha with their original sources.

(viii) determination of works known to Mallinātha but lost to us.

YĀMANA BHAṬṬA BĀṆA.

BY

PANDIT R. V. KRISHNAMACHARIAR.

पार्वतीपरिणयनाटकस्य कर्ता कादम्बरीकविः प्राचीनो भट्टबाणो भवितुं नार्हति, यत एतन्नाटकमासाहित्यदर्पणमेकस्मिन्नपि रूपकलाक्षणिकग्रन्थे न स्मर्यते, नाप्यन्येन वा केनापि प्राचीनेन नाटकादस्मादेकं पद्यं गद्यं वा समुद्धृत्य प्रदर्शितम्। प्राचीनबाणकृतत्वे च नैवमस्मरणं शक्यसंभवम्। अस्मिन्नाटके चमत्कारश्च न्यूनः। कथाप्रवाहश्च सर्वात्मना कुमारसंभवमेवानुविधत्ते। पार्वती-वर्णनमपि नातीव मनोरमम्। अद्वैतमतप्रक्रिया चात्रनाटके किंचिदासूत्रिता। आतश्च कादम्बरीरचनानुग्रहेण जगदेव रसमयमादधानस्य, काव्यार्थचोरानुपह-सतः, वर्णनाप्रकर्षेण कादम्बरीप्रभृतीनि स्त्रीरत्नानि सहृदयानां भावनाचक्षुषः पुरस्तात्प्रादुर्भावयतः, तत्र तत्र तानि तानि मतानि तत्तदनुयायिनश्च शृङ्ग-ग्राहिकया निर्दिशतोऽपि क्वचिदप्यद्वैतमतं तदनुयायिनो वा तथा अनिर्दिशतः प्राचो बाणस्य न कृतिः पार्वतीपरिणयनाटकमिति शक्यते प्रतिपत्तुम्॥

२. अपि तु नाटकमिदं क्रिस्तीयपञ्चदशशताब्दीसमुत्पन्नेन वामनभट्ट-बाणेनैव विरचितमिति युज्यते अध्यवसातुम्। यः किल शब्दचन्द्रिकायाः शब्दरत्नाकरस्य च निघण्टोः, वेमभूपालचरितगद्यकाव्यस्य, रघुनाथचरित-नलाभ्युदययोर्महाकाव्ययोः, शृङ्गारभूषणभाणस्य, उषापरिणयनाटकस्य च रचयितेति ज्ञायते॥

३. अत्र विषये चत्वारः प्रत्यवतिष्ठन्ते। सर्वेऽप्येते केवलं शुष्कयुक्ति-वादैकनिरताः। एषामन्यतमोऽपि प्रमाणालोडने वा प्रमाणिकाभिज्ञाभिप्रायावग-मने वा वामनीयप्रबन्धान्तरसंवादपरीक्षणे वा न खलु लेशेनाप्यात्मनो व्यव-सायमाबध्नाति॥

प्रथमस्तावत् — श्रव्यकाव्यदृश्यकाव्ययोर्गमनिकाभेदं बलवदवलम्ब्य रसचमत्कारवर्णनादिषु परिदृश्यमानमपकर्षं परिहरन्, प्राचीनबाणकृतिरेवेदं नाटकमिति प्रतिसमाधत्ते॥

द्वितीयस्तु—पार्वतीपरिणयनाटककर्तुः शैवत्वं वेमभूपालचरितगद्यकाव्य-रचयितुर्वैष्णवत्वं च स्वोत्प्रेक्षाबलेन परिकल्प्य, तया सरण्या पार्वतीपरिणयस्य

वामनबाणकृतत्वं निराकर्तुमुत्तिष्ठते । आतिष्ठते च नेदं नाटकं प्राचो बाणस्य कृतिरिति ॥

तृतीयश्च—पार्वतीपरिणयनाटकमिदं प्राचा बाणभट्टेन अपरिणतप्रज्ञेन बालेन सता विलिखितं स्यात् । अत एव परैरुद्घुष्यमाणश्चमत्कारादिह्रासोऽपि संभाव्यते । वस्तुतस्तु मनोहारिणो बहवो गुणा नाटकेऽस्मिन्नुपलक्ष्यन्ते, ये महाकविकवितामर्हन्ति । कुमारसंभवानुकरणमपि न दोषाय । यतो बाणस्य कालिदासे निरतिशया प्रीतिर्बहुमतिश्च । अतः कदाचिदहृदयपूर्वमेव तदनुकरणमजानतएव बाणस्य समापतितं स्यात् । तथा हि कालिदासकृतिष्वपि महाभारतगीतादिपद्यान्यापतितानीत्यात्मनः संभावनेक्षिकामतिदूरं विक्षिपन्नभियुङ्क्ते ॥

चतुर्थस्तु—तृतीयमेव सर्वात्मना विडम्बयति । प्राचीनबाण एवात्मानं केवलबाणपदेन व्यपदिशति । नवीनस्तु वामनबाण इति अभिनवबाण इति वा सोपपदेनैव बाणपदेन व्यपदिशत्यात्मानम् । पार्वतीपरिणये च केवलं बाणपदमेव प्रयुक्तम् । किंच, प्राचीनेन बाणेन प्रथमं नाटककर्तृकीर्ति लिप्समानेन तत्र प्रवृत्तं स्यात् । तत्रच विफलप्रयत्नेन भग्नमनोरथेन ततो निवृत्तं स्यात् । अतश्च तेनैव नाटकमिदमुपेक्षितं स्यात् । अत एवेदं प्राचीनस्य कस्यापि नयनसरणिं नावतीर्णं स्यात् । अतो नाटकमिदं प्राचः कृतिरेवेति निर्धारयितुं प्रयस्यति ॥

४. युक्तिमात्रशरणाश्चत्वारोऽप्येते युक्तिभिरेव बलवतीभिरस्माभिः पुरस्तात्पुरस्ताच्च प्रमाणैः प्रत्युक्ताः ॥

५. वामनकृतिरेवेदं नाटकमित्यस्मदाशयस्यानुकूलतया पूर्वमेव पार्वतीपरिणयनाटकभूमिकायां केरलीयमहापण्डितरामपारशवाशयः प्रकटितः तदनन्तरमुपलब्धः अनन्तशयनसंस्कृतग्रन्थावलीप्रकाशकस्य विमर्शकाग्रगण्यस्य महामहोपाध्यायस्य श्रीगणपतिशास्त्रिमहाभागस्य अभिप्रायोऽपि प्रकाशितः, यः पुनस्तद्ग्रन्थावल्यां मुद्रितस्य नलाभ्युदयकाव्यस्य निवेदनायां परिदृश्यते । तथा विशाखपत्तनप्रचारितग्रन्थप्रदर्शिनीमुद्रितशृङ्गारभूषणभाणभूमिकायां तत्प्रकाशकेन चिराद्बुद्धो: समभिहितोऽप्यभिप्रायः संप्रत्युपलब्धः प्रकटितः ॥

६. वामनीयग्रन्थान्तराणि सूक्ष्मेक्षिकया परीक्ष्य तैः सहास्यनाटकस्य पदतो वाक्यतो वर्णनातश्च विद्यमानान् संवादाननेकान्प्रदर्श्य, इदं नाटकं वामनभट्टबाणेनैव कृतमित्याभिहितपूर्व एव सिद्धान्तः पुनरप्यस्माभिरुत्तम्भितः ॥

रा. च. वि. कृष्णमाचार्यः.

SOMA-JUICE IS NOT LIQUOR*

BY

MR. N. B. PAVGEE, POONA.

(*a*) शुचिः पावक उच्यते सोमः । —ऋ. वे ९.२४.७.

Soma-juice is pure and purifying.

(*b*) दिवः पीयूषंपूर्व्यम् । —ऋ. वे. ९.११०.८.

It is the most ancient heavenly nectar.

(*c*) सप्तमर्यादाः कवयस्ततक्षुस्तासामेकामिदभ्यंहुरो गात् । सुरापाप्मामलम् ।

—ऋ. वे. १०.५.६; म. स्मृ. ११.९३.

But, Liquor is one of the seven heinous sins, forbidden by Vedic Scriptures.

Soma-Juice has often been wrongly supposed to be *liquor*, and the fact of its having been erroneously accepted as such, even by Oriental (1) and Occidental (2) scholars of note, has only lent colour to the view.

But the evident mistake seems to have been caused by colossal ignorance of facts, and deep misapprehension of things as they really stand. The more so especially, as the *ingredients of Soma-beverage are altogether different from those of liquor, which, by the by, has been altogether forbidden by Vedic Scriptures.* These facts, therefore, I venture to place, in the sequel, before Sanskrit scholars, for thoughtful consideration and careful attention.

(1) Rajendralal Mitra suggested that Soma-juice was a kind of beer, that Soma plant was a species of hop, and that its juice was beer.

(2) Zenaide A. Ragozin calls Soma-juice *liquor*. (Vedic India, p. 175, Ed. 1895). While, Julius Eggeling deems it to be *sacred liquor* (Vide *Śata Patha Brāhmaṇa*, translated by him, in the Sacred Books of the East. Vol. XXVI. Introduction. p. XXIV). Watt was of opinion that the Afghan *grape*-juice was the *real* Soma. But, Hillebrandt thought that neither hops nor the Afghan grapes could explain the peculiarities of Soma, its significance, and high qualities.

* The reference pages quoted in this article allude to those in the demi 12 page Monograph.

WHAT IS SOMA?

Soma, now extinct, (1) is a plant, and belongs to the *vegetable kingdom*; a fact, known even to our Ṛg-Vedic ancestors of hoary antiquity, as will be seen from the following verses :—

(*a*) त्वंच सोम नो वशो जीवातुं न मरामहे ।
प्रियस्तोत्रो वंनस्पतिः ॥ —ऋ. वे. १.९१.६.

(*b*) नित्यस्तोत्रो वनस्पतिः । —ऋ. वे. ९.१२.७.

(*c*) यो जज्ञे वीरुधांपतिः...। —ऋ. वे. ९. ११४.२.

WHERE DID SOMA GROW?

Soma plant was *indigenous* in India, and not at all exotic, as supposed by some, (2) under a mistaken notion. Nay, the very fact that

---

1. (*a*) In respect of the sudden disappearance of plants and animals, Professor John Judd says, "The species of animals and plants die out or disappear, one by one, in consequence of the conditions for their existence becoming unfavourable, or from their failure to maintain a competition with other forms".

(*Vide* The Student's Lyell. By John W. Judd. Professor of Geology, p. 448, Ed. 1896).

(*b*) "No species survived through all times". (Dr. James D. Dana's Manual of Geology, p. 601, Ed. 1863).

2. (*a*) For instance, see Mr. E. B. Havell's Article in the July Quarterly of 1920 of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, pp. 349-351, in which he argued, rather dogmatically, that the Soma plant which, perhaps through oversight, he identified with *Ragi* (रागि) was brought to India by the early Āryan immigrants, at a time when it constituted the principal food and drink of the Brāhmaṇs (p. 351 of the Journal). He further maintained that Soma plant had "fat ripened ears, heavy with grain", and that the original Soma was "no rare or obscure thing, but the common familiar Ragī" (p. 350).

(*b*) I beg respectfully to state here, *pace* Mr. Havell, that Soma plant had never ears, or for the matter of that, any grain at all; and it was only from the *stalks* or अंशु of the plant that the juice was extracted, after pounding, crushing, and squeezing them, and at no time from its ears or grains, as it had none whatever. *Vide* R. V. I. 125,3; IV. 26. 6; IX. 62.4; IX 67. 28; IX. 68. 4; IX 95. 4. &c.

(*c*) Moreover, I found my view corroborated by the great Oriental and Indian exegetist Sāyaṇa (R. V, III. 48. 2), and also by Occidental scholars like Professors Julius Eggeling (*Sacred Books of the East Series*, vol. XXVI, Introduction, p. XXVII, *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*), Macdonell (*Vedic Mythology*, pp 104. 114). Dr. Haug) (*Parsi Religion*, pp 238, 239), and others.

(*d*) In the circumstances, I had the painful necessity of refuting the unwarranted assertions of Mr. Havell, under date the 1st June of 1921, in a printed Pamphlet, entitled. ***The Indigenous Far Famed Soma, and the Āryan Autochthones in India***, **which having been sent to the Royal Asiatic Society and also to Mr. Havell, its receipt was kindly acknowledged.**

it never grew beyond Āryāvarta, known to all as the *Land of the Seven Rivers*, of world-wide fame called सप्तसिन्धवः, tells its own tale, and distinctly indicates that any other climate was not at all conducive to its growth, as will be presently seen.

GENUINE SOMA GREW IN ĀRYĀVARTA ONLY.

In Āryāvarta, Soma (सोम) grew in abundance, on (*a*) the *Cis* Himalayan slopes (R. V. III. 48. 2; X, 34.1; A. V. XIX. 39-1; 39. 8), on (*b*) the banks of the river Suṣomā and the Ārjīkīyā (R. V. VIII. 64. II), or of the Indus (R. V. IX. 14. 1; 39. 4; 61. 7), and even in (*c*) the beds of the Śaryaṇāvat Lake (R. V. VIII. 64. 11 : IX. 113. 1), situate on the plains of the Kuru-Kṣetra, near Delhi, of great renown.

Soma (सोम) has also been known by its geographical appellation, viz., *Maujavata* (मौजवत), which alone decides the *native soil* of the plant, and leaves no doubt in respect of its having been *indigenous* in Āryāvarta. For, the Mount *Muñjavān* is a part of the great Himālayan chain, and the Mahā-Bhārata explicitly gives its *whereabouts*, by saying that *Muñjavān* lies on the slopes of the Himālaya mountain :—

गिरेर्हिमवतः पृष्ठे मुंजवान्नाम पर्वतः ।

(M. Bh. XIV. 8. 1; South Indian Texts Edition).

The Atharva veda also says that Soma grows along with Kuṣṭa (कुष्ट herb), on the Himālayas :—

एतुदेवस्त्रायमाणः कुष्टोहिमवतस्परि । सकुष्टोविश्वभेषजः । साकं सोमेन तिष्ठति ॥ अ. वे. XIX. 39. 1; 39. 8.

Now, as regards the fact of the Soma-plant having been *indigenous* in India, Dr. Muir has observed that the plant was produced on Mount Mujavat, "from which he (Soma) takes his name." (R. V. X, 34. 1; Original Sanskirt Texts. Vol V. 261. Ed. 1870.) Zenaide A. Ragozin also says, "The Soma used in India certainly grew on mountains, probably in the Himālayan high lands of Kashmir." He further adds, "this was the *earliest seat* of the Soma worship known to the Āryan Hindus, whence it may have spread geographically with the race itself". Vedic India. pp. 170, 171, Ed, 1895). Later on, Professor Macdonell also admits the fact of the Mujavat having been "referred to as the *Home of Soma*". (History of Sanskirt Literature. p. 144, Ed. 1900).

SOMA ALSO MEANS THE JUICE OF THE STALKS OF THE PLANT.

This is obvious, and will be at once perceived from such expressions as सोमःपवते । (पात्रेषु क्षरति ।) that is, the Soma drops flow in the vats or *Droṇas* and also others of the kind.

IRANIAN SOMA SPURIOUS.

Here, it would not, in the least, be out of place to state, that the Soma plant, used as such in Iran, was *not genuine* but *spurious* and fortunately, we have got testimony to confirm this view. For, after leaving Āryāvarta, owing to schism, the *Dissenters*, better known as Perso-Āryans, could not procure genuine Soma in Iran, *the land of their adoption*. They were, therefore, compelled to use the *spurious* Soma, or some plant *substituted* in place of the *genuine* one. In support of my statement, I beg to quote Dr. Martin Haug, who says: "The intoxicating Soma-beverage was replaced by a more wholesome and invigorating drink, prepared from *another plant* than the original Soma plant, together with the branches of the pomegranate tree. But, the name, in the Iranian form "Homa", remained, and some of the ceremonies also." (Sacred Language, Writings, and Religion of the Parsees, p. 220, Ed. 1862). Dr. Windischmann also writes thus:—"The Soma plant of the Indians does not appear to be the same as the Homa of the Persians; at least, the latter affirm that their sacrificial plant does not grow in India." (*Dissertation on the Soma Worship*). All this eloquently proves that the *genuine* Soma grew in Āryāvarta only, and nowhere else.

THE WORD SOMA NOT FOUND IN EUROPEAN LANGUAGES.

Moreover, apart from the aforesaid fact, which by the bye is a direct proof of the origin of Soma in Āryāvarta or India, there is another aspect of the matter, which, though it falls within the category of implied and indirect evidence, is nevertheless of vital importance in many respects. As such, therefore, we cannot afford to lose sight thereof, or ignore it in the least. We find that the word *Soma*, or for the matter of that even any of its derivatives, appears nowhere in any of the languages of Europe, nor *in* Asia, except in the *Parent* (1) *Āryan Vedic* language of Āryāvarta, from which sprung the Zandic branch in Iran or Persia, the first Colony from Āryāvarta, consequent upon a schism. (Vide *The Āryāvartic Home and Its Arctic Colonies*, N. B. Pavgee, pp. 238-256, Ed. 1915).

Besides, Mr. Bāl Gangādhar Tilak, a widely known Sanskrit scholar and a staunch advocate of the Arctic Home theory, had also made searching enquiries in respect of Soma, for fortifying his conclusions. Nay, he had ransacked the archives of Oriental literature, and had left no stone unturned to find out the trace of the word Soma. But, all this notwithstanding, he had to admit that, "the word (*Soma*) is not found in the European languages." (Arctic Home in the Vedas, p. 205, Ed. 1903). All

---

1. See please (*a*) The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland. Vol. XVI. 1854, and (*b*) La Bible Dans L'Inde of M. Louis Jacolliot, pp. VII, VIII, 13, 19, 21, 178. Ed 1870. Here, both Mr. Curzon in the one, and M. Louis Jacolliot in the other, seem to strengthen and confirm my statement.

this means and proves that Soma plant was *indigenous* (1) in India, and *not at all exotic*, as some would have us believe (*vide supra*, pp. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6).

---

1 (*a*) The *undisputed habitat* of Soma in Āryāvarta (*supra*, pp. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6) naturally suggests a very interesting and even a fundamental question, which, owing to its supreme importance, I cannot resist the temptation to state here in brief, especially as it will repay perusal.

(*b*) Soma sacrifice, during Vedic times, was, as admitted by all, the very *essence* of Vedic ritual. Nay, the Soma sacrifice was *the most ancient*, *the first* and *the earliest* (पूर्व्यः) R. V. IX. 96. 10). It was, moveover, deemed to be *the very soul of sacrifice* (आत्मा यस्यज्ञः R. V. IX. 2.10 ; 6.8). And even Mr. Tilak had to admit this, by declaring thus:—"Of this sacrificial system, the Soma sacrifice may, at any rate, be safely taken as the *oldest* representative, since it forms the main feature of the ritual of the Ṛg Veda." (Arctic Home in the Vedas, p. 205, Ed. 1903.)

(*c*) He then further argued that amongst the Dévas, Indra alone was found ready and willing to enter into darkness and turn the Asuras out of the first, middle, and the last part of the Arctic night, by means of Soma libations, and added that "Soma juice was extracted and purified at night during the *Ati-Rātra* sacrifice, and Indra was the *only* deity to whom the libations were offered in order to help him in his fight with the Asuras, who had taken shelter with the darkness of the night." (Arctic Home in the Vedas, pp. 213, 214.)

(*d*) Mr. Tilak then had gone into raptures over his Arctic Home theory and said, "by the Arctic theory we can explain the fact (of the *Śata-rātra* or a hundred night-sacrifice) satisfactorily, by supposing that the duration of the long night in the ancient home, varied from one night (of 24 hours) to a hundred continuous nights (of 2400 hours), according to latitude." These "marked the maximum duration of darkness, during which Indra fought with Bala and was strengthened by the Soma libations offered to him in the sacrifice." (Arctic Home in the Vedas, p. 216.)

(*e*) But, pray, whence was the Soma plant procured, for extracting juice therefrom, and offering its libations to Indra in the Arctic, for driving out its continuous darkness of over three months?

(*f*) Evidently, the knowledge of the Soma plant and its juice presupposed long acquaintance with Āryāvarta, and even prior residence in the region which produced the plant, and also familiarity with its surroundings and toponomy. For, as already shown (*supra*, pp. 3, 4), the Land of the renowned Seven Rivers was *the only place* where the *plant* grew at all and nowhere else. And yet, all this seems to have escaped the notice of Mr. Tilak and others.

(*g*) These solid facts, therefore, I respectfully venture to state, altogether demolish the edifice of the Arctic Home Theory, the European Hypothesis, and even the Central Asian Question, propounded by various writers of note, and only confirm the theory of the origin of the Āryans in the Land of the Seven Rivers. Here, therefore, I would quote with advantage a few Orientalists for corroboration of my views. Dr. Muir plainly says "I must, however, begin with a candid admission that, so far as I know, none of the Sanskrit books, not even the most ancient, contain any distinct reference or allusion to the foreign origin of the Indians." (Muir's Original Sanskrit Texts, Vol. II, p. 322, Ed. 1871). Moreover, M. Louis Jacolliot hails the Land of the Seven Rivers, by crying up "Soil of Ancient India, cradle of humanity, hail; Hail, venerable and efficient nurse......Hail, Fatherland of faith, of love, of poetry, and of science; May we hail a revival of thy past in our Western future," p. 10.

"India will appear to you *the mother of the human* race, the cradle of all our traditions," p. 17.

INGREDIENTS OF SOMA BEVERAGE.

The most vital and conclusive proof of Soma-juice *not being liquor*, consists in the different constituents thereof, which, when known, at once enable all to distinguish the one from the other, *the gold* from the *brass*, *the grain* from the *husk*. In fact, the component parts which constitute the genuine Soma preparation, make a world of difference in taste and quality, delicious sweetness and moral elevation, inspiration and exhilaration, creative imagination and sundry other merits of the hieratic juice.

I give below the details of the Soma beverage for the benefit of the reader. The stalks of Soma plant were gathered and crushed between two stones, called *Grāvās*, or *Ulūkhala* (i.e. *Mortar*) and *Musala* (i.e, *pestle*). In order that the stalks should yield copious juice, water was also sprinkled thereon (अद्भिः सोम पपृचानस्य । ऋ. वे. ९.७४.९). Then, the crushed portion of stalks was squeezed or pressed between the palms and fingers of the two hands, and the pressed drops were poured upon and passed over the strainer of sheep's wool, for removing the impurity of the juice. Subsequently, it trickled into a *vase* or a *Drona* and then, in addition to *water* [1] which was sprinkled over the crushed stalks, before pressing them, *Milk*, [2] *Curds*, [3] *ghee*, [4] *barley flour*, [5] and *honey* [6] also, were mixed with the extracted Soma-juice. Obviously, it was only after this admixture, that the Soma beverage became fit for purposes of sacrificial offering.

"India is the world's cradle; thence it is, that the common mother in sending forth her children to the utmost West, bequeathed us the legacy of her language, laws, *morals*, literature, and religion," p. vii.

"Manou inspired Egyptian, Hebrew, Greek, and Roman legislation," p. viii (*La Bible Dans L' Inde*, Ed. 1870).

Vide also Ṛg-Vedic India, Vol. I, pp 559, 560, Ed. 1921, By Abinas Chandra Das, M.A., B.L. Lecturer in Ancient Indian History and Culture, Calcutta University.

(*h*) And to crown the whole, and put to rest or silence all doubts in respect of our *origin* in Āryāvarta or *the region* of the sacred river Sarasvati (पावका नःसरस्वती R. V. I. iii, 10), I cite the following verse from the Ṛg.-Veda:— एका चेतत्सरस्वतीनदीनां शुचिर्यती गिरिभ्य आसमुद्रात् (ऋ. वे. ७.९५.२). This verse proves that our *ante*

1. ऋ. वे. १.९१.१६,१८; ९.७४.९; ९.६७.३२; ८.१.१७.
2. ऋ. वे. ८.२.३; २.९; ९.८.६; २३.४; ६७.३२.
3. ऋ. वे. ८.२.९.
4. ऋ. वे. ८.८२..२; ९.६७.३२.
5. ऋ. वे. ३.४२.७; ४३.४; ४.२४.७; ८.२३.
6. ऋ. वे. ९.६७.३२.

Thus, the process, peculiar to Soma-preparation, acquires a distinct and separate character, and makes it materially differ from *Surā* or *liquor*, which, however, is never so mixed; a fact admitted even by Professor Macdonell of Oxford University, as he says, "It seems doubtful if Surā was ever so mixed. (*vide*, Vedic Index, Vol. ii, p. 478).

Besides, Soma was a *hieratic drink*, and used to be pressed three times a day, *viz*, in the *morning*, at *midday*, and in the *evening*. But, nothing of the kind occurs or is done in the preparation of liquor.

Again, we have further fresh evidence of *Soma juice* not being *liquor* or सुरा, and I think it worthwhile to state it here, especially, as it comes from an altogether reliable and doubtless much esteemed Western source. This is no other than the Honourable Mr. C. A. Kincaid, High Court Judge, Bombay, an erudite scholar, the author of the History of the Maratha People, and many other books. He has in a Pamphlet entitled *The Hindu Gods*, written that "Soma was the Vedic Bacchus," (p. 38, Ed. 1919). But, subsequently, after reconsideration, and looking through the whole evidence on the subject, he had to admit and say as under:— "I gather that the statement in the Hindu Gods", that Soma was the Hindu (Vedic) Bacchus, is at any rate open to doubt." (Dated Malabar Hill. Bombay, 30th July, 1922). This admission, therefore, affords considerable weight to the thesis, advanced and maintained by me, under authorities quoted above.

Moreover, in the Ṛg-Veda (V. xxvii. 5), Soma is said to have had three kinds of admixture त्र्याशिरः. The one with *milk* was called गवाशिरः; that with *curds* was named दध्याशिर.; and the third with *barley flour* was styled यवाशिरः.

DELICIOUS TASTE AND HIGH QUALITIES OF SOMA.

The *genuine Soma-juice*, when mixed with water, milk, curds, ghee, barley-flour, and honey, as mentioned before (*supra*, pp. 10, 11), was sweet and delicious in taste, rather pungent but had much flavour and was exhilarating, yet slightly intoxicating, but had fragrant smell. The Ṛg-Veda itself contains a brief statement in this respect, which therefore I give below:—

1 स्वादुष्किलायं मधुमाँ उतायं
2 तीव्रःकिलायं रसवाँ उतायम् । } —ऋ. वे. ६.४७.१.

diluvian Ṛg-Vedic ancestors had seen the river Sarasvati, leaving its source, the Himālaya mountain, and flowing into the sea. This sea according to geologists was the *Rajputāna sea* of the Tertiary period, or even of remoter palæozoic age; when, both the sea and the river flowing into it, were in existence, and had not disappeared owing to cataclysms, consequent upon *the advent* of the Great Ice Age, or the Pleistocene Era (Ency. Br. Vol. XXII. p. 866, 11th Ed. The Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol. I, p. 1, Ed. 1907).

3 अयं स्वादुरिह मदिष्ठ आस... ।—ऋ. वे. ६.४७.२.

4 सहस्रधारः सुरभिः (सोमः ।) ।—ऋ. वे. ९.९७.१९.

सुरभितरः...(अत्यन्तं सुगंधिः सोमः ।)—ऋ. वे. ९.१०७.२.

Now, as regards the other qualities of Soma, which are admittedly of higher kind and lasting effect, I may state that the beverage of the genuine plant had an inherent quality of *moral elevation*. It inspired confidence and courage, faith and self-trust. It gave great powers of speech and bestowed eloquence. It endowed the man with intellect and deep thinking. It also granted strength, valour, &c. (Ṛg Veda. VI, xlvii.3; IX, xcvi. 5; cxiii.1).

Soma, moreover, cured diseases, and was a grand *elixir*. (Ṛg Veda. VIII. lxxix.2). It gave sight to the blind, power of hearing to the deaf, and made even the lame walk (R. V. VIII. lxxix.2; X. xxv. 11). It was also believed to bestow immortality (R. V. VIII. xlviii.3). For, the Ṛṣi says, "we drank Soma and became immortal." (R. V. VIII. xlviii.12).

DEMERITS OF LIQUOR.

But, *liquor*, on the contrary, could do nothing of the kind at all, nor give any such relief. Nor can it, even in the present state of progress and western civilization, achieve any such results and wonders.

Thus, it will be quite apparent that Soma-beverage was altogether different from *liquor*, excepting the fact, that it was a slight intoxicant. But, so is also *Bhāṅga* (भांग); and yet the latter's preparation is never called *liquor*.

Liquor again has its notorious after-effects, of which, therefore, I shall here give, in brief, some trustworthy account. Mr. G. Bernard Shaw, writing, in respect of *Abstention* from *Alcohol*, in response to a request from the Editor of the Westminster Gazette says:—"Shakespeare, who knew what he was talking about, said that the effect of drink on a man was to steal away his brains".

In like manner, Rev. Muir writes, "Alcohol and opium are co-related They are both dangerous intoxicants. They are good servants when used as medicines, but bad masters when taken to excess," (Drink and Drugs. By Rev. G. S. Muir, M.A. Honorary Secretary, Edinburgh Anti-Opium Committee. In the Abkari Quarterly for April 1921, No. 124, p. 27.)

THE FARSIGHTEDNESS OF OUR ANCIENT ANCESTORS.

It seems obvious that the forethought of our ancestors had, even during those hoary times, anticipated innumerable disastrous effects that would spring from liquor or Surā. As such, we perceive, that its use was

prohibited by commands of *the Śrutis* and *the Smṛtis*, that is, *the Scriptures* and *the traditional body of law*, civil and religious. Of these, therefore, it appears necessary to give the requisite details : सप्त मर्यादास्ता-सोमका सुरा पाप्मामलम् ।

THE SEVEN FORBIDDEN SINS.

Now, *there are Seven sins forbidden by Scriptures, of which liquor is one*, and we find, even in the Ṛg Veda, a reference made to things, which have been altogether forbidden, and which therefore have been considered to be very *heinous*. The text of the Ṛg Veda is very important, and as such, I give it here below :—

सप्तमर्यादाः कवयस्ततक्षुस्तासामेकामिदभ्यंहुरोगात् ।—ऋ. वे. १०.५.६.

The *forbidden sins* are seven in number. But, their nature or the kind which each represents, is nowhere stated in the body of the Ṛg Veda. However, the details thereof have been very carefully mentioned and succintly explained in Yāska's Nirukta, which, therefore, I venture to give here for the benefit of the reader :—

सप्तमर्यादाः कवयश्चक्रुस्तामेकामप्यधिगच्छन्नंहस्वान्भवोतं स्तेय तल्पारो-हणं ब्रह्महत्यां भ्रूणहत्यां सुरापानं दुष्कृतस्य कर्मणः पुनः पुनः सेवां पातके-ऽनृतोद्यमिति ।—निरुक्ते, ६.२७.

Thus, with the help of Yāska, we are able to understand that our Ṛg-Vedic ancestors had considered the following seven sins to be most heinous. 1 Theft, 2 Use of Preceptor's bed, 3 Brāhmanicide, 4 Causing abortion, 5 Drinking *liquor*, 6 Repetition of crime or committing evil act over again, and 7 Attempt at perfidy. These, therefore, were solemnly condemned and forbidden.

If then, the Ṛg-Vedic Ṛṣis and sages, had, with the greatest solemnity and with all the force at their command, proclaimed to the world that *drinking liquor* was *one of the seven heinous sins*, and that therefore it was *forbidden*, would it not be ridiculous and even outrageous to think that they themselves enjoyed it under the name of Soma?

Besides, as we have already seen, the preparation of Soma-beverage differs widely from that of *liquor*, and the ingredients themselves reveal the truth. (*vide* supra pp. 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12.)

Here, by the bye, we shall refer for a while to the renowned स्मृतिकार and the great Law-giver Manu, as he also has followed the traditions of श्रुति or the Vedas, and said that Surā or *liquor* is *sin* itself, and that

therefore, neither the Brahman, nor Kṣatriya, nor for the matter of that even the Vaiśya, should drink *liquor.*

सुरा वै मलमन्नानां पाप्मा च मलमुच्यते ।

तस्माद् ब्राह्मणराजन्यौ वैश्यश्च न सुरां पिबेत् ॥—म. स्मृ. ११.९३.

In the circumstances, and with due regard to the aforesaid solid facts before the reader, he will, I think, be able to draw his own conclusions in the matter of the *genuine* Soma-juice, the *hieratic draught* of immortality, and the *Amṛta* itself (R.V. IX cx.4).

TWO MORE DRAMAS OF BHĀSA.

BY

MR. M. RAMAKRISHNA KAVI, M.A. RAJAHMUNDRY.

Since the publication of thirteen dramas of Bhāsa by Mahāmahopādhyāya Brahma Śrī Gaṇapati Śāstriyar of Trivandrum, the scholarly world is ever eager to know more of Bhāsa and of the poets of his age. Daṇḍin says in his Avantisundarī about Bhāsa.

सुविभक्तमुखाद्यङ्गैर्व्यक्तलक्षणवृत्तिभिः ।
परेतोऽपि स्थितो भासः शरीरैरिव नाटकैः ॥

and raises hopes in us of further discoveries as he must have written an astonishing number of dramas. There are other poets who have equally contributed to drama and the exigencies of Time have cruelly suppressed them. Candraka, Śūdraka, Vararuci, Mahendravikrama and a host of others are equally fertile as Bhāsa. We frequently come across dramas with queer beginning or prologue without any mention of its author. In the prologue of the Nalābhyudaya the Sūtradhāra expressly refuses to give the name of the author, for it is not a *mantra* to name its Ṛṣi, where it must be given.

नायं मन्त्रः ऋषिमभिधातुम् ।

If such dramas are met with one must hesitate before he ascribes it to some poet. We have on hand two such dramas, *viz.*, the Dāmaka and Traivikrama and it is our task in the following pages to show their relation to the published dramas of Bhāsa.

The superscript on the Ms. of the Dāmaka reads it as the Dāmaka-prahasana. There is nothing in it which bears out the characteristics of that species of drama; hence we simply call it Dāmaka. It has a prologue and a Bharatavākya and no mention is made of its author. The play consists of one act divided into two scenes. In the first, Dāmaka, a servant of Karṇa, sympathises with Karṇa and condemns him for his obstinacy and ambition when he was about to start for the abode of Paraśurāma. His advice or admonition was ineffective. Further on he describes the beautiful *āśrama* of the sage at length. He makes his exit. Paraśurāma and Karṇa enter and the latter requests him to teach him all *astras*. The sage refuses to teach anything to a Kṣatriya. Karṇa says he is a Brāhmin and not a Kṣatriya. The Bharatavākya closes the play.

The description of Paraśurāma's abode appears to be a patch-work of fine phrases culled from the dramas of Bhāsa and Mahendravikrama. The conversation between Paraśurāma and Karṇa was borrowed in fact from Karṇabhāra, where Karṇa relates to Śalya his ill-fated pupilship under Paraśurāma. In the prologue of our drama the Sūtradhāra says to Naṭī that they have to please the audience of the court of King Kāmpilya, the ruler of the city of Brahmadatta, where the humourous blundering of inversion, *viz.*, the court of king Brahmadatta, the ruler of Kāmpilya, the city was, he says, caused by the charms of Naṭī's face. Here both the idea and expression were taken from the Svapnavāsavadatta and the Avimāraka. One has to infer from this prologue that the drama was played before Brahmadatta, the ruler of the Kāmpilya. The mention of the story of Brahmadatta by the Vidūṣaka in the Svapnavāsavadatta also supports it. But Brahmadatta of Kāmpilya married the aunts of Viśvāmitra and he was older than Karṇa, the hero of the drama. If this anachronism does not stand in the way, we shall be happy to carry our playwright, Bhāsa even to a date anterior to the father of poetry, Vālmīki himself. Dāmaka's uneasiness in spite of good royal attendance upon him was due to Karṇa's indifference to his valuable advice. The description of this mental attitude resembles both in thought and expression the speech of Vasantaka in the Svapnanāṭaka and a remarkable passage is found in the Mattavilāsa of Mahendra.

एशे एशे दुष्टकुकुरे शुल्लमंशगब्भं कषालं गह्णिअ धावशि। दाशीए पुत्त, काहिं गमिश्शशि ।...इमिणा पत्थलेणा दन्ताणि शे भाजिश्शं ।...दुषहदालशा जो एशे बउणेआ ए खु–अहं भीमशेणस्स घटुक्खशो विअ ।

In spite of the large extraction of expression from several dramas the play as a whole preserves an individuality and it may be ascribed without hesitation to the author of the Svapnavāsavadatta, the Avimāraka, the Karṇabhāra and the Cārudatta. Regarding the portions borrowed from the Mattavilāsa of Mahendra one is non-plussed to venture an opinion. For Mahendra wrote a number of dramas as known from his inscription of Mamaṇḍūr, only two of which, the Bhagavadajjuka and the Mattavilāsa are extant and they possess perfect individuality. We must hesitate to attribute plagiarism to Mahendra and we confess our inability to appreciate the editor of Bhāsa's dramas in branding Kālidāsa and others who are considered by him as raiders on the beauties of Bhāsa. If the thirteen dramas already published could be the production of a single author—may he be Bhāsa, Cāndraka or Śūdraka—the Dāmaka must also take a seat in the list.

The Traivikrama is a play of unique character. It is in fact only a prologue where the Sūtradhāra pointing to a picture of Bali and Vāmana as exhibited in the famous Trivikramāvatāra relates the

encounter of Vāmana and Bali. She is eager to hear it. The story is narrated in noble sentiment and the Bharatavākya closes the play. Now if this is the main plot then there is no prologue and the form is devoid of all action and is no better than mere narration. But the expression is powerful and resembles Bhāsa's at his best. This play has been mentioned in a work called Śākuntalacarcanā where one more play of Bhāsa's type has been cited which is not yet available to us. Its name is Caṇḍālarāmāyaṇa.

The assigning of the thirteen dramas by their editor to a single author is due to the common expressions, common form of prologue and the common ending in several dramas. They are ascribed to Bhāsa because the Svapnavāsavadatta goes in the name of Bhāsa according to Rājaśekhara. Three or four verses are found quoted by Vāmana and others. Kauṭilya gives a verse found in the Pratijñāyaugandharāyaṇa. We shall examine these statements in the light of the new discoveries.

With regard to the beginning of the benediction after Nāndī, the same feature prevails in a host of dramas whose authorship is clearly known, *viz.*, the Padmaprābhṛtaka of Śūdraka, the Ubhayābhisārikā of Vararuci, the Dhūrtaviṭa of Īśvarasena, the Bhagavadajjuka of Mahendra, the Kaumudīmahotsava of Vijjika, the Āścaryacūḍāmaṇi of Śaktibhadra, the Saugandhikāpaharaṇa of Nilakaṇṭha, the Vīṇāvāsavadatta of Śūdraka and the Nalābhyudaya of an unknown author. The common Bharatavākya which speaks of Rājasihma raises a presumption whether these dramas have anything to do with the Pallava kings Sihmaviṣṇu or his son Mahendra. Rājasihma was a common title of the Pallavas and the epithet is found in Daṇḍin's Avantisundarī where he mentions Sihmaviṣṇu. The verse quoted by Abhinavagupta from the Svapnavāsavadatta is not found in the available Svapna, and the scholars like Bhoja, Kuntala, and Abhinavagupta are very reliable when they mention any name. The verse from Pratijñāyaugandharāyaṇa given by Cāṇakya is said by its commentator, Miśra Mādhavayajvā as taken from Manunīti.

मनुनीतावपीति । मनुगीततया पुराणेऽप्यित्यर्थः ।

Thus Kauṭilya himself gives the source. Manunīti may be *cakṣuṣīya* available in Malabar.

It means that both Kauṭilya and Bhāsa must have had recourse to the same original. This fact will debilitate the only argument for the priority of Bhāsa to Kauṭilya. The other arguments advanced by Bhāsa's editor may be useful in seconding rather than in introducing a resolution. The term Svapnavāsavadatta has been defined by Bhoja in Śṛṅgāraprakāśa (Prakāśa—12.)

स्वप्नवासवदत्ते पद्मावतीमस्वस्थां दृष्ट्वा राजा समुद्रगृहकं गतः
तस्या एव शयनीये सुष्वाप । वासवदत्तां च स्वप्नवदृस्वप्ने ददर्श ।

स्वप्नयमानश्च वासवदत्तामाबभाषे । स्वप्नशब्देन चेह स्वापो वा
स्वप्नदर्शनं वा स्वप्नायितं वा विवक्षितम् ॥

This definition perfectly agrees with the plot of the printed drama. Śārdātanaya, a reputed author on Alaṅkāra, of 1150 A.D. says of the Svapnavāsavadatta :

स्वप्नवासवदत्ताख्यमुदाहरणमस्तु ।
आच्छिद्यभूपाद्व्यसनाद्देवी मागधिकाकरे ॥

न्यस्ता यतस्ततोन्यासो मुखसन्धिरियं भवेत् ।
न्यासस्य च प्रतिमुखं समुद्भेद उदाहृतः ॥

पद्मावत्या मुखं वीक्ष्य विशेषकविभूषितम् ।
जीवन्त्यवन्तिकेत्यत्र ज्ञातं भूमिभुजा यथा ॥

उत्कण्ठितेन सोद्वेगं बीजोक्तिर्नाम कीर्तनम् ।
एहिवासवदत्ते क्व कयासीत्यादि दृश्यते ॥

सहावस्थितयोरेकप्राप्त्यान्यस्य गवेषणम् ।
दर्शनस्पर्शनालापैरेतत्स्याद्बीजदर्शनम् ॥

चिरप्रसुप्तः कामो मे वीणया प्रतिबोधितः ।
तां तु देवीं न पश्यामि यस्या घोषवती प्रिया ॥

किं ते भूयः प्रियं कुर्यामिति वाग्यत्रनोच्यते ।
तमनुद्दिष्टसंहारमित्याहुर्भरतादयः ॥

Here five points of unity are given among which, the fourth, a verse, is found *verbatim* and the first is in the plot itself. The last is a negative feature. The second and the third, that is, that Udayana looked into the face of Padmāvatī with the charming facial mark where the dexterity of Vāsavadatta's hand was visible to him and he exclaims that she was not dead and in the next he stops her from going out of the Samudragṛha in a pitiful tone. These are not found in the extant drama. This absence lends colour to the theory of some Malabar scholars that Bhāsa's original work was either condensed or refitted by the Śākyars, a sect of professional

players in Malabar. Our Dāmaka will support the same theory though I cannot accept it without further evidence.

In the Vīṇāvāsavadatta of Śūdraka the sixth act seems to contain an under-plot or a sub-drama exhibited on the stage in the presence of Udayana and Vāsavadattā. The verse of that sub-drama, that is, *nāndī* bears strong resemblance with the * *nāndī* verse of Madhyamavyāyoga and even the last verse exhibits Bhāsa's rare alliterative tendency. This cannot be explained without assuming that Śūdraka has some hand in their productions either as a patron or author. To ascribe the Vīṇāvāsavadatta to Bhāsa is a daring step, for in style and thought it differs from the series of Bhāsa if not superior to any of them. The first verse of it is found quoted under Śūdraka.

In conclusion we have to suspend our final opinion about the authorship of all these dramas coming out of the perishing *śrītāla* leaves of Malabar, which is still the best repository of the only Indian treasure which makes India, until more tangible evidences come forth.

---

* विष्णोर्जयत्यरुणताम्रतलः स पादो यः प्रोच्छ्रितः सललितस्त्रिजगत्प्रमातुम् ।
क्वापि प्रविष्टरुचिराङ्गुलिराबभासे वैदूर्यसंक्रम इवाम्बरसागरस्य ॥
चतुरुदधिजलाम्बयम्बरांफलभरपिञ्जरशालिशालिनीम् ।
चिरमवतुनृपो हताहितां हिमगिरिविन्ध्यपयोधरां धराम् ॥

"THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE DHVANIKĀRIKĀS"

BY

MR. A. SANKARAN, B.A., (HONS.), MADRAS

The Dhvanyāloka, printed in the Kāvyamalā, consists of some basic kārikās and prose comments thereon called Vṛtti. It is accepted that the author of the Vṛtti is the great Kāshmirian poet and critic Ānandavardhana, but the Kārikās have been of doubtful authorship. On the basis of the apparent distinction between Kārikakāra and Vṛttikāra occasionally made by Abhinavagupta, the eminent commentator on the Dhvanyāloka, (See pp. 1, 12, 59, 60, 123, etc.) Dr. Buhler and the learned editors of the work, conjectured that the Kārikās should have been written by one different from Ānandavardhana, the author of the Vṛtti. Professors Jacobi and Keith and Dr. De support this contention, and the last of them further suggests that Abhinavagupta gives readings of some Kārikās different from those of the Vṛttikāra. (See Kāvyālokalocana IV, Dr. De, Calcutta University pp. 3, 23, f.n. 15 and 16.) It is attempted here to prove on the basis of very reliable evidences that the Kārikās also were written by none other than Ānandavardhana himself.

Here, two relevant texts from the Abhinava-bhārati—an erudite Commentary on the Nāṭyaśāstra by Abhinavagupta—may be cited.

(1) एतदेवोपजीव्यानन्दवर्धनाचार्येणोक्तम् सुप्तिङ् वचने त्यादि Vol. II Chap. XIV. p. 367. G. O. Mss. Library, Madras.

(2) एतमेवार्थं सम्यगानन्दवर्धनाचार्योऽपि विविच्य निरूपयन् (न्यरूपयत्?) समीक्ष्य (वि?)निवेशितः । रूपकादिरलङ्कारवर्ग इत्युपक्रमेण विवक्षातत्परत्वेन नाङ्गित्वेनकदाचन । कालेच ग्रहणत्यागौ नातिनिर्वहणैषिता ॥ इत्यादिना ग्रन्थसन्दर्भेण सोदाहरणेन । तच्चास्माभिः सहृदया(व)लोकलोचने तद्विवरणे विस्तरतो व्याख्यातम् Vol. II, p. 385.

In the first text, Ānandavardhana is represented to have taken some suggestions from Bharata regarding the suggestiveness of words and their Components and put them down as सुप्तिङ्वचन etc. This सुप्तिङ्वचन etc. begins a kārikā of the Dhvanyāloka (III, 16 & Page 153) and nowhere in the Vṛtti of that work does this expression occur. Now, the same Abhinavagupta who is relied upon to establish the difference between Kārikākāra and Vṛttikāra unmistakably assigns the authorship of the kārikā to Ānandavardhana. In the second text also, Abhinava refers to Ānandavardhana as discussing fully the place of alaṅkāras in poetry and expressing his well considered views on the subject in the two texts which

begin thus (i) समीक्ष्यविनिवेशित: रूपकादिरलंकारवर्ग: II, 18. and विवक्षातत्परत्वेन II, 19. These excerpts are from the Kārikās of the Dhvanyāloka p. 88; and as if to clear any doubt regarding their source, Abhinava distinctly expresses that to be the Sahṛdayāloka—another name of the Dhvanyāloka —and he incidently mentions his own Commentary thereon called the Lōcana where he too has fully expatiated on that subject.

In addition to this strong testimony of Abhinava to Ānandavardhana's auothorship of the Kārikās, there are many other evidences in the Dhvanyāloka itself which distinctly favour the above view. On pp. 130, and 220 of the Locana, Abhinava makes the following remarks 'एवं कारिकां व्याख्याय......आह यस्त्विति' (P. 130) एवं व्यङ्ग्यस्वरूपं निरूप्य....आह प्रधानेति (P. 219-20). In the Sanskrit language, the suffix क्त्वा or ल्यप् is used in this manner (see Pāṇini III, 4. 21 and VII, 1-37). When two actions peformed by a single agent are desired to be conveyed, the suffix क्त्वा or ल्यप् is added to that root which refers to the prior action e.g. भुक्त्वा व्रजति, व्यादाय स्वपिति. Similarly, in the above extracts, the agent of 'व्याख्याय' or 'निरूप्य' should be the same as the agent of 'आह'. Now the agent of 'व्याख्याय' expounds *i.e.* he is the Vṛttikāra that explains everything. The agent of आह says or states. What does he state? यस्तु etc. and प्रधान etc. which are two Kārikās III.2, and III.42, that is, he is the Kārikākāra. Pāṇini's rule quoted above requires these agents, Kārikākāra and Vṛttikāra to be identical.

Further, Abhinava comments on आनन्दो मनसिलभतां प्रतिष्ठां (Dhvanyāloka P. 11) thus : आनन्द इति ग्रन्थकृतो नाम ; तेन स एव आनन्दवर्धनाचार्यः एतच्छास्त्रद्वारेण सहृदयहृदयेषु प्रतिष्ठां देवायतनवदनश्वरीं स्थितिं लभतां सिद्धिं गच्छत्विति भावः Abhinava here interprets Ānandavardhana as having incidentally inscribed his own name so that he might be enshrined for ever in the hearts of all intelligent critics for expounding this Science to them. Such an act on the part of Ānandavardhana will be a vain arrogation if he has not been the first exponent of the theory of Dhvani. Again, Ānandavardhana expressly claims to have been the originator of this theory and that thereby he has laid all learned men under a deep debt of gratitude to him. P. 144.

इतिकाव्यार्थविवेको योयं चेतश्चमत्कृतिविधायी ।
सूरिभिरनुसृतसारैरस्मदुपज्ञो न विस्मार्यः ॥

--Note here अस्मदुपज्ञो न विस्मार्य: Morever, in the opening kārikā a promise is held out that the writer would expound the nature of Dhvan

for the pleasure of Sahṛdayas and this promise is not stated to have been fulfilled in the last kārikā as might naturally be expected, but it is done so only in the last verse of the Vṛtti. Ānanda who inscribes his name in the last verse further takes credit for having carried out the resolve made in the first kārikā, *viz.*, the exposition of Dhvani—the most real and striking characteristic of poetry. He also states that there was but a sparkling of the theory of Dhvani in the minds of wise men before him. Had the author of the Kārikās been different from Ānanda, the above remarks, in the face of the numerous Kārikās, should certainly be a gross perversion of truth and an unwarranted arrogation of originality which the meanest of men would not be capable of. Far be it from Ānandavardhana, the great poet critic who is so very scrupulous and generous as to abstain from mentioning the faults of poets even where they actually exist.

Above all, the literary tradition is in complete accord with the view that Ānanda was the author of the Kārikās also. Kuntaka in his वक्रोक्तिजीवित pp. 69, 70, quots the verse ताला जा अन्ति etc. of Ānandavardhana (Dhvani p. 62) and says that Dhvanikāra has clearly explained the suggestiveness and the suggested sense therein. Kuntaka lived only a little more than a century after Ānanda and he was also a Kashmirian. He distinctly identifies the Dhvanikāra, that is, the author of the Kārikās with Ānanda. Mahimabhaṭṭa, a younger contemporary of Kuntaka and Abhinava, cites the Kārikās and the prose vṛttis under the name of Dhvanikāra (Vyaktiviveka, pp. 1, 11, etc.) thus identifying the author of both. Kṣemendra a pupil of Abhinava and a great poet and critic quotes the Dhvanikārikā विरोधीवाविरोधीवा etc., (III 24, p. 172) in his Aucityavicāracarcā (p. 134) in the name of Ānandavardhana. Mammaṭa and all the writers on poetics that came after him do not at all discriminate between Dhvanikāra and Ānanda. He is indeed a bold man who, knowing this unbroken and unanimous tradition, would complacently brush it aside and remark that these writers completely confuse between the Dhvanikāra and Ānandavardhana. Surely there is no confusion in them. It is only imposed from outside to suit an untenable theory.

Again, prepossessed with this distinction between Vṛttikāra and Kārikākara Dr. De has misunderstood a passage of Abhinava and he imagines that Abhinava reads the Kārikā differently from Ānanda—a procedure that would certainly favour the above distinction. (See S. K. De. Kāvyālokalocana. Chap. IV. Intro. P. 3. Text P. 23, F.n. 15 & 16.) Let me cite the two texts.

अवस्थादिविभिन्नानां वाच्यानां विनिबन्धनं ।

यत्प्रदर्शितं प्राक्

भूम्नैव दृश्यते लक्ष्ये न तच्छक्यमपोहितुम् ॥

तत्तु भाति रसाश्रयात् । Kārikā IV, 8. Dhvanyāloka, p. 243—44.

Abhinava comments on this thus :—

अवस्थादिविभिन्नानां वाच्यानां विनिबन्धनं ।

भूम्नैव दृश्यते लक्ष्ये तत्तुभातिरसाश्रयात् ॥

इति कारिका । अन्यस्तु ग्रन्थः मध्योपस्कारः अत्र पादत्रयमनूद्य चतुर्थ-पादार्थः अपूर्वतयाऽभिधीयते तत्त्वित्यादि Locana IV, p. 23.

The term उपस्कार means that which supplies an ellipsis. Ānanda is in the habit of supplying these ellipses to many of the kārikās. Being a poet, his words occasionally come out in metrical form. One such *upaskāra* is न तच्छक्यमपोहितुम् which, being written along with the Kārikās in the palm leaf manuscripts used by the editors, is evidently mistaken by them for a portion of the Kārikā and treated by them as such in the printed text. Probably had यत्प्रदर्शितं प्राक् been in the form of a quarter of a verse, they would have included that also in the kārikā. Abhinava, fully anticipating this probable error, clearly indicates here what the kārikā is and what the *upaskāra* is as he does elsewhere. But the learned editors of the work may be excused, for they had no access at that time to Abhinava's commentary on this chapter, and where they had it, they were careful in reading the text correctly, *e.g.*, See p. 118 Locana तासामेवालंकृतीनामित्ययं पठिष्य-माणकारिकोपस्कारः. Here तासामेवालंकृतीनां is in the form of a quarter of a verse, but correctly understanding Abhinava, they have treated it as part of the Vṛtti. Dr. De, imagining that what is printed in bold type is invariably the Kārikā as known to Ānanda-Vardhana, discovers a difference between the readings of Ānanda and Abhinava. Surely Ānanda did not prepare the Nirṇaya Sāgar Edition. ! The Kārikā text has to be determined with reference to Abhinava's comments and it should be as given in the Locana IV, page 23. Dr. De misunderstood the Locana and found it convenient to use it in favour of his theory.

When there are so many evidences which clearly identify Ānanda with Dhvanikāra, the only evidence which apparently favours the opposite view—*viz.*, the distinction occasionally made by Abhinava between Vṛttikāra and Kārikākāra—loses its force ; and it has to be explained differently. Probably Abhinava desired, in order to facilitate his comments, to keep the Kārikās distinct from the Vṛtti, and he achieved it by referring to their author in his two capacities as Vṛttikāra and Kārikākāra. This procedure of first stating the fundamental principles in short Kārikās and then commenting elaborately on them is quite common among writers of that period. Kuntaka, Kṣemendra,

Mammaṭa, Udayanācārya and other writers adopt this method of exposition. And if they refer in the Vṛtti to additional facts not touched upon in the Kārikās, it would be far from truth to suggest on that basis any difference between the author of the Kārikās and the Vṛtti. Further the habit of splitting their own Kārikās and commenting on them in parts has also been in vogue among writers like Mammaṭa and Udayanācārya. It would on the other hand argue the identity of authorship as the writers themselves treat these portions of the Kārikās to be headlines of paragraphs or sections in the Vṛtti.

Thus it is shown that this distinction between Ānandavardhana and Dhvanikāra rests on slender grounds, and according to the express statements of Ānanda and Abhinava together with the practice of the innumerable writers on Sanskrit Poetics it is undoubtedly proved that the author of the Dhvanikārikās is none other than the great Kashmirian poet-acritic Ānandavardhanācārya.

A FEW OBSERVATIONS ON THE TRIMETER VERSES OF THE RĀMĀYAṆA AND THE MAHĀBHĀRATA.

BY

PROF. K. A. SUBRAHMANYA IYER, M.A., LUCKNOW.

Sanskrit literature, from the Vedas down to the works belonging to the last stages in its history, presents a large variety of metres through which widely different modes of thought and feeling have found expression. These metres have their own history and attempts have been made to trace it. The whole body of Vedic literature is written in dimeter or trimeter verses in which the number of syllables and not the order in which they follow one another, that is to say, the rythm is the main consideration. Stanzas are composed chiefly of four verses; but those having less or more are not rare. The chief characteristic of Vedic metre, however, is the lack of fixity in the rythm of each verse. Ancient Sanskrit writers on prosody have also taken the number of syllables in each verse as their basis for the classification of Vedic metres. They have not attempted to detect any rythm in Vedic poetry, while they knew that rythm was the characteristic of later Sanskrit poetry. Where there is indefiniteness and lack of fixity in Vedic poetry, namely, in rythm and in the number of verses composing each stanza there is fixity and rigidity in classical poetry. Not merely is the number of syllables in each verse quite unalterable, but the rythm is also fixed. Stanzas are always formed of four verses. The chief characteristic of classical poetry, however, is that verses have gone beyond the dimeter and trimeter systems. The number of syllables in each verse can be anything between eight and thirty or even more, a striking fact as compared with Vedic poetry.

To find out by what processes and under what influences such remarkable changes were brought about is the task of the historian of Sanskrit metres. As was remarked before, attempts have been made to trace the development of Sanskrit prosody by more than one scholar, but, so far, Vedic metre has been more carefully studied than the metres of later times. Following upon the highly interesting articles of Oldenberg on Vedic Metre in his "Die Hymnen des Ṛg-Veda" Vol. I, came Arnold's "Vedic Metre" which is a very detailed study of the subject which the title itself announces. Arnold's work has a double interest. Firstly, it is an attempt to throw light on the rythm of Vedic metres, an element not recognised by ancient Sanskrit writers. Arnold believes to have discovered both in the dimeter and trimeter verses of the Veda certain metrical preferences and that these metrical preferences have their history within the period covered by the Veda. Secondly, Arnold has attempted chronologically to arrange the Vedic mantras on the basis of their rythm. He believes to have found out the history of the rythm of the

mantras and asserts that it is possible to assign a particular mantra to an earlier or later stage of development according to its internal rythm. No doubt the results achieved by Arnold have not met with a chorus of approval from scholars, chiefly because of their indefiniteness; but the fact remains that they are interesting and well worthy of our consideration.

Not unlike the Veda are the epics, chiefly the Mahābhārata, in that they are the creations of an age and not of a particular time and author. Students of Sanskrit literature know the difficulty of using the Mahābhārata as evidence in their researches into Indian antiquity. As the Mahābhārata is obviously the creation of a long period of time, extending probably over centuries, it is necessary, if possible, to arrange its different parts chronologically and if that is not now possible for the whole epic, to do so wherever it is possible. In this attempt at arranging the different parts chronologically or picking out the older portions from the later ones, it is possible to adopt many guides: language, style, subject-matter, ideas *etc.*; but we hold that metre also ought to tell us something about the age of a particular passage. It would be desirable to do for the Mahābhārata what Arnold has done for the Vedas, except that more definiteness in the results should be aimed at.

The task is an immense one and will necessarily carry one far beyond the epics into other fields of Sanskrit literature, nay, even to Pāli and Prākṛt literature. The metres of the Mahābhārata have indeed been studied before, along with those of other works, by Dr. Kühnan in his "Die Triṣṭub-Jagati-Familie. Ihre rythmische Beschaffenheit und Entwicklung." The results achieved by Dr. Kühnan in connection with the history of Sanskrit metre are highly interesting and have been accepted by scholars. But in Dr. Kühnan's work, the study of the metres of the Mahābhārata, is only part of a much wider study, covering the trimeter verses of the whole period of Sanskrit literature, as well as of Pāli literature, no doubt a very ambitious work. The present paper has no such pretensions. It is only an attempt to record a few observations concerning the trimeter verses of the Mahābhārata, with the hope that they may form the starting point of a more detailed and thorough research in the future by scholars who have more leisure than the author of the present paper.

The epics, the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata are for the most part written in *anuṣṭup, i.e.*, in dimeter verses, which are developments of the dimeter verses of the Vedas. No doubt these epic dimeter verses have their own peculiarity and if studied with patience and care, will yield results that will be of use in determining the chronology of the different parts of the epics, especially, of the Mahābhārata. But we have had, through lack of time and leisure, to exclude

them from our survey. All that we will do here is to present a few facts concerning the trimeter verses of the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata.

Though both the epics are composed chiefly in dimeter verses, there are a great number of trimeter verses in both. But whereas in the Rāmāyaṇa, they are all found at the end of sargas, thereby conforming to the general practice of changing the metre at the end of sargas, no such rule is observed in the bigger epic. In the Rāmāyaṇa, the rule is to have at the end of a sarga, composed mainly or entirely of dimeter verses, one trimeter stanza, usually Vamśasthabila or Indravajrā. Stanzas having more than one trimeter stanza at the end or having no such stanza at all are not however uncommon. Sargas composed entirely in trimeter verses are also found here and there in the Sundara and Yuddhakāṇḍas, but they are very few in number, only about five in each. The following table will show at a glance the total number of sargas in each Kāṇḍa and the number of sargas having final trimeter stanzas.

TABLE I.

Name of the Kāṇḍa.	Total number of sargas.	Sargas having final trimeter stanzas.
Bālakāṇḍa	77	15
Ayodhyākāṇḍa	119	106
Āraṇyakāṇḍa	75	53
Kiṣkindhākāṇḍa	67	46
Sundrakāṇḍa	68	43
Yuddhakāṇḍa	128	100

These trimeter verses are distinguished by their regularity and close adherence to the rules regulating classical prosody. There are four verses in each stanza and they are absolutely symmetrical in rythm and in the number of syllables composing them. The result is that they can all be brought under the well-known metres of the classical period, as the following analysis of the trimeter verses of the Ayodhyākāṇḍa will show,

TABLE II.

AYODHYĀKĀṆḌA.

Name of metre.	Number.
Vamśasthā	121
Upajāti	67
Upendravajrā	12
Indravajrā	4
Āryā	1

As the only difference between Upajāti, Indravajrā and Upendravajrā is that, in the first, all the verses do not begin with a long syllable, and in the second, all begin with a long syllable and in the third, all begin with a short syllable, they might, for all practical purposes, be considered as one. This would mean that there are only two groups of trimeter verses in the Ayodhyākāṇḍa, the Indravajrā-Upendravajrā-Upajāti group and the Vamśasthā groap. We have no doubt that an analysis of the final stanzas of the other Kāṇḍas will yield practically the same result.

From the above-mentioned facts, it appears that the stanzas of the Rāmāyaṇa partake of the regularity and symmetry of rythm of the classical metres, while they preserve at the same time something of their ancient character in that they remain still within the dimeter and trimeter systems.

If we now turn to the Mahābhārata, we find a different state of things. Here again, the main body of the epic is written in dimeter verses, but in each one of the 18 parvans that go to make up the great epic, there are many groups of trimeter stanzas which form an interesting subject of study. Even a superficial glance at them is enough for one to notice that they have not been introduced in obedience to the tradition of changing the metre at the end of a sarga. They usually form whole adhyāyas by themselves, while there are a great many which come in the middle of adhyāyas. There is however one feature and that, an important one, in which these verses resemble those of Rāmāyaṇa, namely that they remain within the dimeter-trimeter systems. Well, now, we consider this an important point, for according to us, this is a sign of antiquity in Sanskrit literature. A composition in which the verses invariably remain within this system must belong, if not to the Vedic period, at least to a period in which the distinct features of the classical period had not yet developed themselves. Such, for instance, is the Kaṭhopaniṣad, in which out of a total of 118 stanzas, 55 are composed of dimeter verses and 63 of trimeter verses. In the same way, in the Muṇḍakopaniṣad, the verses are dimeter or trimeter, and never contain more than twelve syllables each. To take an illustration from Pāli literature, 49 out of the 423 stanzas of the Dhammapada are composed of trimeter verses and the rest of dimeter verses. This is enough to show that a composition, while not being Vedic, must be considered to be old, if all its poetry comes within the dimeter-trimeter systems.

While they thus resemble the trimeter verses of the Rāmāyaṇa, they have their own distinct features. They are distributed throughout the epic in groups. These groups constitute one or more adhyāyas and are preceded and followed by the usual dimeter verses. So placed, they become striking and one begins to wonder why it is that they all appear in groups. No doubt there are many such stanzas which do not

form separate adhyāyas, but are inserted in the middle or at the end of the adhyāyas composed mainly of dimeter verses.

Another interesting feature of these stanzas of the Mahābhārata is that they can be divided into two main classes. The first is composed of regular and symmetrical verses of the Rāmāyaṇa type and the other of irregular and unsymmetrical verses, akin to those found in some of the Upaniṣads and in Pāli literature. But it is very rarely, if ever, that these two kinds of verses are mixed in one and the same group. This naturally suggests their independent origin. The following table will show at a glance the symmetrical and unsymmetrical groups in each parvan of the great epic. But in preparing this table, we have included only those groups which constitute separate adhyāyas and those others which, while not forming separate adhyāyas, are sufficiently large to justify inclusion in this table.

TABLE III.

Name of Parvan.	Adhyāyas which are composed of symmetrical stanzas or in which such stanzas are found in large members.	Adhyāyas composed of unsymmetrical stanzas or in which such stanzas are found in large numbers.
Ādiparvan ...	19, 23, 44, 202, 203, 204.	1, 55, 56, 70, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87.
Sabhāparvan ...	...	82, 83, 86, 87, 89, 92.
Vanaparvan ...	23, 24, 25, 99, 100, 119, 120, 121, 155, 165, 166, 178, 179, 185, 186, 202, 233, 235, 237, 266, 267, 270, 298.	4, 5, 34, 112, 113, 114, 134, 135, 136, 189, 195, 200, 271.
Virāṭaparvan ...	9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 58, 66, 67, 73, 77.	38
Udyogaparvan ...	1, 2, 62. ...	16, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 32, 33, 36, 37, 40, 42, 43, 44, 48, 56, 59, 66, 70, 181,
Bhīṣmaparvan ...	22, 59, 60, 80.	20, 35, 85.
Droṇaparvan ...	50, 118, 140, 164.	2.
Karṇaparvan ...	21, 31 (Half)	4, 31 (Half) 36, 69; 70, 71, 73, 74.
Śalyaparvan ...	16, 19.	...
Sauptikaparvan ...	10.	...
Śāntiparvan ...	177, 199, 200, 286,	62, 63, 73, 141, 305.
Anuśāsanaparvan ...	32, 65, 92, 106, 108, 159, 263.	15.
Āśvamedhikaparvan ...	16, 27.	...
Mausalaparvan ...	...	5.

It will be noticed from the above table that sometimes successive adhyāyas are composed of the same kind of Stanzas and it is a characteristic both of the symmetrical and the unsymmetrical variety. Take, for instance, among the unsymmetrical ones, Ādiparvan, adhyāyas 55 and 56 adhyāyas 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87; Vanaparvan, adhyāyas 112, 113, 114; Udyogaparvan, adhyāyas 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, and 30 and so on and among the unsymmetrical ones, Vanaparvan, adhyāyas 23, 24, 25; Virāṭaparvan, adhyāyas 9, 10, 11, 12, 13 and so on. On a closer examination, it is also found that these successive adhyāyas of the same kind of trimeter verse generally treat of the same topic and that as soon as the topic comes to an end, the usual dimeter verse is resumed, and the story continued. For instance, adhyāyas 81-87 of Ādiparvan tell the story of Yayāti and adhyāya 88 commences another topic, namely, the description of Puruvamśa. Again adhyāyas 112—114, deal with the story of Ṛṣyaśṛṅga but adhyāya 115, with another subject, the tīrthayātra of Yudhiṣṭhira. This can be said also of many other groups of both varieties. The fact that they are composed in a metre different from the preceding and following passages and that each of these groups seems to be devoted to the treatment of one single topic gives them a detachable character and speaks for their independent origin. It would be hazardous to say more in the present state of our investigation of the subject and we must leave the rest for a future occasion.

Note.—References are to the Nirṇaya-Sāgara Press editions of the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata.

PATAÑJALI & KĀVYA LITERATURE PRESUMED BY HIM

BY

MR. K. G. SUBRAHMANYAM, B.A. HONS., MADRAS.

The references that strike a reader of Patañjali's work called the "Mahābhāṣya" most and often are those relating to the story of the Mahābhārata. It is a point worthy of note that Patañjali quotes not from the epic of the Mahābhārata but from works relating to the story of the Mahābhārata.

In commenting upon a Vārtika to Pāṇini's Sūtra III-2-3 (Page 119 Vol. II Bom. S.S,) he gives this sentence in counter illustration :— जघान कंसं किल वासुदेवः ।

Here a question may be raised as to whether it is a quotation at all. But the doubt may be cleared by a reference to an illustration in the same context :—अरुणद्यवनस्साकेतम् (Ibid) which could not be mistaken for a quotation at all. The sentence under discussion betrays a certain element of poetry in it and the word किल would be meaningless without a previous narration. So not only is this a quotation but it must be a Pāda of a verse in the Upendravajrā metre. We may even go to the length of inferring that such a verse should form part of a literary work similar to the Śiśupālavadha of Māgha, based on the story of the Mahābhārata.

In another place while commenting upon a Vārtika to Pāṇini's sūtra III-1-26, (Page 36 Vol. II Bom. S. S.) Patañjali says :—

इह तु कथं वर्तमानकालता । कंसं घातयति बलिं बन्धयतीति चिरहते कंसे चिरबद्धे च बलौ । अत्रापि युक्ता कथम् । ये तावदेते शौभिका (another R शोभनिका) नामैते प्रत्यक्षं कंसं घातयन्ति, प्रत्यक्षंच बलिं बन्धयन्ति इति । चित्रेषु कथम् । चित्रेष्वप्युद्गूर्णा निपतिताश्च प्रहारा दृश्यन्ते कंसस्य, च कृष्णस्य च (R. कंसकर्षण्यश्च) ॥

Kaiyyaṭa comments upon the above (Page 68, Vol. II Benares Edn.) thus :—

शौभिकाइति । कंसाद्यनुकारिणां नटानां व्याख्यानोपाध्यायाः । कंसानुकारी नटः सामाजिकैः कंसबुद्ध्या गृहीतः कंसो भाष्ये विवक्षितः ॥

Here from the context one can easily infer—as has been done by scholars—that Patañjali refers to a dramatic performance based on the story of the Mahābhārata. In the same text it may be seen that Patañjali refers also to the paintings relating to the same story.

Incidentally a remark with reference to the exact significance of the above passage on the development of the Samskṛt drama made by A. B. Keith in his latest work on Samskṛt Drama deserves our consideration. Referring to Kaiyyaṭa's explanation of the word शौभिका: he says (P. 33.) that the comment is frankly obscure. But it seems to me that Kaiyyaṭa tries to be very plain. He clearly differentiates the शौभिक's from the Naṭas or the actors. Even independently of Kaiyyaṭa, we can boldly assert that the शौभिका's are different from the Naṭas by the fact of the use of the causative. Bhartṛhari clearly says in his Vākyapadīya that the actors are the agents of शौभिकाष. We can go even further and say with Sylvan Levi that शौभिक's were those who taught the actors—probably the modern conductors and to say that शौभिक's performed is a clear misinterpretation of the passage under discussion, and one may even venture to differ from Keith with regard to his doubt whether the speech-element of the actors was present during Patañjali's time. For the words शब्दग्रन्थगड्डमात्रं लक्ष्यते prove that with regard to शौभिक's speech and action were present while with regard to Granthikas speech alone was present, and we may say that there is a clear indication by Patañjali of the fact that there were present the two elements—action and speech—in the drama of his time.

Coming to the subject a careful consideration of the above references together with those to the chief personages in the story of the Mahābhārata Pāṇini IV-3-98, 168, and VIII-3-95. will lead one to infer that the Mahābhārata was well known in the days of Pāṇini, and dramatic as well as Kāvya works came to be written about it in the days of Patañjali. It may be remarked with regard to the latter aspect of the matter that paintings and dramatic representations of a story are not possible except on a thorough and accurate knowledge of the details of the same, and such dramatic representations necessarily presuppose a literature dealing with the story which those dramatic representations exhibit. This supposition is strengthened by Patañjali's own words in the same context :—

ग्रन्थिकेषु कथम्। यत्र शब्दग्रन्थगड्डमात्रं लक्ष्यते. ॥ This is the Reading accepted by नागेश. ॥

(शब्दकौस्तुभ) येऽपि ग्रन्थंवाचयन्तः कंसवधमाचक्षते ग्रन्थिका नाम तेऽपि॥

Here Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita interprets Patañjali as evidently referring to the reading of a work relating to a Purāṇic story in a public place where

orthodox people have assembled and the theological aspect of such a reading as now popularly understood is to absolve the hearers of their sins. In this instance the story should be that of the Mahābhārata and the work must be the epic of the Mahābhārata in some shape or other.

Scholars like Hopkins take their stand on Pāṇini's references to the personages in the Mahābhārata and arrive at the conclusion that the epic of the Mahābhārata should have had its neucleus before Pāṇini. Macdonell on the authority of a reference in the Āśvalāyana's Gṛhya Sūtras to a Bharata and a Mahābhārata the exact significance of which is doubted by some scholars premises that the epic should have had its origin about the 5th Cen. B.C. But C.V. Vaidya in his criticism of the Mahābhārata asserts on the authority of some evidences relating to the history of Astronomy that the epic should have assumed its present shape between three to one hundred B.C., which is also not universally accepted. But we on the authority of Patañjali's references—specially the one above quoted—together with Pāṇini's references, can arrive at the conclusion that the epic of the Mahābhārata in some shape or other should have been at least three centuries old to have gained such a widespread popularity as to be considered sacred and as to be incorporated in dramatic works and paintings during Patañjali's time. Taking into consideration the date of Patañjali and the accepted date for Pāṇini we fix the date of the neucleus of the epic of the Mahābhārata about 450 B.C.

Another historically noteworthy quotation by Patañjal is :—
" वरतनु संप्रवदन्ति कुक्कुटाः" ॥ (Vol. II, P. 165. N. S. Edn.)

This extract is identified by scholars as the last Pāda of the following verse quoted by Kṣemendra in his Āucityavicāracarcā and attributed to Kumāradāsa :—(Kāvyamālā I, P. 244.)

यथा कुमारदासस्य—

अयि विजहीहि दृढोपगूहनं त्यज नवसंगमभीरु वल्लभम् ।
अरुणकरोद्गम एष वर्तते वरतनु संप्रवदन्ति कुक्कुटाः ॥

This may lead to the inference that Patañjali should have been later than Kumāradāsa which is yet to be proved. We knew Kumāradāsa only as the author of Jānakīharaṇa which is only incompletely available in print and completely available only in manuscript form. In the Jānakīharaṇa as known to us the verse quoted above is not found and the author of the verse, like several other quotations by Patañjali is yet to be identified.

Another interesting quotation is :—(Vol. II, P. 167 Bom. S.S.)

" कालः पचति भूतानि कालः संहरति प्रजाः" ॥

This extract can be identified as the one half of a verse quoted by the commentator to Vātsyāyana's Kāma Sūtras in his commentary called the Jayamaṅgala :—Page 22 Chowk. S.S.)

यथा चाहुः—

कालः पचति भूतानि कालः संहरति प्रजाः ॥

कालः सुप्तेषु जागर्ति कालो हि दुरतिक्रमः॥ इति ॥

Unfortunately for us the commentator does not tell us the work from which he quotes or whom he quotes.

There are many other quotations by Patañjali in his work which go to show that classical literature of the dramatic and other types should have reached a considerable stage of development in his time.

II.—Avesta in Relation to Sanskrit.

ARTAKHSIR BAPAK—FOUNDER OF THE SASANIAN ZOROASTRIAN EMPIRE OF IRAN.

BY

DR. P. N. DARUWALLA, LL.D. (LONDON), B.A., LL.B. (BOMBAY), *Barrister-at-Law.*

The following paper gives a critical account on the subject of political, social and religious condition of Iran during the Sasanian Sovereignty of its illustrious founder Artakhsir Bapak. This subject is of very great interest to those who take interest in ancient history of Persia. The recent discoveries of rock inscriptions made by recent travellers and scholars have opened the eye of the world about the greatness and eminence that prevailed during the beginning of the Sasanian Empire after its downfall and it behoves us to critically examine the materials from the writings, inscriptions, coins and old books that are existing.

Artakshir Bapak the subject of this paper flourished after the Achemenian Kings of this name in Armenia. The shorter form is Artaxias. He was among the dynasts of Persia who ruled independently during the Parthian period. One of these became the founder of the new Persian or Sasanian Empire in 226 A. D. The Greek and Roman writers mention only his victory over the Parthians and his wars with Rome. The trustworthy tradition of the origin of the power from Persian sources is preserved by the Arabian Historian Tabari. According to him he was the second son of Bapak, the offspring of Sasanian parents after whóm the dynasty is named. Bapak was the ruler of the district of Ispaker near Persepolis which had fallen to ruins. Many legends have been told of his early life, and the romantic account of his adventures has been given by Chroniclers. He had suffered much owing to independent spirit and daring nature. His great ambition was to restore Zoroastrian civilisation and relgion in Persia and in countries which he conquered. He waged war against Idolatry by destroying the worship of Dragon. The records give accounts of his military achievements and triumphs in battle against the Kurds, Medians, Parthians and Armenians. The epic of Shah Namah by Firdusi narrates the main events of the reign of this great monarch Bundahishm, Alberuni, Masudi contain accounts of the greatness and goodness of this great Monarch. A genealogy of Artakhsir is given in Bundahishm as follows:—He belonged to a priestly family of kings. His father Susan was descended from pure Zoroastrian line of Kayanian Monarchs. His mother was a daughter of Bapak, the frontier ruler of Fars. Firdusi refers to Susan the fourth as the father of this hero and

as a descendant of Bahmen, son of Asfendiar. 'Alberuni and Masudi give chronology of this hero with some variations. According to other accounts Artakhsir was an adopted son of Bapak and we find the inscription of Artakhsir son of Bapak, on coins. The Sasanian coins in Palhvi rock inscriptions contain reference to this hero. These coins indicate that Artakhsir had been a joint ruler of Fars with his father Bapak. He assumed the Royal authority in Iran and struck coins on which we find his image surrounded by words which mean Mazdayanian, Lord Artakhsir the King of Iran. These coins were struck before he assumed the title of the Emperor. The latest coins of his reign contain an impression as Mazdayanian Lord Artakhsir, King of Kings of Iran of spiritual origin from the Deity and on the reverse we find a fire altar with the words meaning the light of Artakhsir. The inscription on relief of Naksha Rustim and Naksh-Rajab contain reference to the father and the son. The cave inscription at Hajiabad near Persepolis refer to the chief adventures of his hero and indicate that he was called king of kings of Iran of good principles. (See Syke's History of Persia, Vol I pages 422-429; Browne's Literary History of Persia 127-152). The inscriptions also record his great deeds of an enthronement of the great Fire of Fires in different cities, and development of the recourses necessary for the growth of priest hood and Zoroastrian religion on the one hand and of the suppression of the curelty of noble men. The Sasanian Pahlvi literature contains accounts on the coins, and inscriptions existing with reference to his heroic efforts in spreading Zoroastrian religion and civilisation, Dinkard, Bundashan, Zandi Vohaman Yast and Madigani Chachram contain an account of the deeds of this monarch in the religious renaissance that followed his advent to the throne. From the study of Dinkard we find that Artakhsir gave very strong impetus to the studies of Mazdayasnian regulations under the guidance of his high priest Totar. The old Iran Indian Greek and Roman Works were consulted with a view to get the authentic accounts of Zoroastrian faith and culture. He also took great pains to spread knowledge of calendar of seasons of the year, Geography, Astronomy, Astrology, Hygiene, and Philosophy of original creation. The king ordered correct copies of religious and scientic works to be prepared not only for the use of the Royal libraries but also for the use of the youth of his vast Empire in different cities which he had conquered. There used to be open discussions in arguments before the Royal Princes in which learned men took part with a view to show the excellence of the Zoroastrian faith and culture. The Sudgar Nash is the first book of the Zoroastrian sacred literature in which greatness of this hero is prophesied. The Zoroastrian Sovereignty is divided into seven ages which are called (1) golden (2) silver (3) copper (4) brazen (5) tin (6) steel (7) iron periods and Ahura Muzda refers to the prophet about the events which are to happen in these seven periods. According to that account Artakhshir and his son Bapak are placed in the fourth period or

brazen period and are entitled to be called the destroyer of idolatry from the world. We find references to games of Chathrang and Vine Artakhshir in these records. These records appear to have been compiled in the middle of the 6th century (A.D.) by the vazir of Sasanian king Kushru the first. The Shanama of Firdusi the poet who flourished in the 10th century confirms the earlier existence and composition of earlier text. Firdusi made use of Palhvi Karname Artakhshir along with the accounts given by Arabian and Persian writers and traditions. There are also Western, Armenian and Mahomedan historians who have written on this Sasanian Epoch and a critical study of this period enables us to get an insight into the advanced state of civilization at that time. (Jackson, Travels into Persia and Dhala, Zoroastrian civilisation). Sasanian Kings were regarded as Divine kings. The doctrine of Divine Right of Kings in Persia was maintained by Artakhsir Bapak. This doctrine has played a great important part in the history of Europe and Asia and was accepted by various nations of the world. Passion for philosophical speculation is a characteristic feature of Persian thought. Sir John Malcom writes " the fame of this monarch Artakhsir had spread in every direction and different state wilingly sought the protection of this monarch. The Rulers of the east and west vied with one another in sending their courtiers and ambassadors to the Court of the Persian Kings. He effected evolution in this country by great statesmanship" (History of Persia, Vol. I, page 72).

This monarch had four great qualities. They were 1. True and intimate magnanimity of soul, 2. Real goodness of disposition, 3. Firmness enough to repress all who went out of their proper ranks, 4. Principles of conduct which prevented those who obeyed him from ever entertaining any fears regarding their property, their honour or their lives.

POLITICAL REFORMS.

He introduced political and military reforms. He introduced militia or enforced military service to train the youths of his empire with a view to encourage riding and use of bow and arrow. The attention was directed towards formation of religious and moral character. Learned writers and speakers were given a prominent seat of honour in his Court. Malcolm says that Arthakshir was learned and wise and was the author of two works. The Karnamahe was written by him and contains the account of his travels and enterprises. The second work contains maxims drawn from his own experience and judgment. An unjust king according to him was like a lion in the field. The rulers were commanded to place their reliance upon the Deity because under the favour and protection of God the Crown of happiness had been secured by him. Religion cannot exist without a state and a state cannot exist without religion. The throne of a king is shaken when he is unjust, when he favours mean and unqualified persons and elevates them above those who are worthy and qualified.

His advice to his son was "never forget that, as a king, you are at once the protector of religion and of your country. Consider the altar and throne as inseparable. They must sustain each other. The sovereign without a religion is a tyrant. May your administration be such as to bring on a future day the blessing of those whom God has confided to our paternal care upon both your memory and mine."

STUDY OF JURISPRUDENCE.

Those that are interested in the study of jurisprudence will find many legal concepts relating to Civil and Criminal Law. The writer of this paper desires to place a critical survey of legal ideas which can be obtained from the study of this period. Law and Religion are regarded as one whole subject in Sasanian Iran. The Jurists of the new empire look to the Avestan books as the source of law. Codification was made of the Avestan works. The work of interpreting the legal texts was given to priests who were appointed Judges in different parts of the empire and the high priest was the highest judicial authority in the land (Dinkard Vol. II, page 69). The Judges were very learned and were above curruption. Justice was done evenly to the rich and poor. The highest ecclesiastical officer administered Justice. The king was the ultimate judicial authority on earth as he was representative of God, the Divine Law giver Hormazd.

PUNISHMENT.

The punishment of death or mutilation could not be inflicted without the approval of the Emperor. The Judge has to discriminate between true and false evidence. Any insincere person is not regarded as a reliable witness (Dinkard Vol. 15, Book 8, Page 15). The rules are laid down for the number of witnesses that were required to be trustworthy.

OATHS AND ORDEALS.

In this matter oath of the parties played valuable part in a trial. A very important part in the administration of justice was played by oaths and ordeals. Ordeals of various kinds such as by water, fire, lead, are also described to assist the judge in the administration of justice. Turning to the substantive law we find a very developed form of the law of contracts.

SUBSTANTIVE LAW.

(*a*) Law of Contract.

The Persians attached great importance to the binding character of promises, and the Civil Law regarded a promise as sacred and was binding. Contracts were inviolable. Mithra an angel is regarded as the deity of truth and guardian of good faith among men. Mithra means contract.

Nikadun Mesk deals with the subject of contracts, and the results that follow from proper observance, or violation of contract (Dinkard Vol. 15 Book 8, 19, 116, page 82). Contracts hold good for all persons irrespective of faith. Contracts are of various kinds, *viz.*, 1. Hand contract; this contract is entered into by the parties putting their hands together and agreeing to fulfil certain conditions. 2. Oral contract; by word of mouth. 3. Sheep contract; in this the parties agree to forfeit to the lender the value of a sheep. 4. Ox contract was similar to sheep contract. 5. Man contract stands security for a party. 6. Land contract in which the piece of land or its evidence in value is pawned by the debtor (Vandidad 4. 1-4).

The importance of a promise is based upon religious sanction enforced by Civil sanction as well and is based upon the ethical and moral teaching of Zoroastrianism which inculcates that good word, good thought and good deed should be the basic principle of life.

(*b*) LAW OF PROPERTY.

Succession.

We find ideas on ownership of property fully formed. Property of seven kinds was not accepted as a security. We find ideas which relate to succession of Law. The person who made a will should be possessed of sound disposing mind. (Dardistani Dinni translated from E. V. Text in sacred books of these Vol. 18.) If a man died intestate leaving widow, sons and unmarried daughters, the widow, receives twice as much as the sons and daughters. If any of the sons or daughters was blind or cripled, he or she was entitled to get twice as much as one son or daughter that was of sound body.

PERSONAL LAW.

(*a*) Guardianship.

The law of guardianship. The widow was the guardian of the children and property and it was the duty of the mother to maintain them. (Dardistani Dinni.)

(*b*) Adoption.

There was a system of adoption based on religious grounds with a view to secure happiness to the deceased in the next world and also to carry on the work of management of the property of the deceased after his death. The Palhvi word Sator means an adopted son and is used for religious and civil purposes. The mother was a natural guardian of the family and the property of the deceased. In the absence of a widow other members of the family of the deceased were eligible for guardianship. The high priest also appointed a guardian in certain cases.

(*c*) Marriage.

The institution of marriage was held in very high esteem and women occupied a high place in society and held responsible offices in the state. Mixed marriages were not countenanced. The ceremony of a Ashirivad by two priests and the

consent of guardians if the parties were under 15 years of age were necessary. Marriage was arranged by the parents by means of those who knew the families of the parties through the agency of respectable parties. There are five kinds of marriage. 1. Padasha Zan, that is the privileged wife. 2 Evakzan-one, wife who was the only child of her parents. The first born child belongs to her own father. 3. Satarzan *i.e.* adopted wife—half the number of children belonged to the dead husband and half to the present living husband. 4. Chaker Zan, serving wife "who was a childless widow who remarried, half the number of children belong to her husband. 5. Khad Serdizan, the wife who made her choice of her husband without consulting her parents. (Love marriage)

(*d*) Divorce.

Marriage was dissolved on the part of man on the ground of unfaithfulness of the woman ; on the part of the woman for desertion and ill-treatment by the husband. Adultery on the part of the wife was a ground for divorce. Barrenness was a ground for remarriage subject to maintaining the first wife. In the Sasanian period the standard of morality was very high. The Law of family was based on honour and respect and purity of life.

There was no distinction between the law, civil and criminal as it obtains in the modern times. All breaches of prescribed law were punished as crimes. Crimes were of three kinds. 1. Revolt against God, Heresy, blasphemy 2. Crimes of the people against their king, such as treason and revolt. 3. Crimes against his fellowmen (Journal Asiatic 1894 page 524) Moral grounds were treated as crimes. Adultery was treated with severe punishment and the faithless women had their ears and nose cut off. Idolatry was punished with imprisonment (Dinkard Vol. I, page 1450, Vol. 9, page, 631). Assaults were of different kinds and each was subject to different punishment , theft and highway robbery were punished with imprisonment.

It appears from the survey of Civil Law that civilization was highly advanced, Architecture was developed and fine art flourished. There was currency in gold and silver. The law of sanitation was much advanced. Pollution of any kind was severely punished. Calender of days and months and years was also modelied on the movement of the heavenly bodies.

RUSTAM THE INDRA OF IRAN.

BY

PROF. M. A. SHUSTERY, MYSORE.

As pointed out in my history of Sufism, the history of the myths of Vedic Āryans begins with the Indo-Iranian period. Most of the myths of both the Āryans and the Iranians are related either to heavenly bodies such as the sun and the moon or to natural phenomena, such as the clouds, lightning, thunder, tempest, dawn, sunset, day and night and the like. These are all described as gods with appropriate names and epithets. Sometimes they are all identified as one and the same, as in Ṛg. I. clxiv, 46:

"They call him Indra, Mitra, Varuṇa, and Agni, and he is the heavenly nobly-winged Garutmān. That which exists is one; sages call it variously, as Agni, Yama and Mātariśvan".

Sometimes the same exploits are ascribed to several deities. Also we find in later literature the same exploits and feats ascribed to certain favourite heroes bearing the same names. In the Zend Avesta, for example, the glory for slaying Azi, Vedic Ahi, a dragon or an evil spirit, so personified, is sometimes given Haoma, at othertimes to Thrita, or Thraetaona-Krishaspa or Tishtria. The Avestan Azi with three mouths, three heads and thousand limbs is represented by Ferdousi as a Semetic invader of the Iranland and as having killed the great Āryan King Jamshed who is identified with Avestan Yima or Vedic Yama. The one thousand limbs of Azi are taken to represent the one thousand year's rule of Zohhak. Likewise the Iranian Haoma identical with Vedic Soma, is taken to have been a hermit prince. Accordingly Firdousi says is Shahnama :—

"Now in those days there lived a holy man"
"One of the seed of Faridun, the teacher,"
"A devotee of Kaian Grace and men."
"One who was girded with a royal girdle."
"And used the mountain as his place of worship"
"As being far from pleasure and from men"
"The name of that illustrious one was Hum"
"A man of prayer who shunned Society."

It is really difficult to exactly ascertain the heroes who gradually rose in the estimation of their admirers to the elevated position of heavenly dignitaries; nor is it possible to say which of the heavenly bodies is regarded as having appeared in the form of a human being. A comparative study of the myths of different branches of the same race furnishes us with sufficient material to unveil the mystery. Let us take for example the Aśvins and Indra, the most prominent deity of the Vedic

period. According to the Vedas the Aśvins are the twin sons of Vivasvat. Hence they may be regarded as the brothers of Yama who is also described as the son of Vivasvat. They are also mentioned in the Vedas as two husbands of Sūryā. Their parallels in the Avesta are the two sisters called Erenevak and Svanghavak. They are twin sisters, daughters of Vivanhvant, same as the Vedic Vivasvat, and sisters of Yima, the Vedic Yama. They are also described as the two wives of Azi and later of Thraetaona also. The latter is identified with Feridun in Shahnama. It is not possible to say what these twin brothers or sisters represent. Some say they are day and night. According to others they are heaven and earth, or sun and moon or morning and evening stars, or the dark and light portions of the dawn. In the opinion of Dr. R. Shama Sastri they are the northern and southern solstices. Some others take them to be two Āryan chiefs who for their holy and benevolent acts were deified later. In the Avesta they are connected with Azi Dahaka and Thraetaona. When the latter was preparing to drive out Azi, he offered a sacrifice to the river Ardvi Sura Anahita. This is stated in the Avesta, as follows:—

To her did Thraetaona the heir of the Valient Athwya clan, saying "Grant me this, O good most beneficial Ardvi Sura Anahita that I may overcome Azi Dahaka, the three mouthed, the three headed, the six-eyed demon, that Angra Mainyu created against the material world to destroy the world of the good principle, and that I may deliver his two wives, Erenevak and Svanghvak who are the fairest ladies amongst women, and the most wounderful creatures in the world."

After the death of Azi Dahaka, they married Feridun and had three sons from him, who were the ancestors of Semitic, Turanan and Āryans as stated by Firdousi in Shahnama :—

"He had three noble sons fit for the Crown,
"Of royal birth, as tall as cypresses,
"Two were the stair less sons of Shahranaz,
"The youngest fair cheeked
"Arnavaz had borne."

Indra, the favourite god of the Vedic Āryans, whose chief attribute is physical valour has for his counterpart Rustam in Persia. Their names are different and while Indra is god, Rustam is a hero in Persia. Yet in many respects there is a close resemblance between them : For instance according to the Vedas, Kāvya Uśanā made Vajra and gave it to Indra (Ṛg. I cxxi, 12) : "*Yam te Kavayaḥ Uśanā Vṛtrāhaṇam pāryam tatakṣa Vajram*". In another place we read that Indra with Suśruvas defeated twenty chiefs and their army of 60,099 warriors. Now Kavya Uśanā is the same as Kavi Usā of the Avesta or Kai Kāus of Shahnama and Suśruvas the same as Husruvas of the Avesta or Kai Khusro, who were admirers of Rustam, under whom he fought and crushed the foes of

Iranian Aryos. Like Indra Rustam is also stated to have been born in an unnatural way. Firdousi says in Shahnama as follows :—

" His birth will not be natural, "
" So willeth He who giveth good. Bring thou "
" A blue-steal dagger, seek a cunning man, "
" Bemuse the body first with wine to ease "
" Her pain and fear, then let him ply his craft "
" And take the lion from its lair by piercing "
" Her waist while all unconscious thus imbruing.
" Her side in blood, and then stitch up the Gash"

Indra was a great drinker of Soma, and so Rustam of wine. Firdousi says :—

" They poured the wine and Rustam, spirit rose ;
" He took a bowl and toasted Kai Kaus.
" He kissed the ground. Again he took the cup,
" And cried : " This goblet do I drain to Tus.
" There at those Princes of the world lord rose
" And prayed the paladin have them excused.
" We can no more " they said" ; Iblis himself
" Could not drink fair with thee. Wine, one blow mace,
" And battle field are thine and thine alone ".

Indra comes in conflict with demons, such as Urana, who had 99 arms, and Viśvarūpa. Likewise Rustam slays Iranian Demons' Sapid Div and Akvan Div, whom professor Noldeke takes as Akem-menu or bad thought as opposed to Vahumanu or good thought. Both of them are known for their great strength, and for their connection with semi-historical rulers, and for using a similar weapon, such as *Vajra* or modern Persian gurz, arrows, and noose. Both were defenders and protectors of Aryan heroes of India and Iran, and conquerors of their enemies. Rustam lived in Zabul and extended his dominion as far as Punjab, where Indra also fought with Dasyus, and was praised by Āryan Ṛṣis. Indra killed his father. This is stated in (Rig. 1, xviii, 12). thus :—

" What God, when by the foot thy Sire thou tookest
" And slewest, was at hand to give thee comfort ".

The Persian poet has changed the father to son and in Shahnama Firdousi mentions that Rustam, the defender of Iran, killed his brave son Sohrab. There is one important point in connection with the legend of Rustam :

His name is ignored by the compilers of Avesta, the sacred book of the Zoroastrians. Indra also is mentioned twice not as God but as demon (see Spiegel, Av. IV III, LXXXI). In Shahmama, Rustam, the great defender of the Iranians, for a period of four hundred years, does not take any part in the great religious struggle of Zoraster. We find him, even fighting against King Kushtasp and killing his son Isfendiyar the most devoted convert and champion of the new religion who had spread the new

faith in the East and West, by fire and sword. Such a great religious hero, instead of being helped, protected and respected by the old warrior, was killed by him and in turn after Rustam's death, Rustam's whole family was annihilated by Isfandiyar's son known as Arta Kshathra Vahumanah (ardasher-Bahmam).

This event in the first instance reveals the mystery of Avesta's silence with regard to Rustam, and secretly suggests, that there was difference of opinion among the Iranians. It may be presumed that the Iranians were divided, the majority accepting the new religion, and naturally in conflict with those who kept their old faith, and in consequence of such division some old and favourite Gods, were connected into Demons, and when hatred subsided some of the rejected deities seem to have been revived with a new, and modified myth. Perhaps Rustam is one of them. He has no heavenly dignity and is only a hero. He is not however, the only hero whose deeds are similar to old Indo-Iranian deities. As I have already stated Haoma, or Soma, Yima or Yama, Aśvins or the twin sisters are other instances leading to the same conclusion. The student of Indo-Iranian myths, may by patient study find more.

THE IDENTITY BETWEEN VARUṆA AND AHURA MAZDA.

BY

DR. R. ZIMMERMANN, BOMBAY.

The identity between Varuṇa and Ahura Mazda has been asserted and propounded by Darmesteter [1] in his Ormazd et Ahriman as early as 1876. From the identity of the functions of the two, Darmesteter thinks their common origin may be presumed. The same scholar finds an identity also between the material attributes of both Ahura Mazda and Varuṇa : as nature-gods they are the same. The Ādityas, of whom Varuṇa is the first, have their replica in the Avestan Amesha Spentas. Both Varuṇa and Ahura Mazda are coupled with Mitra. Ahura Mazda and Varuṇa are the descendants of an Indo-Iranian god of the shining heaven, who was supreme lord. For, Varuṇa-Ahura joined together are identical with Zeus and Jupiter, Varuṇa-Ahura therefore is Indo-European, the Ādityas-Amesha Spentas are Indo-Iranian. The Indo-Iranian Asura is in no way to be taken in a monotheistic sense; Mazdaism, on the other hand, has a monotheistic tendency. So far Darmesteter. Oldenberg [2] in his Religion des Veda accepts the identity with some qualification when he says : " It is hardly too much to assume that the Vedic Varuṇa is a good deal nearer to the Avestan Ahura than to the Varuṇa of the later India; though for the difference between Varuṇa and Ahura there has to be taken into consideration not only the distance between the Indo-Iranian and the Vedic age, but the whole revolution of Zarathustra as well (l. c. p. 32 n.). The attitude of Pischel and Geldner [3] and their way of looking at the Veda is not without interest and importance in this connection. For them the Veda belongs to India and has to be explained by India; the Avesta belongs to Iran and has to be explained by Iran. Consistently with their views they say : "Indo-Germanic myths are not preserved in the Veda at all; all the myths which the Veda has to offer are purely Indian, and only to be understood and explained from a purely Indian point of view and (Indian) circumstances" (Vol. I, p. 81). They underline this assertion by stating (in the preface, l.c.p. XXVII) : "we are forced to conclude that in the (Indian) mythology a great shift has taken place, that the Vedic legends and myths about the gods are representing a younger stratum, which indeed may contain reminiscences of the old Indo-Germanic myth, but

(1) J. Darmesteter, Ormazd et Ahriman. Leurs Origines et leur Histoire. Paris, 1876. Chapters V-IX, pp. 44—86.

(2) H. Oldenberg, Religion des Veda. Berlin, 1894, pp. 26 ff.

(3) R. Pischel and K. F. Geldner, Vedische Studien. Vols. I—III. Stuttgart, 1889, 1897, 1901. Vol. I, p. 81.

essentially is Indian, having its roots in the popular myths.' F. Spiegel [4] opposed the identity between Varuṇa and Ahura Mazda from the Iranian point of view; later on, however, he modified his opinion. W. Geiger [5] is satisfied with a merely material correspondence between Varuṇa and Ahura Mazda, based expressly on the fact that Varuṇa is called the eye of the sun, which in its turn proves that both Ahura Mazda and Varuṇa go back to the same deity of the Āryan period. Macdonell [6] again declares: "The parallel in character; though not in name, of the god Varuṇa is the Ahura Mazda, the wise spirit". The Lehrbuch der Religions geschichte [7], edited by Chantepie de la Saussaye, to mentional foremost authority on the study of the History of Religions, does not mention expressly along with Yama-Yima, Soma-Haoma, the pair Varuṇa-Ahura Mazda as a striking parallel; perhaps it is to be understood under "many other things" said to be the common property of Iranians and Indians.

The one extreme in this diversity of opinions is represented by Pischel and Geldner who seem to draw a clear line of separation between the Iranian Ahura Mazda and the Indian Varuṇa. The latter in their opinion is only in a vague sort connected with the Indo-Germanic past, being essentially Indian. This view seems countenanced by one of the greatest living authorities on Avesta. A. V. Williams Jackson [8] states for Ahura Mazda that his relation to Varuṇa is a very loose one and should not be overrated. The other extreme view is that which declares Varuṇa to be a parallel of, or even identical with, Ahura Mazda, as Macdonell does. It may then be not quite out of place to try and show the relation between Varuṇa and Ahura Mazda, two of the greatest figures of Indo-European mythology, and indicate, if possible, the degree of affinity, if there is no complete identity. The nature of the question demands that it should be approached both from the side of Philology and the History of Religion. With a wealth of erudition the problem has been discussed at length by L. von Schroeder, who [9] comes to a mainly

(4) F. Spiegel, Franische Altertumskunde, II, pp. 25 ff; Die arische Periode, p. 185 ff.

(5) W. Geiger, Ostiranische Kultur in Altertum, p, 306.

(6) A. A. Macdonell, Vedic Mythology. Encyclopedia of Indio-Aryan Research, III, 1. A.P. 6. In the Sanskrit Index, s.v., Varuna is " identical " with the Avestan Ahura Mazda.

(7) Lehrbuch der Religions geschichte. herausgegeben unter Redaktion von Chantepie de la Saussaye. Tubingen, 1905. Vol. II, p. 3.

(8) In Grundriss der iranischen Philologie, herausgegeben von Wilh. Geiger und Ernst Kuhn. Vol. II, Strassburg, 1896—1904. V. Die iranische Religion, p. 633.

(9) L. von Schroeder, Arische Religion, Vols. I, II. Leipzig, 1914, 1916. Chapters: Das hochste Wesen der arischen Urzeit. Der altarische Himmelsgott. Der Himmelsgott beiden Indern and Persern. Pp. 295 ff. of Vol. I.

affirmative result. The writer of this paper finds that he has kept fairly close to von Schroeder's views, without being aware of it when the paper was being written.

In the first place it is clear that the names of Varuṇa and Ahura Mazda are anything but identical, or even related to one another. This, though it might create a prejudice against the identity, does not establish a difference in nature. By weighty authorities on phonetics the name Varuṇa is taken to be etymologically related to Ouranos, the Greek god of heaven. Considering further that Varuṇa and Ouranos may be derived from the root वृ, (vṛ) Varuṇa could mean the encompasser, container. Ahura Mazda represents an altogether different aspect of the deity. About Mazda there can be no doubt that its signification is wise, the phonetic and lexicographic equivalent of the Sanskrit मेधस्, *medhas*. Ahura in Avesta means the lord, the lord of judgment in particular [10] Varuṇa brings out the greatness of the deity, which is not limited because everything else is contained in it [11]. Ahura Mazda, on the other hand, emphasises the watchful ruler, discerning right and wrong. The former comes from a cosmic tendency, the latter from a moral and judicial bent of the mythology. These two aspects are not contradictory, but rather complementary. They bring out more the differences in the two religions than those of the two deities.

A closer relation than by the two names is shown by the physical foundation of Varuṇa and Ahura Mazda. The Vedic text does not give direct and unmistakable data for the natural basis of Varuṇa. It is a curious whim of mythology that the two greatest figures in the Vedic pantheon have an origin far less clear and certain than many of the minor inhabitants of the Vedic Olympus. But Ṛ.V. I. 115. 1 ; VI. 51, 1 ; VII. 61. 1 ; 63. 1, 5 ; as well as X. 37. 1, describe the sun as the eye of Varuṇa. Varuṇa then is the face of the person in which the sun as the eye is set : he can therefore only be taken to be the sky. Passages where Varuṇa appears with rays, VIII. 101. 2 ; where his appearance is golden, I. 25. 13 ; in which he puts on the worlds and the clans like a garment, VIII. 41. 7, are to be explained either by the tendency to connect everything grand and beautiful with Varuṇa, the object of the Ṛṣi's enthusiasm, or by his close connection with Mitra, or finally by poetic licence. There is then in the ṚV, not more than a group of passages which prove the connection of Varuṇa with the sky, a connection however which is clearer and more intrinsic than that between the sky and any other deity. Needless to say that Varuṇa's connection with Mitra points to the same direction. Of special importance are the passages which show the sun as a swing in

(10) Ch. Bartholomæ, Altiranisches Worterbuch, Strassburg, 1904. S. v.

(11) Cp. Ṛgveda, II-28, esp. mantra 8 ; VII. 87. 5.

the sky, fixed there by Varuṇa, ṚV. VII. 88, 3,4 ; 87.[12] All the utterances mentioned above in the ṚV., together with the etymology of the name Varuṇa, make him appear as the lineal descendant of Dyaus Pitar and Divo Pitar of pre-Vedic and even pre-Indo-Iranian times, the (later) parallel to Jupiter and Zeus. That there is in the whole Vedic mythology no other heir of Dyaus Pitar and Divo Pitar, besides Varuṇa, is just as important as it is unlikely that such a natural phenomenon as the sky should have been allowed to disappear from the worshipping mind of the Āryan in India and his pantheon. Thus Varuṇa, the result of an evolution out of the primitive Dyaus Pitar of the Indo-Europeans on the Indian side, can find his parallel only in a similar parallel on the Iranian side. Who is this parallel?

The clue for the answer to this question lies in the word Asura, Avestan Ahura [13]. In the Veda the divine Asura means the highest god. We may conclude from hints in the ṚV. that this was the standing epithet of the old Indo-Germanic god of heaven, Dyaus Pitar, who was then Asura Dyaus Pitar. Out of this there arose the more abstract deity Divo Asura, or simply Asura. Asura later on came to signify any god and, finally, was used as a mere epithet. That the Iranians before Zarathustra worshipped Dyaus, the god of heaven, seems certain ; that Ahura signifies the highest god of light is at least as certain : Zarathustra's reform then made out of the Asura Dyaus an Asura Medhas, Ahura Mazda. The substitution of Dyaus finds its complete and natural explanation in the tendency of Zarathustra's reform. Dyaus had to go because he was too much an object or at least a danger of nature worship, Mazda on the contrary brought out that side of Asura which Zarathustra wished to emphasise in the Lord of Judgment [14]. Behind two entirely different names there are thus two deities whose origin is common and who have still so much of the same nature as internal evolution and external changes have left them.

These changes from without have affected the personality of Varuṇa and Ahura Mazda to a very great extent. It seems indeed that in this respect the identity is so vague, not to say negative, that those who either from the Iranian or Indian point of view deny it, may find here the best support for their opinion. It is true that both Ahura Mazda and Varuṇa

---

(12) K. Bohnenberger, Der altindische Gott Varuna nach den Liedern des Ṛgveda. Tubingen, 1893, p. 23. A thoughtful monograph on Varuṇa.

(13) P. von Bradke, Dyaus Asura, Ahura Mazdā und die Asuras. Halle, 1885, pp. 80 ff.

(14) How in the face of this change Darmesteter's view on the devas and daēvas, expressed in Ormazd et Ahriman, p. 263, can hold good is difficult to conceive. "Dans cette prëttendue rëvolution il n'y a qu'un accident de language, une curiosiet de lexicologie." There seems to be a little more in it.

remained anthropomorphic. But whilst Varuṇa is a god in the shape of a Superman of body and soul in the Vedic pantheon, endowed with all the royal attributes and possessed of the paraphernalia of his office and position, Ahura Mazda is a spiritual, certainly an abstract and supersensual deity. There may be traces of his descent from an old Indo-Iranian and even Indo-European deity, but these are spiritualized. The anthropomorphism thus stops short at the constitution of the personality of Ahura Mazda. That he dwells in the light may be both a reminiscence of olden times and kept to put his pure nature more into relief. His throne is in heaven just as that of Varuṇa: this does no more prove anthropomorphism for Ahura Mazda than it does for Jehovah. In fact, Ahura Mazda is—in keeping with the whole tendency of Zarathustrianism—the most spiritual Aryan deity and the nearest approach to Jehovah. The Avesta declares that Ahura Mazda is, was, and will be. This wisely enough was never said of Varuṇa, who in this respect was left behind by his "parallel". As god of the spiritual light and heaven Ahura Mazda is farther advanced than Varuṇa who keeps more to the idea of the god of the physical heaven.

It is beyond the compass of this paper to enter into every detail: it may however be pointed out that the Spaśas, the spies of Varuṇa are absent in Ahura Mazda's picture. This absence may be explained by the Zarathustrian belief that the culprit will be punished after his death, has therefore not to be tracked and brought to book during his life time, and that the guilty as well as the saintly will be revealed at the Cinvat bridge. The Spaśas are therefore dropped as useless in the Avesta. The ministering angels round about Ahura Mazda have a more general and cheerful duty to perform.

Great differences between the two deities are naturally noticed if we consider them as rulers and in their governance of the world. Varuṇa's knowledge and wisdom, providence and power are more clearly delineated than that of any other deity in the Vedic mythology. He is the *Rājā* king, par excellence, and the epithets descriptive of this prerogative are as numerous as varying and original. The rule by which Varuṇa governs is *Ṛta*, of which it is not certain whether it is identical with him or not. It is, however, certain that in many ways *ṛta* as well as *Vrata* is simply Varuṇa's will. In the first place *ṛta* is the cosmic order, *dharman* and *dhāman*, then it stands for the moral order and finally for the ritual. His knowledge is comprehensive, his will irresistible to hostile power and deception, it is coupled with foresight and wisdom, which is said to rest in him as the nave in a wheel, VIII. 41. 6. Object of Varuṇa's rule is the whole universe with its astronomic parts and movements, such as time and its sections, the plant and animal kingdom, men and gods. It may safely be said that the attributes given to Varuṇa as sovereign ruler

in the Veda are least coming from mere flattery of the poet and material interest, not always absent from the abundant praise bestowed on other deities. Varuṇa's rule is so irresistible that it appears as *Māyā*, an object of wonder [15].

Here seems to be a point in which Varuṇa scores over Ahura Mazda. The latter is omniscient too, consequently can never be cheated. He is as provident and wise as Varuṇa and there is no higher power than that of Ahura Mazda. But there is one besides him, not for ever, it is true, but for the time of the struggle between good and bad, who opposes him and limits his jurisdiction. This is Ahriman, of whom the Veda knows no counterpart. The struggle with him and for what he stands will ultimately end in Ahura Mazda's victory, yet the conquest is not obtained without a serious and sustained effort on the part of Ahura Mazda and his followers. Varuṇa's rule is absolute, that of Ahura Mazda is limited. Here the hand of the reformer has been at work: the Zarathustrian dualism has made a conquering but also a struggling god out of a supreme ruler, Ahura Mazda has lost in power what he gained in spirituality.

The same external influence has also circumscribed Ahura Mazda's creative action. He is the creator only of the good things, Ahriman being responsible for the bad ones. Among the good things are especially the light and the cows. Varuṇa appears as creator of all the beings, all the existing things together, as well as certain provinces of the universe in particular. Nothing is excepted from his creation, though not everything is mentioned. As the cow is singled out by Zarathustra as a special product of Ahura Mazda's creation, so are the things mentioned for Varuṇa which the Indo-Aryan had at heart more than others: courage in the horse, milk in the cow, strength in the heart, fire in the water, soma on the rock. It must be said, though, that compared with the rule of Varuṇa the creation of things by him looks like a second thought, a logical conclusion, derived from the daily exercise of that rule. Naturally the rule in its effects was before the eyes, the creation was a far off event, for which there was no analogy. Unless we misread the Vedic text, the creation is more an arrangement than a production. Ahura Mazda, on the other hand, is a creator in the strict sense. In any case, not too much stress should be laid on the creative action of Varuṇa for the purpose of the parallelism between him and Ahura Mazda. For Varuṇa shares this activity with other deities in the Veda, and the details given are such on both sides, as would strike first every observer as things his deity has to be credited with [16].

(15) On Māyā (and Asura) see Asurasya Māyā in Ṛgveda, by V. K. Rajwade. Proceedings and Transactions of the First Oriential Conference, Poona, 1919. Vol. I, pp. IX ff., Vol. II, pp. 1 ff.

(16) As the fixing of the sun and the stars, and the like.

The domain of ethics in the Avesta has the boundary lines which are drawn by the limited creative action of Ahura Mazda. His law is valid and observed only in the realm of good. The resistance against Ahura Mazda and his law is organized in the kingdom and rule of Ahriman. The Good Law itself is clear and definite; religious and economic at the same time. All that is light, pure, good, has to be accomplished in thought, word and deed, the contrary is to be shunned. The support and propagation of Mazda's reign is the primary duty of every Zoroastrian; life, therefore, health and strength have to be protected and fostered, the social and economic system so arranged that Zarathustra's preaching is safeguarded and spread. Hence the ethical value of the rearing and the protection of the cow in the Avesta, as well as the vigorous denunciation of the unbeliever, the heretic and the apostate, Asha, the *ṛta* of the Veda, existing and governing side by side with Ahura Mazda. This seems to suggest that Ahura Mazda is primarily the administrator and guardian of the ethical order and has to revenge the infringement of its laws by the application of his wisdom and power. This fits in well enough with his name which in modern terminology might perhaps be rendered by Lord Chief Justice. For the administration is strictly juridical and judicial: good and bad actions are recorded accurately, they form the credit and debit of the Zarathustrian, and the balance is drawn with mathematical accuracy. The good will be rewarded and the wicked punished strictly in accordance with their deserts. The Zoroastrian faith collects its followers in a fold, nobody wholly outside may hope to be saved. The idea of half salvation has its beginning in the Gāthās, possibly as a compromise it was developed later on. The eschatology of the Veda does not know of any restrictions beyond good and bad, as far as the retributive action of Varuṇa is concerned.

It is easy to see that in the Avesta common ethical ideas have been pressed into the service of a particular purpose. It matters therefore little that the ethical ideas centering round Varuṇa are less defined and differ not a little from those of the Avesta. The great universal law—Thou shalt do good and avoid evil; evil done has to be atoned for; if it is not atoned it will be punished as well as virtue will be rewarded—is indeed the same whether issuing from Ahura Mazda or Varuṇa, and it is protected by either of the two alike. What exactly the contents of Varuṇa's vrata was, how it was promulgated, how the sinner got assured that the guilt and debt were remitted, of that we learn very little from the Veda. This however is clear that the process of forgiving started from a humble penitent petition to the irate god to relax the noose already thrown over the culprit. But there is this difference between the Veda and the Avesta in the rehabilitation of a sinner: in the Veda the sin is taken away by Varuṇa, in the Avesta it appears as balanced by good works. The big ethical outlines both in the Veda and the Avesta are given by the common

dictates of the natural law, but in the Veda these ideas are set working with a really human touch, in the Avesta they move in a more juridical, almost mathematical manner. The Varuṇa hymns are perhaps more remarkable for the behaviour of the sinner towards Varuṇa and *vice versa* than the ethical ideas they embody, though they are of the highest degree and value.

Outside the moral ideas the difference between Ahura Mazda and Varuṇa is still greater than inside. The relation of Varuṇa to his worshipper is more intense, immediate, practical and entering into detail than that between Ahura Mazda and the Mazdayasnian. This is noticeable quite apart from the attributes given to Varuṇa, which single him out as essentially benevolent and kind [17]. It is not only in distress brought about by the revenging anger of the god with the sin and the sinner, and removed by the appeased deity, that Varuṇa's kindly nature is seen. His help is implored for safety of person and property, at home and abroad, on land and on water. He is both to protect the worshipper's possession and also to increase it in the manner the Vedic Āryan's heart desires. And that the wealth gained by Varuṇa's grace may be of use, long life, freedom from disease, prosperity in body and mind, strong progeny, are expected from and given by him. There cannot easily be a happier being in the Aryan fold than he whom Varuṇa, or he and other Ādityas, Mitra in particular, shield and favour. Though these statements are not substantiated by historical facts, still one or the other event alluded to in the Ṛgveda may refer to Varuṇa's help. Ahura Mazda of the Zarathustrian reform is a kind and beneficent spirit, a watchful guardian and protector of those who observe his law, distributing rewards to them in his own good time. He will surely lead the faithful Mazdayasnian to victory and glory. His care, however, is not so concrete as that of Varuṇa; it appears more restricted to the struggle between good and bad. The blessing granted for a good life is chiefly awarded in the next world; it looks like an after-thought when in the Gāthās also temporal advantages are promised to the Zoroastrian, and asked for from Ahura Mazda. The relation between Ahura Mazda and the faithful is naturally regulated by the character of the Zarathustrian reform, which indeed raised the deity into a more sublime and purer atmosphere, but also removed it further away from man. The divine element was increased, the human aspect dimmed.

The parallel between Ahura Mazda and Varuṇa would not be complete without a comparative description of Mitra, the greatest and closest ally both of Varuṇa and Ahura Mazda. It is of importance to

---

(17) It is true that Indra is the Maghavān *par excellence* in the Veda. But Maghavān in connection with Indra refers more to the booty in war than the graces and boons bestowed in everyday life which the beneficence of Varuṇa grants.

remember that Mithra does not occur in the Gāthās, but very often in the younger Avesta. The Mitra of the Veda is a little better off, though he has only one hymn of the whole Saṁhitā exclusively in his honour. And in that hymn only one epithet, *yātayajjana*, is given to him to the exclusion of any other god alone, *Mitra-Varuṇa*, *Mitra-Varuṇa-Aryaman* together being honoured by the same attribute in other sūktas. There are however, hymns which are addressed to Mitra joined with another god, or in which he is mentioned; such hymns are of the same age as the Varuṇa hymns. There is then a prejudice in favour of the greater age of the Vedic Mitra, in case the two should show differences. As of Varuṇa so it is said of Mitra that he is a powerful but meek deity. He protects the pious and his kindness is praised often. He is *nṛtama*, the greatest friend of man, or the friendliest of men. He is called in the Veda *Ahiṁsana*, not injuring, remembering that he refused to strike Soma or even Vṛtra, just because he is Mitra, as the later Śruti puts it. True he is not entirely devoid of martial traits, and gets angry if his laws are violated. But it was only the deists of the modern times who expected the god to smile at the vilest outrage. The Vedic age was too robust and sane to spoil Mitra's divine aspect by such an attribute of feebleness. Yet on the whole Mitra in the Veda is a god of peace. But he is not so in the Avesta. As the god of light and the day he is more than anyone else the implacable enemy of perjurers, of contract and trust breakers. For he is no less the god of truth and honesty. In power he appears to be almost equal to Ahura Mazda, and is his most formidable ally in the battle against evil. He is essentially good, for no mortal can think, say, and do such evil as Mithra can think, say, and do good. He is a mighty warrior, clad in a shining mail, armed with the thunderbolt, with which he smashes the skulls of the demons. Mithra's very sight strikes terror into the heart of the enemy. His victorious exploits fill the Mihir Yasht. Thus the Avesta has made of the probably peaceful Mithra of the Indo-Iranian period a warlike god; the thunderbolt suggests that he felt not disinclined to run in the race for the inheritance which fell to Indra's share. It may then be taken as established that the relation between Ahura Mazda and Mithra and that between Varuṇa and Mitra is the same as far as the aliance goes. Mithra in the Avesta is as much and as little a sun-god as the Mitra of the Veda. But the nature and character of the Mithra of the Avesta differ from those of the Vedic god, the discrepancy arising out of the difference of the duties allotted to them.

There are two groups of mythological figures which are often adduced in support of the identity between Varuṇa and Ahura Mazda. They are the Amesha Spentas in the Avesta and the Ādityas in the Veda. " The doctrine of the Amesha Spentas or Archangels is a characteristic trait of the Zoroastrian faith. This doctrine may be an invention of the Prophet

himself; it cannot be of late origin in any case. There are undoubtedly points of contact between the Amshaspands of Iran and the Ādityas of India; but they are too vague and not sufficient proof for an identification"[18]. This last sentence is directed against Darmesteter and Oldenberg [19]. But in the face of all discrepancies between the Amesha Spentas and the Ādityas, and the contradiction on the part of scholars, Oldenberg's view seems not only tenable but to represent the situation best. "The framework into which both the Amesha Spentas and the Ādityas are woven is old; it is proved to be Indo-Iranian by correspondences which cannot be said to be chance, unless we wish to go against all probability. But the contents of the various partitions have preserved the primitive character only partly; on the other hand both Zarathustrianism and the Veda have used the empty space offered to stow away their own world of abstractions [20]. This is the contention of Oldenberg and it hits off the situation very well, if we consider the different names, numbers and offices, even the different motives for the origin of the two groups. For both are an extension or emanation of the one supreme Ahura Mazda and Varuṇa. The degree of dependence, and consequently, their rank will vary according to the spirit of the two mythologies. That the nature and number of the Amesha Spentas is settled, whilst the number of the Ādityas is not fixed and all their names are not given, is due to the reforming and legislating hand of Zarathustra, which did not reach the Veda. Whether the two groups are an importation from Semitic peoples or no is irrelevant for the question before us.

These are in outline the pictures of Varuṇa and Ahura Mazda drawn by the Ṛgveda and the Avesta. The results gained from the enquiry into the origin, the personality, the bodily and mental constitution, the office and entourage of two of the greatest, or better, of the two greatest if not the only real, deities of India and Iran may be summed up as follows:—The origin is common; the personality, constitution, office and the surroundings are not identical but only similar there where the external influence of the reformer's hand has been at work, and they are dissimilar to that extent to which they have been deliberately changed. Wherever the reform or any other external factor has not determined the evolution, Ahura Mazda and Varuna are parallel or even identical figures. The sweeping statement that Varuṇa is a parallel of the Ahura Mazda of the Gāthās [21], or even identical with him, is unacceptable. The similarity

(18) Jackson, Grundriss der iran. Philol, L. c. pp. 634. 640.

(19) Darmesteter, l. c. pp, 58 ff., 68.
Oldenberg, ZDMG. 50. pp. 43 ff.

(20) Oldenberg, ZDMG. 50 p. 51.

(21) W. Schmidt, Der Ursprung der Gottesidee. Eine historichkritishe und positive Studie. Munster i. W, 1912.

increases, the higher up we ascend, probably it was almost perfect before the Zarathustrian reform ; it decreases in the later Avesta.

One point, and that perhaps the most important one, remains to be discussed. It is the question of rank of Varuṇa and Ahura Mazda in the Indian and Iranian mythologies. The identity between the two will be greatly strengthened or weakened if both are to be found to be of the same rank or otherwise. For, needless to say, great metaphysical and religious issues are bound up with this question, on which it depends whether the Avesta and the (earlier) Veda profess a monotheistic or polytheistic religion.

It may now be taken for granted that since A. Lang and W. Schmidt the best proved view on the origin of the idea of God is that which makes the same simple conclusion the guide for finding God that leads even in the twentieth century every level-minded head to God, *viz.*, the idea of the Maker and the Creator outside and the conscience of the ethical law within. And it has been shown that the primitive man knows God better than gods, just as the unsophisticated mind of the present day in trouble does not turn to the gods but to God. If the Veda and the Avesta have any value as documents of religion, they must be owned to show a fairly primitive conception of religion, whatever may be said of other aspects of the Vedic civilization ; for the Avesta it must be borne in mind that it represents the ideal of a high-souled genius rather than the actual state of affairs in matters religious. This does not mean that the Vedic Indians or their contemporary Iranians were savages just emerging from cannibalism—if the evolution of mankind went that way at all—but that, compared with the philosophical tendency, foreshadowed and hesitatingly expressed in the tenth maṇḍala of the Ṛgveda, as well as with the downright polytheism of the Purāṇas, the main religious and moral notions were simple enough. If the evolution from the Vedic religion that took place later has anything to tell, then it may be assumed that the period preceding it would be simpler still. Because for the contrary view, that originally the religious and moral concepts of the Āryas had been more developed and complicated, there is no proof. Without fear of slandering the Indo-Iranian group, or the whole Indo-European family, it can be asserted that their views on such vital questions as must have occupied open minds like theirs, cannot have been but primitive. But these views were as sound as simple. It is gratifying to note that only two months ago such a veteran of Sanskrit learning as Sten Konow [22] expressed his belief that the ancient Āryas were neither idolaters, nor did they really worship the forces of nature, but the One behind, whoever and whatever that might be, by whatever name he or it might be signified, and in whatever superhuman power he or it might

(22) In a conversation at Poona, Nov. 4, 1924.

manifest himself or itself. It has then only to be shown that both Varuṇa and Ahura Mazda can be considerd as monotheistic deities; there being no likelihood that they were monotheistic heirs of polytheistic predecessors, it would next follow as a matter of course that the Indo-Europeans were monotheists. What then is the testimony of the Ṛgveda and the Avesta?

In order to recognize and measure correctly the monotheism of Varuṇa and Ahura Mazda, the line of development has to be taken into consideration which they followed. Ahura Mazda's evolution has not only been influenced by Zarathustra, but determined as to its course by his reform. Being a reform it kept what was good of the old mythological inheritance, cut off what seemed at variance with the new tenet, and added what appeared lacking. Though the Ahura Mazda of the Gāthās seems to be in many ways different from the Varuṇa of the Ṛgveda, yet the fact that the pre-Zarathustrian Ahura Mazda of all was chosen to remain or become the highest god of the Iranians is an indirect proof that he must have been monotheistic, or at least the nearest approach to a monotheistic god of all the Iranian deities. In the above remarks on the identity between the two, the finger could be laid more than once on the spot where the figure of Ahura had been changed by the reform, making it to suit the purpose of the reformer. Whether the counter-reformation within the Zoroastrian faith after Zarathustra restored the old picture or—what is more likely—whether it was a deliberate push towards polytheism, need not detain us here. Taking the reform of Zarathustra as our standpoint, we may rightly conclude that the pre-Zarathustrian Ahura was a monotheistic deity, or at least a very close approach to it.

To gauge the nature of Varuṇa properly, it must be borne in mind that the Ṛgveda represents him as an already waning deity, whose rank before long will be taken by the more boisterous and material Indra. But granted that we have no direct report of the nature and position of the Varuṇa of the pre-Vedic times, the evolution within the Ṛgveda itself again shows what the Vedic Varuṇa is actually standing for. Not an equal was put side by side with him, but he lost his position to another. Besides, his nature as well as his entourage, not to mention his position, make him still a supreme lord, a monotheistic figure. For Varuṇa indeed it seemed to have been almost a question of, to be the supreme deity or not to be at all. For, the existence which Varuṇa was allowed to lead when Indra and his successors had got the ascendency was not worthy of the descendant of Asura Dyaus Pitar. Thus both Ahura Mazda and Varuṇa have a monotheistic character. It should not be expected that either will appear as a pure expression of the monotheistic ideal. But the elements in both the Avestan and Vedic mythology which seem to point to a polytheistic tendency are better explained as a delegation of

subordinate beings to perform functions of the supreme being, than as a splitting up of the one highest and absolute nature, and a division of his functions among equals. They both keep enough of the ruler and creator of the universe and the judge of man and his doings, to be called monotheistic deities. Even if we have to detract some of the grandeur in which Zarathustra has clothed Ahura Mazda, he remains the supreme and final lord. And though Varuṇa is in the Veda a sinking deity, yet he stands out among all the Vedic gods, Indra not or perhaps least excepted, like a god among men (Bloomfield). If anything has to be transformed in Varuṇa, the descendant of Asura Dyaus Pitar, he has to be raised and enlarged to reach his position and his size of the pre-Vedic, Indo-European times.

In conclusion and as a confirmation of the monotheistic character of both Ahura Mazda and Varuṇa it may be asked, how it came about that only Dyaus Pitar had such unmistakeable successors as these two are; and why so few, if any, of the deities of the Vedic pantheon have got such definite and direct prototypes as Dyaus Pitar is. The simplest explanation will be found in the fact that both they and Asura Dyaus Pitar were monotheistic. Thus the findings of the History of Religions about the origin and nature of the idea of God are confirmed by the pre-historic evolution of Varuṇa and Ahura Mazda and probably by the beginnings of the religious and moral ideas of the Indo-Europeans. In addition the identity between Ahura Mazda and Varuṇa is greatly increased by the conclusion that both are essentialy monotheistic figures.

III.—Pali, Jain and Other Prakrits, Hindi.

GLIMPSES OF VAJRAYĀNA.

BY

MR. BENOYTOSH BHATTACHARYYA, M.A., BARODA.

After the Mahāparinirvāṇa of Buddha there arose a serious feud among his followers, between the Elders and the Youngers, which, in later times, during the reign of Kaniṣka and at the time of the Third Council, gave raise to two great divisions in Buddhism, the Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna. The Hīnayānists generally followed the sayings of Buddha and adhered rigidly to the severe disciplinary rules laid down by him; on the other hand, the Mahāyānists drifted farther and farther away from the teachings of Buddha and developed an entirely different kind of religion and one which the founder of the faith would have failed to recognise. Mahāyāna began with Nāgārjuna, who entered a plea for his new doctrines and preachings and in order to add authority to them he fabricated a story that Buddha himself embodied these doctrines in the celebrated Prajñāpāramitā Scripture and as people were not in his time sufficiently elevated to accept them he deposited this great Book of Knowledge with the powerful Nāgas in the nether regions; Nāgārjuna himself was not the preacher of these new doctrines, but he was merely rescuing the Prajñāpāramitā from the nether regions and holding it before his followers for their benefit and salvation. The Mahāyānists after Nāgārjuna, though deviating in many respects from the old teachings of Buddha, brought nevertheless a new spirit and new vigour, into Buddhism, and made it extremely popular and attractive. They dispensed with what they thought to be the abominable militarist discipline of Buddha, wherever it came in their way, and as if by way of compensation, raised the Buddha into a divinity, the Eternal Being, manifested on earth for the salvation of the suffering humanity. They, therefore, preached the great altruistic doctrine of saving mankind even at the risk of individual salvation and made that duty imperative on all Bodhisattvas. Thus as early as the first Century A.D. (1) they set up the idea of Avalokiteśvara, the Great Compassionate Bodhisattva, who refused to accept the salvation which he had earned, until all the creatures of the Universe were in possession of Bodhi knowledge and until they all attained salvation. (2) According to a passage (3) in the Kāraṇḍavyūha he is still supposed to work vigorously and foster spiritual knowledge amongst men, animals and

1. *Sukhāvatī Vyūha*: ed. Max Muller, Introduction, p. iii-iv.

2. *Kāraṇḍa Vyūha*: ed. Satyavrata Sāmāśrami; p. 21 et seq. *See also* Indian Buddhist Iconography, p. 8 and footnote 2.

3. Op. cit. p. 21 et seq.

insects. The passage characterises Avalokiteśvara as taking all possible forms of godhead, nay, even the forms of father and mother, in order that he may, through these agencies, impart spiritual knowledge. The Mahāyānists also attempted to define Nirvāṇa. They speculated infinitely on the condition of *Bodhicitta* after the attainment of Nirvāṇa and tried to postulate a definite spiritual prospect for the followers of Mahāyāna. Nāgārjuna was followed by Maitreyanātha, Āryadeva, Asaṅga and many others, who wrote numerous works and distinguished themselves by their vast learning, strong sense of reason, and above all, by their catholic sympathy for the suffering humanity. Each of these men promulgated his own peculiar theories and introduced his own doctrines. Asaṅga in the 5th century introduced the Tantras into Mahāyāna and according to Tārānātha it did not exercise much influence for about the first two hundred years it being entirely foreign to the then existing condition of Buddhism.[1] Whatever may be the cause of the sudden growth of Tāntric practices and doctrines amongst the followers of Buddhism, it cannot be denied that numerous works on Tantras were written by learned Buddhists even before Vajrayāna sprang up under the flourishing care of its founder, the great king Indrabhūti of Uddiyāna. Tantras, Mantras, Bījamantras, Dhāraṇīs, Maṇḍalas and other paraphernalia of Tāntric cult had already made their appearance in I-tsing's time and also, soon after, in the works of Śāntideva of the Nālanda monastery. Another thing which the Tantras brought with them is the Śakti worship and the unholy associations of men with women, which has survived even now amongst the Tāntric Hindus as Bālāpūjana, Kumārīpūjana and other kinds of Vāmācāra. As Buddhism in later days was mostly concerned with the uneducated masses this new introduction considerably weakened the moral foundation of that faith.

It is about this time that a great individual arose in the person of the king Indrabhūti of Orissa, who for the first time promulgated the doctrine of Mahāsukhavāda and started a new faith called the Vajrayāna. The theory of Mahāsukhavāda gave a new vigour to the followers of Māhayāna, and became extremely popular, appealing as it did, to every member of the faith, the Guru, the disciple and the laity. This Vajrayāna, on the one hand, preached the most sublime doctrines of Buddhism in a lofty and sublime manner, and on the other hand, gave a blank charter to every conceivable immoral practice. To the more spiritually minded worshipper the doctrine of Nirvāṇa appeared extremely logical, pure and lofty ; while baser minds found therein sanction for hideous forms of immorality. The followers of Indrabhūti wrote in a kind of mystic language mostly with a double meaning or with a very hidden meaning. This was styled the *Sandhyābhāṣā* or the "twilight language" meaning thereby that it can be explained by the light of the day or by the darkness of the night.

1. Kern ; *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 133.

The followers of Vajrayāna were vigorous writers; they wrote in Sanskrit, in the Indian Vernaculars and in Tibetan and developed a vast literature still preserved in Tibetan translations. Only a few in original Sanskrit, however, has been discovered in the library and monasteries of Nepal. In this paper I propose to deal with this particular form of Mahāyāna which covered a period from the early 8th century down to its destruction from Eastern India. A weak and very diluted form of this religion may even now be found in some of the monasteries in Nepal.

To understand the extent of the enormous bulk of literature which arose with the inception of Vajrayāna, we must take into account the numerous sub-divisions into which that sect was split. The works in the Tangyur collection of Tibet ending or beginning with Vajra are all Vajrayānic in character. The authors whose names end or begin with Vajra are all Vajrayānists. The followers of Vajrayāna according to Advayavajra, who flourished in the 11th century, were divided into two great sub-divisions, Śaikṣas and Aśaikṣas. Śaikṣas were those who did or did not require training and guidance at the hands of their gurus. The Aśaikṣas were in fact the Gurus themselves and the Śaikṣas were the *celas* comprising Bhikṣus and laities. For the emancipation of the Śaikṣas numerous devices were made by the more elevated Vajrayānists called the Vajrācāryas or the Gurus.[1] They held that for the Śaikṣas of different classes, Mudrā, Mantra, Maṇḍala, worship of deities, Dhāraṇis, Stotras, Stavas, sacrifices and such other things are necessary. And by following the doctrines of Gurus in these matters they may either obtain the supernatural powers or the Siddhis or else attain the Nirvāṇa. On each of these subjects thousands of works were composed by eminent and distinguished Vajrācāryas and by other great men called, in the mediaeval period, the Siddhas or Siddhācāryas, the traditional number of whom is recognised as 84. The strange ritualistic literature, which these Vajrayānists developed, is itself enormous. The celebrated Sādhanamālā, the only authentic material for the study of Buddhist Iconography in Sanskrit, alone contains more than three hundred small works. Thousands of works called the Sādhanas have come down to us in Tibetan translations. The Dhāraṇīs also had a vast literature of which the Vṛaddhāraṇī Saṅgraha [2] is the most important. It gives the texts of no less than 411 Dhāraṇīs. From what little information we have about the Vajrayāna deities in Sanskrit Buddhist literature we have come to know that there were at least four to five

1. Mahamahopādhyya Haraprasād Śastri: *Nepal Catalogue*, Vol. 2, *Preface* V. et. seq.

2. For a description of the MS see H. Śāstri's *Nepal Catalogue*, Vol. II, p. 244 and the list of the Dhāraṇīs in appendix A of the same work. Appendix B. is a list of Sādhanas in the palm leaf MS of the Sādhanamālā which has been numbered in the Catalogue as III, 387.

hundred divinities in number with innumerable varieties of each to whom Sādhanas, Stavas and Stotras are ascribed. Besides these there is the literature for the Aśaikṣas, on the higher philosophy, logic, metaphysics, History of Buddhism, initiation, deities, etc. The Tantras attached to such Vajrayāna deities as Heruka, Hevajra, Vajrayoginī, Vajravarāhī, Vajraḍāka, Mahākāla, also belong to this literature. There are works on Maṇḍalas also. Pandit Abhayakara Gupta in his Niṣpannayogāmbara Tantra gives descriptions of twenty-three most popular Maṇḍalas, each containing innumerable descriptions of deities and their functions. The Kriyāsamuccaya, Vajrāvalināma Maṇḍalopāyikā are examples of this kind of literature.

It is impossible to enumerate all the works in, or the number of authors of, this literature in the limited space at my disposal, as even a mere nominal catalogue of the books would comprise at least two big volumes.

Now that we have dealt with the extent of the Vajrayāna literature we should turn our attention to the origin of this form of religion and try to find out its originator. The vast and rich literature, the Chinese travellers have left for us, does not contain any reference to Vajrayāna, though such words as Tantra, Mantra, Dhāraṇī, etc, and such Vajrayāna deities as Avalokiteśvara, Maitreya Tārā, etc. are sometimes met with in the accounts of Fa-Hien, Yuan Chwang and I-tsing also. But in their writings there is no mention of either the Mahāsukhavāda or Vajrayāna. Śāntideva whom I believe to be later than I-tsing, does not mention either the Mahāsukhavāda or Vajrayāna, though frequent reference to worshipping Buddha and important Bodhisattvas is found in his Bodhicaryāvatāra. In the Śikṣāsamuccaya also we find some Dharaṇis quoted and some deities named. The time I ascribe to Śāntideva is subsequent to 695 A.D. after I-tsing had left India [1]. After this we do not meet with any name or work which may serve as a landmark in the History of Buddhist literature. But a clue to trace a more definite history may be found from the Tibetan literature on this point.

Guru Padmasambhava, who introduced the esoteric Mantra doctrine along with the then form of Buddhism in Tibet, is known from various Tibetan sources to have arrived in Tibet in A.D. 747 [2]. Waddell records a story of his legendary origin [3], which, according to the author, had a widespread currency in Tibet. Therein it is said that in old days

1. On this point see *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, Introduction, p. XXV; Śantideva was a resident of Nālanda and acquired a great fame there. I-tsing would not have failed to mention him in his Travels had he been known in his time. For Śāntideva's life, see H. Śastri's *Descriptive Catalogue of Mss. in the Govt. Collection* Vol. 1, p. 52 et seq.

2. See the Chronological table given in Waddell: *Lamaism*, p. 575.

3. Op. cit. p. 379 et seq. The same story is here repeated in an abridged form.

there was a blind king named Indrabhūti, in India, who had lost his son. The loss of his son was followed by a severe famine. Thereupon all prayed to Amitābha who sent a miraculous incarnation of himself as a boy. The next morning the king Indrabhūti miraculously regained his sight and saw in a lake nearby a lotus flower on whose petals there was a lovely boy who was brought to the palace. This boy afterwards known as guru Padmasambhava was prone to meditation and desired to be a recluse. His guardians persistently refused his desire whereupon the boy killed some subjects of the king who was then obliged to banish him. The boy began roaming here and there throughout upper India and thereafter visited Tibet and became famous. In the course of his travels he married one of the sisters of Śāntarakṣita at Zahor (modern Sābhār in Paragaṇṇa Vikrampūr in the district of Dacca). [1]

There is of course nothing strange in Indian or Tibetan tradition in ascribing a divine origin [2] to such saints. But this legend explains a great many things, and its importance can never be overrated. This little story establishes no doubt, a connection between Padmasambhava, [3] Indrabhūti and Śāntarakṣita [4] All these names are well known to all students of Buddhism. But in our opinion Waddell is not correct in transcribing or identifying the places connected with Padmasambhava in India. For instance, he takes it for certain that Indrabhūti was a king in Uddayāna or Urgyen in the Swat valley. But from the Indian sources the name of the place is Uḍḍiyāna or any of its phonetic substitutes which it has been proposed to identify with Orissa. While transcribing a manuscript of the Śaktisaṅgama Tantra I have come across the word "Oḍryāna" as a substitute of Uḍḍiyāna, which occurs in many places in the same work, and this, I am sure, cannot be anything else than

1. Padmasambhava went to Tibet in A. D. 747. It follows therefore that Indrabhūti was an older contemporary of his; so also is Śāntarakṣita, who was already in Tibet when Padmasambhava reached there. It also fixes the date of Indrabhūti's daughter Lakṣmīṁkarā Devi mentioned as such in Tibetan Tangyur. Lakṣmīṁkarā is taken by some scholars to be the forerunner of Sahajayāna and her only extant work in Sanskrit, entitled *Advayasiddhi* makes us think so.

2. The birth of Padmasambhava from a lotus does not seem to be anything else than an example of popular etymology, as *Padma* means a lotus and *Sambhava* origin.

3. Padmasambhava is still worshipped as the founder of Lamaism in Tibet. He is the forerunner of the *Kālacakrayāna* expounded by Atiśa or Dīpaṅkaraśrījñāna. Waddell; *Lamaism*, p. 24, also Schlagintweit; *Buddhism in Tibet*, p. 69.

4. Śāntarakṣita got his education at Nālanda and he went to Tibet and wanted the help of Padmasambhava, his brother-in-law in his mission. He became the first Abbot of the monastry at Samyas founded by the Guru, Waddell, op. cit. p. 28 and Schlagintweit, op. cit. p. 67. Late in life Śāntarakṣita returned to Nālanda and worked as a professor there. His greatest literary work is the *Tattvasaṅgraha* the work logic which has been discovered by the Gaekwar Durbar, and it is now being printed for publication in the Gaekwad's Oriental Series. S.C. Vidyābhuṣaṇa: *Buddhist logic*, p. 124 et seq.

Oḍra or Orissa. As I have already cited the pros and cons of the identification elsewhere, [1] I need not tax your patience in dwelling further on the matter. In another place Waddell identified Zahore the native place of Śāntarakṣita with Lahore but his query after the word makes us think that he is not certain as to the identification of Zahore with Lahore. Zahore has however been identified with Sābhār now a village in the Paragaṇṇa Vikrampūr in the district of Dacca. This Vikrampūr it may be pointed out was a centre of Vajrayānic culture in the Mediaeval period as is evident from the numerous Vajrayāna images discovered there.

Indrabhūti, the godfather of Padmasambhava, was a gifted man. He wrote a number of works, all on Vajrayāna, though probably many of his works are lost. All others except two exist in Tibetan translation. Among others he stands as author of the following works in Tangyur [2] :—

(1) Śrīcakrasamvaratantrarājasamvarasamuccayanāmavṛtti.

(2) Śrīcakrasamvarastotra.

(3) Cakrasamvarānubandhasamgraha.

(4) Siddhavajrayoginīsādhana.

(5) Vajrayoginīmantratattvasvādhiṣṭhānanirdeśa.

(6) Śuklavajrayoginīsādhana.

(7) Ḍākinivajrapañjaramahātantrarājasya Pañjikā Prathamapaṭalasukhabandhanāma.

(8) Kulikāmatatattvanirṇaya.

(9) Srīsampuṭatilaka nāma yoginītantrarājasya ṭīkā Smṛtisandarśanāloka nāma.

(10) Śrī Ānandapuṣpamālā.

(11) Śrī Tattvāmṛtopadeśa.

(12) Mahāmāyā Sādhana.

(13) Śrī Sarvabuddhasamāyoga nāma Tantrapañjikā.

(14) Śrī Sarvabuddhasamāyoga Ḍakinījālasamvaratanārtha ṭīkā nāma.

(15) Sarvabuddhasamāyogagānavidhi nāma.

(16) Vajrasattvopāyikā.

(17) Śrī Sarvabuddhasamayogaḍākinījālasamvara Mahātantrarāja nāma maṇḍalopāyikā sarvasattvasukhodayā.

(18) Jñānasiddhi nāma sādhanopāyikā.

(19) Sahajasiddhi.

(20) Tattvāṣṭakadṛṣṭi nāma.

---

1. *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, introduction, p. xxvii.
2. Haraprasād Śāstri : *Bauddha Gan O Doha*, appendix. list of authors, p. xiv.

(21) Ratnacakrābhiṣekopadeśakrama.

(22) Āryamañjuśrī-nāmasaṅgīti-vṛtti.

(23) Kurukullasādhanam [1].

The inclusion of such works as the Sahajasidhi however shows that Sahajayāna was a branch of Vajrayāna; but it is always safe to postulate a double or treble Indrabhūti in such cases. Among the works mentioned in the Tibetan Tangyur we have discovered at least two works in Sanskrit belonging to Indrabhūti namely the Jñānasidhināma Sādhanopāyikā [2] and Kurukulla Sādhana. The first is an independent work and the second is to be found in the Sādhanamālā, and the information about Vajrayāana elicited in Jñānasiddhi is gleaned here and presented to you. We should not doubt the authorship of this work, as it is clearly ascribed to Indrabhūti of Uḍḍiyāna in the Colophon. The Sādhana also in the Colophon characterizes it as Uḍḍiyānavinirgata leaving no room for doubting its authorship. The Sādhanamālā has been taken up for publication in the Gaekwad's Oriental Series.

Before I deal with the contents of Jñānasiddhi, it would be advisable to discuss the philosophical groundwork on which the Vajrayāna is constructed. Buddha preached Nirvāṇa but when asked to define Nirvāṇa he never replied. Five hundred years after, Aśvaghoṣa also gave no other explanation of Nirvāṇa except:—

Dīpo yatha nirvṛtirabhyupeto
Naivanim gacchati nāntarikṣaṁ!
Diśo na kāñcit vidiśam na kāñcit
Snehakṣayāt kevalameti śāntim.
Evam kṛti nirvṛtimabhyupeto
Naivanim gacchati nāntarikṣam
Diśo na kāñcit vidiśam na kāñcit
Kleśakṣayāt kevalameti śāntim [3].

But after Aśvaghoṣa Nāgārjuna boldly defined Nirvāṇa by the word Śūnya, which was characterised as *Astināstitadubhayānubhayaca-*

---

1. Taking for granted that Indrabhūti was an older contemporary of Padmasambhava we may take the date of the composition of his works as ranging between A. D. 725 to 750. In his *Jñānasiddhi* Indrabhūti mentions six different works as authorities, namely, Samvara Tantra, Śri-Vajramaṇḍalālaṅkāra, Māyājala Tantra, Mahāsamayatantra, Tantra, Sangraha and Śrīsamājottara, and so all these seven works must belong to a period anterior to the time of the author, that is, before circa 700.

2. This Ms. was discovered by me from among a bundle of Newari Mss. in the collection of Mahāmahopādhyāya Haraprasād Śāstri. Two copies now exist, one in the Nepal Durbar Library and another in the Central Library Baroda.

3. Aśvaghōsa's Saundarānanda: ed. Haraprasād Śātri; p. 102.

tuṣkoṭi vinirmuktam Śūnyarūpam [1] *i.e.* a condition about which neither existence, nor non-existence nor a combination of the two nor a negation of the two can be predicated. This is a transcendental condition which of course cannot justify eternal striving for ages for Nirvāṇa. People were not satisfied with the idea. And it is for that reason his disciple, Maitreyanātha introduced the element of Vijñāna into the Śūnyavāda of the Mādhyamikas and developed what is now known as the Yogācāra system. Gradually in course of time, Yogācāra also failed to satisfy the hankerings of the followers of Buddhism, much less the laity and the mass, and hence it was necessary to introduce a new element known as Mahāsukha. This introduction of Mahāsukhavāda in the Śūnyavāda and Vijñānavāda gave rise to Vajrayāna, which held out a definite and attractive spiritual prospect for its followers and became extremely popular. It cared both for the Śaikṣas, for the Aśaikṣas and for all the innumerable varieties of these two divisions of Vajrayāna. To those who wanted Yoga it gave yoga ; for those who wanted to get salvation by mutterings of Mantras it held out a promise to them ; those who wanted gods were given innumerable gods ; those who wanted earthly *siddhis* or perfections, found directions for attaining these *Siddhis*. Above all, those who wanted unrestricted enjoyment of women were given all they wanted, and something more.

What was imperative on all Bodhisattvas is that they should apply themselves vigorously for the uplift of suffering humanity. They were nevertheless conscious that they sometimes go beyond the limits of law and morality, but it is, as Āryadeva points out, of very little consequence and does not deserve reproach as the Bodhisattva, who sacrifices everything, even his own emancipation for the sake of the suffering mankind, if he commits any wrong it should not be taken into account [2].

To understand the underlying significance of the Mahāsukhavāda a reference should be made to the construction of the Buddhist Universe which is represented by Caityas or Stūpas. The Universe of the Buddhists is divided into 26 Lokas or heavens and these are divided into three broad divisions Kāma, Rūpa and Arūpa. The names of these Lokas are enumerated in various books on Buddhism of modern times and in the Dharmasaṅgraha attributed to Nāgārjuna ; it is therefore needless to enumerate them here.

The *Bodhicitta* 'or the mind determined upon obtaining Bodhi' or Nirvāṇa commences an upward march through these heavens. In the

---

1. Compare also Advayavajrasamgraha (Nepal Ms.) Fol. 13.
   " *Na san nāssan na sadassan nacāpyanubhayātmakam*
   Catuṣkoṭivinirmuktam tattvam mādhyamikāviduḥ. "

2. Compare Āryadeva.
   Bodhicittam samutpādya sambodhau kṛtacetasā
   Tannāsti yanna kartavyam jagaduddharaṇāśaya.
   JASB, LXVII (1898), p. 178.

Kāmāvacara heavens the element of Kāma is retained, in the Rūpa heavens the Rūpa or form of Bodhicitta is retained, and in the Arūpa heavens the Rūpa is lost also. The topmost of the Rūpa heavens is the Akaniṣṭha heaven where Amitābha Buddha of boundless light resides. Beyond that is the highest point which is known as the Sumeruśikhara, and from this point the *Bodhicitta* plunges himself in Śūnya and merges into it. Nothing but Vijñāna remains in *Bodhicitta* with a feeling of eternal bliss and happiness. (Mahāsukha).

The *Bodhicitta*, they formulated, is nothing but a male divinity of the nature of Śūnya and Śūnya they made a goddess (Nairātmā). As a man experiences delight in the embrace of a woman so the *Bodhicitta* experiences bliss and happiness in the embrace of Śūnya or Nairātmā Devi. [1] Though this analogy is immoral from the point of view of ethics, it was quite appropriate and satisfied all, cultured or uncultured, Śaikṣas or Aśaikṣas, educated and the illiterate mass. As a matter of fact a brighter spiritual prospect could never be held out to the mass. From this Mahāsukhavāda originated the host of Yab-yum deities in Vajrayāna, of which several illustrations have been given by me in my recent publication on Indian Buddhist Iconography.

The attitude of the Vajrayānists towards Hindu rituals was not at all of a friendly nature. Gaṇeśa, whom we worship in the very beginning in any Tāntric rite, is characterised by the epithet Vighna, and a Buddhist God was created in the shape of Vighnāntaka, the destroyer of Vighna. This god when represented in art is seen trampling Gaṇeśa under his feet. The position of Gaṇeśa in the Buddhist Pantheon is under the feet of various gods, such as Mahāpratisarā, Parṇaśavarī, Aparājitā, etc. The higher gods like Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Indra and Śiva are also humiliated in a similar way. Their consorts also did not receive any better treatment. Śitalā, Hayagrīva etc. are sometimes represented as flying away to escape the wrath of Buddhist gods. Poor Brahmā has been more severely handled. His severed head with four faces and grey beards is flourished mercilessly by a number of Buddhist gods.

The Jñānasiddhi of Indrabhūti, king of Uddiyāna, is divided into twenty chapters of unequal length, and the thesis of the work, as the title indicates, is that emancipation can only be obtained through the medium of knowledge. Among all systems the Vajrayāna is the best system and Vajrayāna is nothing but the *Sarvatathāgatajñāna* or the knowledge of all the Tathāgatas or the five Dhyāni Buddhas.

The first chapter is named *Tattvanirdeśa* and opens with a salutation to the Lord of the world who is worshipped by the Jinas. It then goes

---

1. Nairātmā is also known by the names of Śakti, Prajñā, Svābhā-prajñā, Prajñāparamitā, Mudrā Ghaṇṭā etc., and *Bodhicitta* has the substitutes of Vajra and Upāya.

on to say that Vajrayāna is the essence of all Tantras and those who do not know it move about in the sea of Saṁsāra. Emancipation cannot be obtained by Mudrā or Mantra or Maṇḍala or by the learned or by the fools nor by anyone who is devoid of knowledge. Those who are conversant with the kind of knowledge preached here can attain *Bodhi* even if they indulge in animal food, strong drink and all kinds of debauchery and immoral and illegal practices. The keynote is sounded by the following most significant words :—

" *Karmaṇā yena vai sattvāḥ kalpakoṭi śatānyapi* !
" *Pacyante narake ghore tenayogī vimucyate*" !

This knowledge can only be obtained through the good offices of the Guru whose characteristics are described. Then he defines the knowledge as the knowledge of the Tathāgatas, meaning the Dhyānī Buddhas, and calls it the *Vajrajñāna* or *Samantabhadra* or *Mahāmudrā*. The Vajrajñāna is divided into five different sub-divisions, such as Ādarśajñana, Samatājñana, Pratyavekṣaṇājñāna, Kṛtyānuṣṭhānajñāna and Suviśudhajñāna. Armed with these five different kinds of knowledge the ascetic should think of himself as being god of the essence of Śūnya and all else as Śūnya, and with all paraphernalia of worship should worship none else but himself ; he can partake of any food he fancies and enjoy any woman he desires. Women of the lowest classes such as Caṇḍālas or Dombis are specially recommended for such purposes, though daughters of Brāhmins also are recommended with the remark :—

" *Yatha cittam na praduṣyet tathā kāryam suśobhanam,*"

because there is no better truth in this world than that which is experienced by himself.

" *Svayamvedyasvabhāvam yat tattvaratnamanuttaram.*"

In the second chapter the author establishes the uselessness of the worship of external forms of gods. Gods as such have no existence and cannot have any real existence ; but when the ascetic thinks or realises himself as the god, that special power of thought materializes itself in the form of god. It is only the fools who worship gods, because there cannot be any separate existence of a god apart from the worshipper.

The third chapter establishes the uselessness of the worship of Sākāra or images of gods. The images are made by men and therefore destructible ; how can gods who are essentially external can be destructible ? They are not, and therefore image-worship is useless. The knowledge of the Tathāgatas has not got any form, then, how can it be expressed in form ? Image worship therefore is not tenable.

The fourth chapter dispenses with the arguments that because the knowledge of the Tathāgatas is not Sākāra it must be Nirākāra, and as such it cannot be conceived. The author postulates a divine form for the knowledge which exists in the mind.

In the sixth chapter the author defines Mahāsukha as the knowledge of the Tathāgatas and "*Svasamvedya*" realized by self alone and "*Svabhāvaja*," natural. It is not *Anitya* but always *Nitya*. This pleasure which is not *rāga* or passion should be dedicated to the Jinas and all pleasures of the world should be enjoyed without compunction.

The eighth chapter is one of the most interesting chapters in Jñānasiddhi and gives the details as to how merits and knowledge can be obtained. In the beginning the author says that it is very difficult to realise the knowledge of the Tathāgatas, and it is specially difficult for those who are not very intelligent, have less merits and less stamina, and it is therefore that the following procedure is given for them to adopt if they seek their own good. He gives a somewhat elaborate procedure comprising the attitude of sitting, bowing to the Tathāgatas and offering other kinds of worship, *Ātmabhāvaniryātanā*, *pāpādeśanā*. *puṇyānumodanā*, etc. Then the author says that the *Bodhicitta* should be originated by means of *Samavara* or union with *Śakti*. This *Bodhicitta* brings forth all kinds of merit and knowledge.

In the ninth chapter the author dispenses with the distinction of *Śuci* and *Aśuci* (purity and impurity) as having no fundamental distinction. In the tenth chapter again he dispenses with the distinction between "*Gamya*" and "*Agamya*" Śaktis and says,—for the followers of Vajrayāna that no such distinction exists.

The thirteenth chapter deals with the qualities of a Guru or a Vajrācārya and the fourteenth gives the characteristics of a disciple.

The fifteenth chapter gives the significance of the five different Dhyāni Buddhas, Amitābha, Akṣobhya, Amoghasiddhi, Vairocana and Ratnasambhava, and their Śaktis, Locanā, Māmakī, Tārā, Pāṇḍarā and Ārya Tārā. It gives also the significance of their different colours and their forms, and also the significance of three faces of the deities and six hands, and also that of the different weapons with which the various deities are represented. All these are nothing but the knowledge spoken of in the beginning and its various manifestations.

In the last three chapters he divides the ascetics in three classes *Mṛdu*, *Madhya* and *Uttama* and separately defines the methods of worship.

The above is a short survey of the information obtained from Indrabhūti's work. I will now endeavour to give you an idea as to how this developed in later times, from a work of Anaṅgavajra who is identified with Gorakṣanātha. He flourished in the tenth century and renounced Buddhism in his later life and became one of the saints of the Nāthapanthas. His name, when a Buddhist, was Anaṅgavajra and we possess his only work in Sanskrit in the shape of Prajñopāyaviniścayasiddhi. Let us see in what respects Anaṅgavajra's Vajrayāna differs from that of Indrabhūti.

The Prajñopāyaviniścayasiddhi consists of five chapters of almost-equal length and the subject dealt with here is how emancipation is obtained from a correct understanding of the doctrines of *Prajñā* and *Upāya*.

In the first chapter he mystically defines *Prajñā* and *Upāya* and says that emancipation cannot be obtained unless there is complete *Advaya* (or union) between these two elements.

In the second chapter he goes on to say that without the help of the Guru the knowledge of the *Prajñā* and *Upāya* cannot be obtained; so Prajñābhiṣeka should always be taken from the Guru.

In the third chapter he gives the description of the Abhiṣeka. The Mudrā or *Prajñā* should be blooming in youth, and beautiful in appearance and bedecked in garlands and sandal. Then the Bodhisattva should read out a hymn in praise of the Guru and request him to impart to him the knowledge of the combination of *Prajñā* with *Upāya*. Then the Guru should permit the disciple to enjoy the *Prajñā*, and *Abhiṣeka* is then given accompanied by singing and sounding of bells.

In the fifth chapter is seen the complete metamorphosis of the lofty philosophy of Prajñāpāramitā. The author says, without Prajñāpāramitā emancipation is impossible, and Prajñāpāramitā resides in every woman, and by enjoying any woman, whether of low origin or high, or whether mother, sister or other relatives, emanicipation can be obtained. In such matters according to this author there is absolutely no restriction and without any fear women may be enjoyed provided he has been properly initiated by the Guru, for—

Sambhogārthamidam Sarvam traidhātukamaśeṣataḥ
Nirmitam Vajranāthena sādhakānām hitāya ca

Apply yourself in such a way that your mind is not troubled, for if it is once troubled emancipation cannot be obtained.

From the above two works it can be easily imagined to what a length these Vajrācāryas went to make their religion popular and attractive for the mass. Nowadays there is a tendency to explain things of this kind in a mystic manner, but this much can be said that their results would be absolutely unavailing, as in most cases the language is unequivocal though in some works the "twilight language" has also been adopted. It is no wonder that by practising this kind of religion the whole of Eastern India lost all vigour and the whole population became corrupted, and it is fortunate that the Muhammadans came to rescue the people by destroying all the Vajrācāryas in three big monasteries, Nālanda, Odantapurī, Vikramaśilā and probably in Jagaddala also.

The Buddhist priests never married, as attachment to any woman is detriment to obtaining Nirvāṇa. But they used to take Śaktis for the sake of Yoga practice without having any attachment or aversion to them.

Though "*Samvara*" or restraint is preached most laudably yet these Śaktis sometimes gave birth to children, who generally took to the profession of medicine, or specialised themselves [1] in fine arts and skilled arts. Even now the progeny of such children form the powerful Banhra caste in Nepal and most of the modern Gurus of Vajrayāna generally remain steeped in the five *makaras*.

So much for the manuscripts which I have had the opportunity of studying. But there is a published work entitled Cittaśodhanaprakaraṇa, [2] attributed to Āryadeya or Āyadeva a later Vajrayāna writer. It is a small but very interesting work. It gives in a nutshell the leading doctrines of Vajrayāna and praises the practice of Mahāmudrā. It is written in a plain and unequivocal language though Sandhyābhāṣā is also used in explaining mystic doctrines. What is most interesting in this work is the direct and reasonable attack it had made on the Hindu pet theories and popular practices—

Prataraṇnapi Gaṅgāyām naiva śvā śuddhimarhati
Tasmāt dharmadhiyām puṁsām tīrthasnānam tu niṣphalam
Dharmo yadi bhavet snānāt kaivartānām kṛtārthatā
Naktandivam praviṣṭānām matsyādīnām tu kā kathā
Pāpakṣayopi snānena naiva syāditi niścayaḥ
Yato rāgādibuddhistu dṛśyate tīrthasevinām [3]

"A dog swimming in the Ganges is not considered pure, therefore bathing in holy places is absolutely useless. If bathing can confer merit the fisher man must be meritorious, what to speak of the fish and other [aquatic animals] who are always in water day and night. It is certain that from bathing sin even is not dissipated because people who are in the habit of making pilgrimages are full of passion, hatred and other vices.

1. Members of the Banhra caste are held in high esteem in Nepal. Being the offsprings of Vajrācaryas they readily got entrance into the priesthood also. Formerely such priests used to remain in celibacy. The last celibate monk expired about a hundred years back.

2. Published by Haraprasād Śastri in his article, entitled, *Discovery of a work by Aryadeva in Sanskrit* in JASB, 1898 p. 175 et. seq. This Āryadeva was a thorough Vajrayānist and should not be confounded with the more ancient Āryadeva, the desciple of Maitreyanātha.

3. p. cit p. 180.

DISCOVERY OF THE DHARMA SAMUCCAYA.

BY

MR. DHARMADITYA DHARMACHARYA, NEPAL.

Where (1) how and when the Manuscript was found.—After my visit to various parts of India to study the extension of Buddhist Religion and literature, I went back to Nepal in August 1921 to resume my theoretical and practical study of the sa· that had been apparently forgotten by my fellow-members of the Bu. hist Sangha in Nepal. The eminent French orientalist. Dr. Sylvan Levi of Paris and Mahāmahopādhyāya Paṇḍit Hara Prasād Śāstri of the Dacca University had also come to make a research study of Buddhist literature and religion as existent in Nepal.

Found.

It was thus in 1922 in the month of April that Paṇḍit Siddhi Harṣa Vajrācārya, a teacher of Buddhist and Nepalese works in the school connected with the Katmandu State Library told me of the discovery of an original manuscript written in an ancient Nepalese character and in the Sanskrit language. He had found it in the house of a Buddhist house-holder living in a near-by street of Katmandu, the modern capital of Nepal. It was lying in a dark corner of the house and the Paṇḍit had an occasion to go to the house-holder to see what books and manuscripts he had.

How found.

(2) *The title of the manscripts.*—The name of the manuscript is distinctly stated at the end of the same to be "Dharma Samuccayōnāma dharmaparyāya" or "the exposition (or the teaching) of the Law (or the Truth) of the Buddha known as "the Dharma Samuccaya" or "the Compendium of the Law." Because Dharma, in a Buddhist sense, signifies "*Buddhabhāṣitam Dharmam*" or "the doctrine proclaimed by the Enlightened One" and also "the *Caturaśīti dharmaskandhasahasrāṇi*" or the 84,000 divisions of the Word of the Buddha which are most widely known as the Tripiṭaka. When particularised, only the first and the third Piṭakas, namely the Sūtra and the Abhidharmma are called Dharmma in contradistinction to the Vinaya which is generally known as the Bhikṣuvinaya or the Discipline of the Buddhist monks and nuns. The Dharma is also known as the Dharmavinaya.

Title of the Manuscript.

So, the Dharma as far as the manuscript itself is concerned, stands for only the 84,000 divisions of the Tripiṭaka.

Samuccaya.

It means, the work is a compilation or a collection of the materials which were obtained from the Dharma or the Tripiṭakadharma. It also signifies that the manuscript is a compendium of the Buddhist Law as it embodies the principles of the doctrine as preached by Buddha and is a compilation giving a brief comprehensive summary of a larger work or even of Buddhism. That this is so, the compiler has particularly mentioned at the beginning and the end of the work.

Compendium of Buddhist Law.

The work, therefore, will be distinctly known as the "Compendium of Buddhist Law."

Sources of Material.

After paying homage to the Teacher, in one line, he mentions the texts he had quoted from in the following verses :—

Saddharmasmṛtyupasthāna sūtra Vaipulyasāgarāt,
Gāthā samuddhariṣyāmi lokalocanatatparā.

At the end of the manuscript, he again mentions the texts thus :—

Vaipulyasaddharma yadā hi tasya smṛtyupasthite-
sūtravarād higāthā mayoddhṛtā.

Name of the work and Compiler.

Again another line runs like this :—

Dharmasamuccayanāma Dharmāparyāyaḥ samāptaḥ
Vaipulyamahāgambhīrodadhisūtravarād Bhikṣu
Avalokita Sihmenodhṛta iti.

It is thus quite evident from the above lines that Bhikṣu Avalokita Sihma was the compiler and that he had deduced the materials from the Saddharmasmṛtyupasthāna Sūtra and the Vaipulyasāgara Sūtra or the Vaipulyamahāgambhīrodadhi Sūtra which I consider is the same as the just preceding one.

The first source.

The Saddharmasmṛtyupasthāna Sūtra is undoubtedly one of the 84,000 Buddhist Scriptures and particularly of the Sūtra Piṭaka, but we are sorry to say that this Sūtra is not available now for our perusal.

Sūtra not available.

That this Sūtra was an independent one and existed in Nepal and in India, there is no doubt. The learned compiler had extracted much of his materials from the Sūtra this is a twice admitted fact. This is enough to show that there existed at least one copy in Nepal. But it seems strange that not one scholar Western or Eastern, who took away lots of manuscripts, from Nepal has made any remark about it in any of their accounts. If it is not gone out of the State, I am confident it may still be found somewhere there.

The first Sūtra and its history traced.

While referring to the fact that the Sūtra existed in India, we need only remind ourselves of the learned author of the Bodhicaryâvatâra and compiler of the well-known works, the Śikṣā Samuccaya and the Sūtra Samuccaya. He is Śântideva who, according to an ancient maunscript found in Nepal, was the son of Rājā Mañju Varma and who became a Buddhist monk and master of the Tripiṭaka in the University of Nālanda. He was also called Bhūsuka because he had become perfect in the practice of a Samādhi called *Bhusukasamādhi.* When he held a controversy, there he recollected his works which as the manuscript goes, he had already compiled previously or in his former birth. This shows they were earlier works and had been written earlier than the seventh century A. D. The above reference is further supported by the fact that he has quoted a passage from the Saddharmasmṛtyupasthāna Sūtra in the first chapter on Śraddhā in his Śikṣā Samuccaya. This is enough to show that the Sūtra existed earlier than the Samuccaya by at least a few decades. The latter work has been edited and also translated by Cecil Bendall. He says it is a work dealing with the future punishment of sins. But I believe that it must have been a work of far more importance, otherwise it would not have been possible for Bhikṣu Avalokita Sihma to get so much material for his Dharma Samuccaya which as the following details will show, is a voluminous work five times that of the Pâli Dhammapāda, as regards the number of verses. I am, therefore, trying to find out if there are translations or transcriptions of the Sūtra in the Chinese, Japanese, Tibetan and other Tripiṭakas.

The second source.

The next important work that Bhikṣu Avalokita Sihma has referred to is the Vaipulyamahâgambhīrodadhi Sūtra or the Text or the Discourse known as the Very Profound Ocean of the *Vaipulya* or the Development (of the Dharma). This Sūtra too cannot be found in Nepal at present. This must be a big and very important work giving an exhaustive interpretation of the higher doctrine of Buddhism as the name of the Sūtra implies so, and as the Dharma Samuccaya itself testifies to it. The existence of this Sūtra in Nepal and the mention of some Vaipulya works by the Buddhist pilgrims from China and the still popular classification of a certain work as Vaipulya Sūtras in Nepal are living evidences to show that there was a great literature that was distinctly called Vaipulya Sūtra or Sūtras firstly in India and consequently in Nepal and the Far East. The references of the Commentary on the Śata Śāstra Vaipulya drawn up by Dharmapâla Bodhisatva of Kāñcīpura, the ancient capital of Dravida, in Hiouen Tsang's accounts of India, the quotation of the "great Vaipulya Sūtra" in the Amitâyurdhyāna Sūtra and from the Jñana-Vaipulya Sūtra and the Āryasarvadharma-Vaipulya-Saṅgraha-Sūtra in

The Vailpulyas and then history.

the Śikṣā Samuccaya are sufficient evidences to prove the preceding fact.

Dharma Samuccayya Palm-leaf manuscripts.

Size Character.

The Dharma Samuccaya is written on palm-leaves, size 12 inches long, and two and a quarter inches broad, in an ancient Bhujimo character which is the third of the thirteen or according to some, fifteen characters recognised in Nepal because manuscripts written in these characters were found there. The style of writing is uniform and exquisitely beautiful which few scribes of to-day can imitate.

Palm-leaves and their condition.

The manuscript consists of 106 leaves, carefully preserved, 6 lines in a page. (63 letters in a line). It is written on both sides. The leaves have been connected by means of a cord pierced through the middle, a system which prevailed centuries back when palm-leaf writing was in vogue. It is, however, very unfortunate to find that in spite of precautions taken to preserve the leaves intact, leaves nos. 49, 53, 57, 66, 81 are missing. The appearance of the manuscript itself shows its orginality and freshness, although a few leaves are torn, defaced and illegible. This must be due to the carelessness and rough handling of the present owner.

Volume of the work incomplete.

No. of verses.

Consequently the loss in the contents of the manuscript has affected some chapters. As the compiler has distinctly written at the end that he had, with the purpose of explaining the meaning (of the Dharma), determined or "seen" in a work of 2,684 ślokas or stanzas "here", we find just after this the corresponding number. The word here and the distinct number given are enough to show that that is the number of stanzas contained in the Dharma Samuccaya and that has nothing to do with the preceding line.

Colophons.

Because the Bhikṣu or the Buddhist monk states thus :—

Vaipulya mahāgambhīrodadhi sūtravarādbhikṣu Avalokita Sihmenoddhṛta iti.

Atra caturaśītiślokādhika ṣaṭśatottarasahasradvayaślokānām granthe dṛṣṭam sphuṭārthaye 2684.

In the first line he says he had deduced (the material) from the Sūtra already discussed, namely the Vaipulyamahāgambhīrodadhi Sūtra. Then just after that he says, "Here I had, for expanding the meaning, seen (?) in a work of 2684 stanzas." Although it may seem confusing, the number of the ślokas repeated twice has been helpful in determining the fact.

Approximate volume as existent.

The few leaves of the manuscript being lost, the total number of ślokas available for our perusal, comes to about 2200 only. Almost all the ślokas are in a couplet form; each line on the average consists of 15 words. The Sanskrit language used is easy, comprehensive and simple. The technical words used are all found in the Buddhist Sanskrit Tripiṭaka. So any student or inquirer who has gone through a certain number of Buddhist Sanskrit poetry or any post-graduate of the Indian and other universities, such as the Calcutta University, who has taken up Buddhist philosophy will find it a worthy text-book of Buddhist Law in poetry.

Main contents.

As regards the main contents of the Dharma Samuccaya it is, as already told at the beginning, five times that of the Dhammapàda written in Pàli in the volume of details. The Dharma Samuccaya consists of 36 vargas or sections each giving a comprehensive delineation of a subject or principle of Buddhism. The following subjects form the main chapters of the Samuccaya :—

The list of main contents.

CONTENTS.

Name of the subject.		Its English interpretation	No. of verses.
1. Jita	varga	the chapter on the victorious	32
2. Dharmopadeśa	,,	,, ,, the preaching of the law	38
3. Kāyajugupsā	,,	,, ,, the abhorrence of the body	15
4. Parivarta	,,	,, ,, the changing	65
5. Anityatā	,,	,, ,, the impermanence	217
6. Apramàda	,,	,, ,, vigilance or lustless activity	175
7. Kāmajugupsā	,,	,, ,, the abhorrence or renunciation of sense pleasures	
8. Tṛṣṇā	,,	,, ,, desire	
9. Strījugupsā	,,	,, ,, the abhorrence of the woman	
10. Madyajugupsā	,,	,, ,, abhorrence of the intoxicating liquors	
11. Citta	,,	,, ,, the mind	
12. Vāk or Vācā	,,	,, ,, the speech	
13. Karma	,,	,, ,, the action	
14. Samyojana	,,	,, ,, wordly bondage	
15. Pāpa	,,	,, ,, sin	
16. Naraka	,,	,, ,, hell	
17. Preta	,,	,, ,, the preta or ghost	
18. Tiryak	,,	,, ,, the beast	

Name of the subject.		Its English interpretion	No. of verses.
19. Kṣudhā	varga	the chapter on hunger	
20. Kausidya	,,	,, ,, indolence	
21. Karuṇā	,,	,, ,, mercy	
22. Dāna	,,	,, ,, giving or liberality	
23. Śīla	,,	,, ,, moral practice	
24. Kṣānti	,,	,, ,, patience	
25. Vīrya	,,	,, ,, strenuousness	
26. Dhyāna	,,	,, ,, meditation	
27. Prajñā	,,	,, ,, wisdom	
28. Nirvāṇa	,,	,, ,, eternal freedom	
29. Mārga	,,	,, ,, the Way	
30. Bhikṣu	,,	,, ,, the Buddhist monk	
31. Puṇya	,,	,, ,, righteousness	
32. Deva	,,	,, ,, the god	
33. Sukha	,,	,, ,, happiness	
34. Mitra	,,	,, ,, a friend	
35. Rājāvavāda	,,	,, ,, admonition to the king	
36. Stuti	,,	,, ,, eulogy	

The Dharma Samuccaya not a recension of the Dhammapādas.

The above list of chapters contained in the Dharma Samuccaya will clearly show that the work is not a mere recension of the Pāli or Sanskrit Dhammapāda but an independent compilation based on the Saddharmasmṛtyupasthāna Sūtra and on the Vaipulyagambhīrodadhi Sūtra, nor the chapters do agree with those given in any work of the Dhammapāda class. Where the Samuccaya agrees with such works with reference to some vargas like the *anityatā* and *apramāda* vargas, the details are more or less different, amplified or modified. The Buddhistic technical words are, of course, the same throughout the Buddhist Scriptures. When compared with the various recensions of Prākṛta Dhammapāda available upto date, the details and the main headings vary to a no less extent. I cannot accept the allegation of some of the scholars in Calcutta who say it is based on the Pāli or Prākṛt Dhammapāda, for reasons already given above.

The Dharma Samuccaya is a Dharmaparyāya.

From various points of view it is clear that Dharma Samuccaya is not a recension but an independent compilation and the greatest work of poetry of its kind in Buddhist literature, particularly in Buddhist Sanskrit literature. Besides, it is distinctly classified as belonging to the Dharmaparyāya class. The learned compiler gives the name of the work as Dharma Samuccayonāma Dharmaparyāya. It is this which makes it more clear that it has been compiled for interpreting Buddhism. The scribe, Bhikṣu Sujita Sṛgnana of the Citra Vihāra who copied it for himself and for the good of others lays us under

a great obligation for copying the name of the work intact, thus revealing to us the fact that like the works of the Dhammapāda class, there was a class of Buddhist literature distinctly known as the Dharmaparyāya which has of course been written especially for expounding the dharma of the Buddha. Under this class comes the Lalita Vistara and the Ārya Gaṇḍa Vyūha which is the eleventh Sūtra of the Āryavyūha Mahadharmaparyāya. This reference is given in Ārya Gaṇḍa Vyūha Sūtra which is also a work written with the principal object of describing the similar attainment of perfect enlightenment by one Sudhana as the Prince of Kapilavāstu did. Full evidences are not forthcoming to illustrate the particular difference between the Vaipulya sūtras and the Dharmaparyāyas as we find that the Lalita Vistara is found to be classed as a work of the Dharmaparyāya and also of the Vaipulya class.

Date of writing.

Now we come to the date of writing. The copyist who is a Bhikṣu or Buddhist monk writes thus :—

Somvat 293 *Vaiśākhakṛṣṇacaturthyām.*

It means it was written in the samvat 293 which is of course, the year of the Nepalese Era, the work being copied in the reign of Rāja Rudra Deva of Nepal. The present year is the 1045th of the Nepalese Era and the date when it was copied by Bhikṣu Sujita Sṛgnana of Citra Vihāra, therefore is equivalent to 1173 A.D. So the manuscript was written and finished on the fourteenth dark fortnight day of Vaiśākha in the Christian Era 1173.

The date with a history.

This date is very important to the student of the history of Nepal as it throws light on the state of Buddhism at least on the existence of the Bhikṣu Saṁgha or the Brotherhood of the Buddhist monks in Nepal. The common belief amongst the Śaiva Brahmins and the present Gūrkhas and Newars is that Śaṅkarācārya and his successors had come to Nepal and destroyed the Buddhist religion and literature there. This is the main report which the non-Buddhists in particular have been giving by way of defeating or discouraging every Buddhistic discussion or every Buddhist activity, up to date. Actually we find from the gradual disappearance of the original Bhikṣu and Bhikṣuṇi Saṁghas, of the original Buddhist scriptures, of the Buddhist literary and monastic culture, and of the State aid for Buddhist education, that there were some persecutions a thousand years back.

The existence of the Bhikṣus.

The names of two Bhikṣus who compiled and copied the work respectively show that the Bhikṣu Saṁgha was still existent and the Bhikṣus were active. Preaching of the Buddhist Law was still going on; this is evident from the fact that Bhikṣu Avalokita Siṁha had compiled the work especially with the object of enlightening the people and of showing the true

way to those who were busy with various religious disputes. Besides this, the work itself had the object of expounding the doctrine of the Buddha to others.

History of kings and their activities.

Again, the name of the king furnishes further evidence of Buddhist predominance in Nepal. The chronicle of Nepal shows that Rāja Rudra Deva belonged to a Rājput dynasty, a collateral branch of the solar dynasty of the former King Aṁśu Varma. Vāmadeva was the first king of the Rājput dynasty and Māndeva was his great-grandson who ruled 10 years and then abdicated in favour of his son Narasihma Deva. He then must have built a vihāra which is still known as Māndeva-saṁskārita Vihāra where he took ordination in the Bhikṣu Saṁgha, remained in it and obtained salvation. The life-account of three rājas are not given and then comes the name of Rāja Māndeva's great-grandson, Rāja Rudra Deva who ruled only 7 years, abdicated in favour of his son Mitra Deva and then took ordination into the monastic order. He remained in the old Onkuli vihār which was built by Rāja Śiva Deva Varma and which he had just repaired. This Rāja, although invited, sent a statue of Dīpaṅkara Buddha in whose name the charity festival was celebrated, to receive the offerings. He had also granted a land-endowment fund and money with which the members of the vihāra will provide necessary expenses. It is written he remained to inform his great-grandson Jayadeva Malla about the endowment. This shows that rājas zealously worked for the promotion of Buddhism, abdicated voluntarily for nirvāṇa's sake, repaired old vihāras and erected new ones, lived therein, studying and practising Buddhist Law to the end of their lives and the literary and monastic activities of the Bhikṣus were not marred by the intolerant policies of any interested sectarians at least 800 years ago.

Raja Rudra Deva and his life.

The Citra Vihara not traceable.

As to the Citra vihāra where the manuscript was written the great number of the vihāras all over Nepal does not allow any definite determination where it was located. Besides this, the names of the vihāras appear to have undergone changes and the wants of a systematic chronology and a detailed history of Nepal are some of the obstacles.

Appreciation of his work.

As the work is of great importance to all students of Buddhist Sanskrit literature, to inquirers of Buddhism and is an indispensable text book to Buddhists and Buddhist missionaries, I determined to have it brought to the notice of some professors of the Calcutta University and of the Buddhist missionaries in Calcutta. They appreciated the work so much that my esteemed and learned friend, Dr. B. M. Barua, M.A., D. Litt. (London), Professor of Pāli and Ancient Indian History himself offered to be a joint editor of the work and brought it to the notice of the late Justice Sir Ashutosh

Mukerjee, the then President of the Post-Graduate Department of the University who was kind enough to have it published by the Calcutta University.

Joint editor.

The work will be published under the joint editorship of Dr. B. M. Barua, M.A., D. Litt. (London) and myself As it was the will of the venerable compiler, Bhikṣu Avalokita Sihma and also of the copyist, Bhikṣu Sujita Srgnana that it was meant for the enlightenment of the people of the world, I have determined to have it translated in as many languages as possible.

Publication in different languages.

Just two weeks past the French lady Orientalist and explorer, Madame Alexandra David Neel who, to study the magnificent spread of Buddhist literature and religion in the world, has been away from her house in French Algeria for the last twelve years, visiting Japan, China, Korea and other places, recently passed Tibet on her way from China to India has kindly consented to translate the Dharma Samuccaya and publish it in French, as soon as my edition of the work is out. I myself will translate it into Nepalese and Hindi. My esteemed colleague Dr. Barua will, if time will permit, publish it in Bengalee. On the publication of the text along with an English translation or separately if possible, I have made up my mind to have it published in Buddhist and other lauguages.

Usefulness of the work.

It is intended, as the name of the work implies, to be a compendium of Buddhist Law in the poetical text, and prose translations in different languages. It will be an indispensable handbook for the Buddhists and the Buddhist missionaries and for all others interested in the study of Buddhism. It is a greater Dhammapāda an independent compilation of a Nepalese Bhikṣu. The materials were collected from now unknown works of Sanskrit Buddhist Literature, the chapters are more systematically arranged than in any other works of the kind, the details of each chapter or subject, although deduced from Buddhist works, are more elaborately arranged more complete, and more comprehensive and new subjects not found in any other works of the Dhammapāda class have been discussed at tolerable length. It is written in such a good narrative and easy poetry style that I believe any earnest inquirer after the ancient Āryan doctrine of the Buddha will not only be convinced of the truths preached therein but will inspire the person to delve deeply into the literature and religion of the Buddhists.

IV.—Philology, Sanskritic and Dravidian.

THE ĀRYAN AFFINITIES OF DRAVIDIAN PRONOUNS.

The following abbreviations have been used in this article:—

A. V. Atharva Veda.

B. A. G. A Grammar of the Āryan Vernaculars of India by John Beames.

C. D. G. A Comparative Grammar of Dravidian Languages by Bishop Caldwell.

D. P. G. A Grammar of the Pāli Language by Charles Duroiselle.

G. M. G. A Grammar of the Malayāḷam Language by H. Gundert.

H. G. G. A Grammar of the Gauḍian Language by Hoernle.

I. A. The Indian Antiquary.

J. A. G. A Grammar of the Avestan Language by Jackson.

K. A. G. Avestic Grammar by Kavasji Edalji Kanga.

K. K. G. A Grammar of the Kanarese Language by F. Kittel.

L. S. I. The Linguistic Survey of India.

M. V. G. Vedic Grammar by A. A Macdonell.

P. P. G. Prakrit Grammar by P. Pischel.

Ṛ. V. Ṛig Veda.

S. I. I. South Indian Inscriptions.

T. A. Taittirīya Āraṇyaka.

T. S. Taittirīya Samhitā.

Var. Prakṛita Prakâs'a of Vararuchi.

V. B. U. Vājasaneya Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upanishad.

W. S. G. A Sanskrit Grammar by W. D. Whitney.

The system of Transliteration adopted in this paper is the same as that used in the Linguistic Survey of India.

The following additional symbols are also employed :—

ḥ is used to represent the letter ∴ called Āydam in Tamil.

C is used to represent the Telugu Ardhānuswāra or the obscure nasal.

ch is used to denote the dental pronunciation of the palatal ch adopted in Telugu when ch is not followed by a palatal vowel.

THE ĀRYAN AFFINITIES OF DRAVIDIAN PRONOUNS.

BY

MR. R. SWAMINATHA AIYAR, B.A., MADRAS.

The current Dravidian theory.

The class of words known as Pronouns belong to the most fundamental elements of a language. I propose to bring together in this paper a body of facts which seem to show unmistakeably that the Demonstrative, the Relative-Interrogative and the Reflexive pronouns of the Dravidian languages are of Āryan origin, that their Personal pronouns have some Āryan affinities and that most of the gender and number signs in these pronouns are also of Āryan origin. These facts are totally opposed to the assumption made by Western Scholars that the Dravidian languages had attained their development long before the arrival of the Āryans in India and to the current Dravidian theory of which that assumption is, as it were, the sheet anchor. This theory is undergoing a process of evolution and it is not the same now that it was forty or fifty years ago. Bishop Caldwell, who is regarded as the father of Dravidian philology, maintained that the Dravidians were not an autochthonous Indian race but were Turanian immigrants who entered India by the North-West, that the Dravidian languages had become fully developed long before the arrival of the Āryans in India, that these languages had no structural relationship with Sanskrit, that their affinities were mainly Turanian, occasionally Semitic, and that where the affinities were Āryan these did not come into existence on Indian soil but belonged to the pre-Āryan period of the pre-historic past when the Indo-Europeans and Turanians were living as one undivided race.

This theory elaborated in great detail in Bishop Caldwell's Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian languages (1st Edition 1857, 2nd Edition 1875) found general acceptance at one time, but is dissented from in several important particulars at the present day. As pointed out by Professor Sten Konow in his introduction to the Dravidian languages in Volume IV of the Linguistic Survey of India (1906), it is now generally recognized that these languages constitute an isolated family in India and that the attempt to connect them with other linguistic families outside India has been a failure. Professor Sten Konow is also of opinion that all attempts to show a closer connexion with the Indo-Germanic family have proved just as futile and that there is no philological reason to connect the Muṇḍā group with the Dravidian.

While it is assumed that the Dravidian languages have remained unaffected in structure by the contiguous Indo-Āryan idioms most Dravidian scholars hold that these idioms have, by contact with Dravidian

languages, undergone important changes not only in their vocabulary but also in phonology, grammar and syntax; and Professor Sten Konow (Vol. IV of the Linguistic Survey of India) gives a pretty long list of items in which Sanskrit and other Indo-Āryan tongues are stated to have undergone change by imitating Dravidian idioms. The most important item under phonology is the adoption of the cerebral series of letters in Sanskrit, and as these letters are found even in the oldest Vedas composed while the Āryan immigrants were still confined to the Panjab it is inferred that these immigrants must have been in contact with the Dravidians from the very beginning and that the Dravidians though confined now to the Dakhan and Southern India, must once have occupied also the West and the North-West of India.

§ 2.—*The present writer's conclusions.*

The conclusions which I have arrived at after a detailed examination of the question extending over several years are entirely at variance with the current theory :—

(i) There are about one hundred suffixes employed in the cultivated Dravidian languages for the purpose of indicating the tenses and modes of verb-forms. I find that most of these suffixes are of Indo-Āryan origin.

(ii) The personal terminations of Dravidian finite verbs and the pronouns of which these terminations are in many cases early forms are also most of them of Āryan origin.

(iiii) The basic portion of the Dravidian vocabularies consists largely of words of Indo-Āryan origin though, owing to the extremely limited character of Tamil and other early Dravidian alphabets, these words have been greatly corrupted and are very difficult of recognition. These conclusions clearly indicate that what are known as Dravidian languages are in all their present essential features a creation of Āryan and Āryanized immigrants from the North. Further, the existence in the Tamil language of words and forms which are met with in the Vedas and in the Avestic language but have disappeared from the post-Vedic Indo-Aryan tongues, would seem to show that these immigrants must have separated from the main body of Indo-Āryans in the North-West in pre-historic times—in the pro-Vedic or even pre-Vedic period. It also follows from the above that the tradition about Agastya's immigration to the south is not a mere myth and that what is known as the Dravidian civilization of the South is merely the civilization of these Āryan and Āryanized immigrants.

The above conclusions are tantamount to a total negation of the current Dravidian theory in all its details and will have no chance of being listened to by the literary world unless they are presented with all the arguments which I have to urge in their support; a piece-meal treatment

of the question in a number of small papers is therefore out of the question. Some of my conclusions formed the subject of a paper entitled "Tense Signs in Dravidian" which I sent to the Poona Oriental Conference, 1919, and a summary thereof was printed in the Conference Proceedings, Volume I, but the paper itself has not yet been published. In my Readership lectures delivered at the Calcutta University in August last, I have dealt with the influences alleged to have been exercised by the Dravidian languages on the Indo-Āryan phonology, grammar and syntax; the conclusion arrived at there is that what are called Dravidian characteristics in Indo-Āryan phonology and inflexional system are really Indo-Āryan characteristics in Dravidian, and that in this matter many Dravidian scholars have mistaken the reflexion for the original and the original for the reflexion. In the course of those lectures I have had to deal exhaustively with the gender-distinguishing pronouns of the Dravidian languages. For the sake of completeness I am dealing with all Dravidian pronouns in the present paper but my treatment of the gender-distinguishing class will be as brief as possible consistently with perspicuity.

§ 3.—*Classification of Pronouns.*

Pronouns may conveniently be classified under the following heads :—

(i) Personal, including those of the first, second and third persons,

(ii) Reflexive,

(iii) Demonstrative,

(iv) Relative, and

(v) Interrogative.

The speaker and the person or persons addressed know each other's sex and that is apparently the reason why the pronouns of the first and second persons do not distinguish gender but only show number. The distinction of gender begins with the pronouns of the third person and is found also in the demonstrative, the relative and the interrogative classes both in Sanskrit and in Dravidian. In the Dravidian languages there are no separate pronouns for the third person their place being supplied by the demonstratives, while interrogative pronouns are used also as relative. There are thus only two distinct sets of pronouns distinguishing gender in Dravidian, *viz.*, the demonstrative and the relative-interrogative. The reflexives show number but no gender. We shall begin with the gender-distinguishing pronouns and deal with their bases first.

§ 4.—*Demonstratives in Dravidian.*

The following table exhibits the demonstrative pronouns in use in the chief Dravidian languages.

		Masculine Singular.	Feminine Singular.	Epicene Plural.	Neuter Singular.	Neuter Plural.
Tamil	Rem.	*Av-aṉ*	*av-aḷ*	*av-ar*	*ad-u*	*av, av-ai*
	Prox.	*iv-aṉ*	*iv-aḷ*	*iv-ar*	*id-u*	*iv, iv-ai*
		uv-aṉ	*uv-aḷ*	*uv-ar*	*ud-u*	*uv, uv-ai*
Mal.	Rem.	*av-aṉ*	*av-aḷ*	*av-ar*	*ad-u*	*av-a*
		ōṉ	*ōḷ*	*ōr*		
	Prox.	*iv-aṉ*	*iv-aḷ*	*iv-ar*	*id-u*	*iv-a*
Kan.	Rem.	*av-an-u*	*av-aḷ-u*	*av-ar-u*	*ad-u*	*av-u*
	Prox.	*iv-an-u*	*iv-aḷ-u*	*iv ar-u*	*id-u*	*iv-u*
		uv-an-u	*uv-aḷ-u*	*uv-ar-u*	*ud-u*	*uv-u*
Tulu.	Rem.	*āy-e*	*āḷ*	*ār* (honorific)	*av-u*	*eikulu*
	Prox.	*im-b e*	*mōḷ-(*um-aḷ)*	*mōṉkḷu=*	*in-d-u*	
			imbal imbāḷ	*(*umakuḷu)*	*un-d-u*	*iv-i*
			imtōḷu	*mēr-(*imar)*		
				imbēr (honorific)		
Tel.	Rem.	*vā(ḍu-*	*ad-i*	*vār u=*	*ad-i*	*av-i*
		*(*av-a(ḍ-u)*		(*av-ar-u)		
	Prox.	*vī(ḍ-u*		*vīr u=*	*id-i*	*iv-i*
		*(*iv-a(ḍ-u)*		*(*iv-ar-u)*		
Madras Gōṇḍi		*ōṇḍ u*	*add-u*	*ōr-u*	*add-u*	*av-u*
		vīṇḍ-u	*idd-u*	*vīr-u*	*idd-u*	*iv u*
Gōṇḍi	Rem.	*ōr*	*ad*	*ōrk*	*ad*	*av, aū*
	Prox.	*ēr*	*id*	*ērk*	*id*	*iv, iū*
Kul.	Rem.	*eañj-u*	*ēri*	*ēar-u*	*ēri*	*ēwi*
		ōañj-u				
	Prox.	*iañj-u*	*iri*	*iar-u*	*iri*	*iwi* "

Note.—A very large majority of these forms show a final *u*. This *u* is not radical but merely enunciatory.

There are, besides, (1) the demonstrative elements *a*, *i*, *u*, which always occur initially in composition as in Tamil *akkudirai* 'that horse', *immaṉai* 'this house', *uvvaṉi* &c., and (2) the indeclinable demonstrative adjectives *ā*, *ī*, *ū*, *ē*, *ō* which are treated as independent words, as in, Telugu *ā gurramu* 'that horse,' Tuḷu *ī jana* 'these people', Kurukh *ū muluk* 'that country', Kui *ē dēśa* 'that country', *ō kōgañju* that boy'.

It will be noted that the bases *av* and *ava* of the *far* demonstratives have been shortened to *ō* in some forms in Malayāḷam, Kui, Gōṇḍī and Madras Gōṇḍī; and to *ā* in Tuḷu. *Ā* in Tuḷu is also sometimes replaced by *ei* in oblique cases and in the plural, as in *eik* 'to it'; *eikuḷu* 'they'. It will also be noted that the initial *a* and *i* of some Telugu pronouns as in *vā(ḍu, vīḍu, vāru, vīru*—and the initial *i* and *u* of some Tuḷu pronouns as in *mōl, mēr, mōkuḷu*—lose their initial position by metathesis. Though there is no metathesis in the nominative forms *adi, idi, avi, ivi* etc., of Telugu and of Madras Gōṇḍī, the oblique forms *dāni, dīni, vāṭi, vīṭi,* show metathesis of the initial vowels. There is reason to believe that the *m* which appears in all the near demonstratives of Tuḷu is radical, and not merely a euphonic *v* hardened into *m* as supposed by Bishop Caldwell.

Of the three demonstrative letters *a, i, u* the first obviously refers to the distant thing or person and the second to the proximate thing or person. The third *u* is not now used in any language except Tuḷu, and it is usually understood to have indicated the intermediate thing or person in Old Tamil and Old Kanarese. Old Tamil usage, however, clearly indicates that in its inception *u* was a far demonstrative and it is used as such in the Oldest Tamil works. In these works *umbar* [1] means "on the other side of, on the farther side of, above"; *ūngu* [2] means "superior to, higher than, above"; *uppakkam* [3] means "the back, the side away from us, as opposed to the front," and *uppāl* [4] means 'the farther side.'

The latter day interpretation of *u* as the intermediate demonstrative is thus not in consonance with its use in Old Tamil; it is also not in consonance with its probable etymology. It has already been pointed out that *ava* has become *ō*, in Malayaḷam, Kul and the Gōṇḍī dialects. It will be pointed out presently that it became *ō*, and later *ū* (the pronoun of the third person), in Persian; and that the far demonstratives *ō* and *ū* in the modern Āryan vernaculars of the North have the same origin. It is probable that Tamil *u* has the same origin.

In Tuḷu both *indu* and *undu* mean 'this.' In Kurukh *u* means 'that there.'

We must therefore conclude that the demonstrative element *u* is of comparatively late origin. If we have to give a name to this *u* we must call it a proximate demonstrative from its usage in Tuḷu and a remote demonstrative from its usage in Kurukh and in Old Tamil poetry. Dr. Kittel calls *u* the intermediate demonstrative; I am not in a position to say to what extent such use obtained in Old Kanarese.

§ 5.—*The genesis of the Dravidian demonstrative letters a, i, u.*

(*a*) Naṉṉūl, a Tamil grammar written about the beginning of the 13th or the end of the 12th century A.D., contains a rule of

1. Akam 211. 251, Kurundokai 11
2. Kural 31, 32.
3. Kuṛal 620.
4. Śilap : I

sandhi [1] (combination) which prescribes how the initial demonstrative letters *a*, *i*, *u* and the initial interrogative letter *e* should combine with nouns. If a word beginning with a vowel or with the consonants *y* or *v* come after them a *v* is inserted between the two words; if the second word begins with any other consonant then that consonant is doubled; the demonstratives may be lengthened into *ā*, *ī*, *ū* in poetry. Thus:—

a+*aṇi* = (*a*+(*v*)+*aṇi*)	=	*avvaṇi*	'that ornament'
a+*vaḷai*	=	*avvaḷai*	'that bangle'
a+*yāṉai*	=	*avyāṉai*	'that elephant'
a+*kudirai*	=	*akkudirai*	'that horse'
a+*maṉai*	=	*ammaṉai*	'that house'

Similarly for the demonstratives *i* and *u*. (Note.—The doubling of *v* in the first example is due to another rule of sandhi).

On the authority of this rule it is usual to analyse the pronouns *avaṉ*, *ivaṉ*, *uvaṉ*, *evaṉ*, as *a-v-aṉ*, *i-v-aṉ*, *u-v-aṉ*, *e-v-aṉ*, and to consider the intermediate *v* as euphonic. Bishop Caldwell adopts this analysis in his Dravidian Grammar, but the fact that *a*+*yāṉai* etc., become *av-yāṉai*, *iv-yāṉai*, *uv-yāṉai* clearly shows that the real demonstrative bases are *av*, *iv*, *uv* referred to in rule 234 of Naṉṉūl which in effect is the same as Rule 162 except in one respect, *viz.*, that when the second word begins with a tenue the final *v* is converted into *ḥ*. According to Rule 234, the combinations instanced above must be anaylsed as follows:—

avyāṉai=*av*+*yāṉai*	*avvaṇi*=*av*+(*v*)+*aṇi*
ammaṉai=*av*+*maṉai*	*avvaḷai*=*av*+*vaḷai*

while *av*+*kudirai* will become *aḥkudirai*. These two Sūtras are in effect the same as those contained in Tolkāppiyam [2], the grammar of Old Tamil.

The rule that before a tenue the final *v* of *av*, *iv*, *uv* should be converted into *ḥ* has apparently given us the demonstrative neuter singulars *aḥdu*, *iḥdu*, *uḥdu*, from *av*+*tu*, *iv*+*tu*, *uv*+*tu*, but the sound of this *ḥ* is not now heard in popular speech. In compensation however the dental is sometimes doubled, for one often hears *attai* and *ittai* as the accusatives of *adu* and *idu*. Similarly *aḥkudirai* appears to have become *akkudirai*. For the same reason the Old Tamil *aḥkam* 'grain', *aḥkēṇam* the name given to the *āydam*, *eḥku* 'to reach up by standing on tip-toe' etc., are now pronounced *akkam*, *akkēṇā*, *ekku* etc. Also

kal+*tīdu* may become *kaḥṟīdu* or *kaṟṟīdu*, and
muḷ+*tīdu* may become *muḥḍīdu* or *muṭṭīdu*.

Here *ṟṟ* and *ṭṭ* are alternative forms of *ḥṟ* and *ḥṭ*.

---

1. Rules 162 and 234 in V. Swaminatha Aiyar's Edition of Naṉṉūl (1919), pages 85, 86, 124.

2. Tolkāppiyam. Eluttadikāram. Uyirmayaṅgiyal 2, 3, 4, 5, 36, 53, 54. Pullimayaṅgiyal 83, 84, 85, 86.

Thus what was once ḥ+tenue has now become a doubled tenue. The two sets of rules in Tolkāppiyam as well as in Nannūl give the same result, but we can see that the original bases were *av*, *iv*, *uv* and that *a*, *i*, *u*, are merely their initial letters subsequently given an independent status when those bases were becoming obsolete.

Bishop Caldwell does not refer in his book to these fuller Old Tamil bases which have now become obsolete.

(*b*) We thus see that the demonstrative letters *a*, *i*, *u*, appear to have had at one time no separate existence in the language except as the initial letters of demonstrative formations derived from the real and original demonstrative bases *av*, *iv*, *uv*. That the *v* of these stems is radical, and not merely euphonic, is obvious from the circumstance that it is not intervocal but occurs as their final; the analogy of the Telugu and Madras Gōṇḍī forms in which the *v* occurs initially also strengthens this view. It is for these reasons that *avan* etc., in the table in § 4 above are syllabified as *av*+*an* etc., not as *a*+(*v*)+*an* etc.

It may be remarked in passing that Tolkāppiyam does not refer to the interrogative initial *e*; in fact there were no interrogative pronouns beginning with short *e* in the time of Tolkāppiyam except the genderless *evan*. Sūtra 162 of Nannūl recognizing *a*, *i*, *u*, *e* as separate entities was a new rule adopted with reference to the then condition of the language, but it obscures the true history and etymology of demonstrative and interrogative forms.

(*c*) It is also usual to analyse the neuter singular pronouns *adu*, *idu*, *udu* etc., as *a*+*du*, *i*+*du*, *u*+*du* etc., but as *a*, *i*, *u*, had originally no independent existence in Tamil the syllabification adopted in the table in § 4 is *ad* - *u*, *id* - *u ud* - *u* etc.

§ 6.—*Demonstratives in Sanskrit.*

(M. V. G. § § 392-396 ; W. S. G. § § 495-503).

(*a*) *Ta* the pronoun of the third person serves also as a demonstrative pronoun in Sanskrit. *Tya* meaning 'that' is another *far* demonstrative obtained by a slight modification of *ta*. Besides these Sanskrit has pronouns formed from the demonstrative roots and elements *a*, *i*, *ē*. The stems of these demonstrative pronouns are taken by Indian Grammarians to be *tad*, *tyad*, *adas*, *idam* and *ētad*, the forms which they assume in the nominative singular neuter. Of these *tad*, *tyad* and *ētad* are inflected like the pronoun of the third person and call for no remarks.

(*b*) The *near* demonstrative which appears as (*m*). *ayam*, (*f*). *iyam*, (*n*). *idam* in the nominative singular means 'this here' and employs the pronominal roots *a* and (in various modifications) *i*, in its inflexions; its paradigm is made up of forms derived from the stems *id*, *a*, inflections of *i*, *ana*, *ima*. There are only three case forms from the stem *ana* viz.,

anēna, *anayā*, *anayōs*. The forms *imau*, *imē*, *imās*, *imā*, *imāni* seem to be formed from a stem *ima*; this stem is supposed by some to be derived from the accusative *i-m* of *i*.

(*c*) The *far* demonstrative which appears as (*m*). *asau*, (*f*). *asau*, (*n*). *adas* in the nominative singular means 'that there, yon'. The fundamental stem used in every case, except the nominative singular, is *a-m* which is supposed to be the accusative masculine of the demonstrative root *a*. This *am* gives rise to the extended stems *amu*, *amū*, and *amī*, from which all the oblique forms are derived.

(*d*) The pronoun *ava* 'this' is found two or three times in the Ṛig Veda and only in the genitive dual. The noun *ama* 'this' occurs only once in the Atharva Veda, e. g., *amōham asmi* 'this am I'.

§ 7.—*Demonstratives in Iranian.*

(*a*) Kanga's Avestic Grammar mentions the following as the crude forms of the demonstrative pronouns in the Avestic language (§ § 215-224).

(i) m. *aēta*; n. *aētad*. f. *aētā*.

(ii) m. *ima*, *a*; n. *imad*, *id*; f. *imā*, *a*.

(iii) m. *ava*; n. *aom*, *avad*; f. *avā*.

(*b*) The inflexions of the first set corresponding to the Sanskrit *ētad* do not call for any remarks.

In the inflexions of the second set the following stems and forms appear: *ad*, *id*, *a*, *i*, *ima*, *ana*.

The following case forms may also be noticed.

N. A. Singular neuter. *ad*, *id*, *īd*.

N. Plural neuter. *ī*, *imā*; masc. *imē*; fem. *imāe*.

(*c*) The inflexions of the third set are all formed from the base *av*. The nominative plural, masculine and neuter, is *avē*.

(*d*) All the demonstrative roots and stems which occur in Sanskrit are also found here with the exception of those arising from the base *am*.

It appears from a comparison of the Avestic and Sanskrit demonstrative paradigms that the roots and elements *a*, *i*, *ē* (locative of *a*) and the bases *av*, *an id*, *ad*, *im*, were already in existence in the Indo-Iranian period. Of these *a*, *i*, *av*, *an*, *id* are even older than this period and are of Indo-Germanic antiquity (Brugmann Vol. III § 409, pages 329-331.) The last of them is obviously the same as the Latin *id* and the English *it*.

The stems *ima* and *ad* are not found outside Aryan and it is therefore inferred that the formation of new stems out of the accusative *i-m* and out of *a-d* belongs to the Indo-Iranian period; the formation of the stems *amu*, *amū*, *amī* out of the accusative *a-m* which are not found in the Avestic language belongs perhaps to the pro-Sanskrit period.

§ 8.—*Demonstratives in New Persian.*

(J. T. Platt's Persian Grammar (1911), pages 47 and 49.)

(*a*) The genderless pronouns of the third person singular in the New Persian are :—

Singular. *av*, but pronounced *ū* (archaic *ō*) ; *vai*
ūe (old). 'he, she, it'. These appear to be derived from the Avestic demonstrative *ava*: thus, *ū* (*ō*)=Paz *ō*=Old Persian ava; 1=Paz *ōi*=Old Persian *ava*+*hya* ; *vai* is probably a doublet of . Plural. *Ī-shan* (archaic *ēshān*) 'they'.

(*b*) Ancient demonstrative. We also meet with the relic of another demonstrative *im* (O. P. *ima*, S. *ima*) which invariably replaces the demonstrative *īn* before the words *rōz*, 'day' *shap* 'night', *sāl* 'year', and occasionally before the word *bār* 'time'. (page 56).

(*c*) The affixed demonstrative pronoun *ī* (archaic *ē*) called the demonstrative or 'the *ya* that makes the noun determinate'. It is often termed 'the definite article'; but it is really a demonstrative pronoun, and is generally interchangeable with the demonstrative *ān*. It is annexed to a noun in the singular or plural.

Remark. The demonstrative *ī* (*ē*) is derived from the Phl *ē*=O.P. demonstrative pronoun *aita*. It is the same pronoun which forms the base of the personal pronoun *īshān* (*ēshān* third person plural of,) (page 58).

§ 9.—*Demonstratives in modern Indo-Āryan vernaculars.*

(B.A.G. Vol. II § 68—pages 316-320),

		The far demonstrative 'that' Nominative Singular.	The near demonstrative 'this' Nominative Singular.
Hindī	...	u, ō, vah	i, ih, ē, ēh, yah
Panjābī	...	uh	ih, ēh
Sindhī	...	ū, hū, hō	ī, hī, hē
Gujarātī	...	ā	ē
Bengālī	...	ō	ē

Although the Avestic form *ava* was practically unknown to the Indo-Āryan literary dialects it appears to have existed in all the Āryan vernaculars of India where it has been changed and shortened into *ō*, *ū*, and *u*, the far demonstratives of these vernaculars. The same change took place, as we have seen, in New Persian.

Of the three demonstrative roots and elements in the Vedic dialects, viz., *a*, *i*, and *ē*, only *a* was used as an independent demonstrative pronoun in those dialects ; in the modern Āryan vernaculars all the three appear to be so used. Mr. John Beames remarks in his grammar (Vol. II. page 318) :—

"But it is perhaps useless to seek for the origin of these forms in any written works. They have their origin in all probability in a lower

stratum of popular speech than ever found its way into writing before the time of Chand, whose forms may therefore in this, as in so many other instances, be taken as the furthest point to which researches can at present be pushed back."

If Mr. Beames had noticed the existence of the genderless pronouns *ū* (archaic *ō*), *ī* (archaic *ē*) in Modern Persian and had known that *ō* and *ū* are traceable to the Avestic *ava* while *ē* and *ī* are traceable to the Phl *ē* corresponding to the *ē* of the Sanskrit *ēta*, he would have seen that the Indo-Āryan popular speeches had preserved pre-historic forms which had disappeared from literary dialects.

§ 10.—*The relation of Dravidian demonstratives to Āryan.*

We are now in a position to discuss what relationship there is between the Āryan and the Dravidian demonstratives.

	Iranian. Avestic.		Indo-Āryan. Vedic.		Dravidian.	
	Rem.	Prox.	Rem.	Prox.	Rem.	Prox.
1.	*ad*	*id*	*ad - as,*	*id - am*	*ad* *adi* *adu*	*id* (Gōṇḍī) *idi* (Telugu) *idu* (Tam)
2.	*av*	*im*	*av* *am*	*im*	*av* *avai,* *anda* *ava,* *avu,* *avu,* *avi,* *andu,*	*iv* (Tam, Gōṇḍī) *ivai* } (Tamil) *inda* } *iva* (Malayāḷam) *ivu* (Kanarese) { *indu, undu, imbe,* { *imber, imbaḷ* (Tuḷu) { *imbāḷ. imbōḷu mēr* *ivi* } (Telugu) *indu* }
3.	*an*		*an*		*aṉ* (Tamil) occurring in the pronominal terminations of verbs.	
4.	*a*	*i*	*a*	*i*	*a, u, i* (Tamil Kanarese Tuḷu.)	
5.	*ō ē* (Phl). *ū ī* (New Pers.)			*ā, ū, ō ī* (Modern Indo-Aryan)	(1) occurring in composition. *Ō* 'that', Gōṇḍī, Kui, Madras Gōṇḍī, Malayāḷam). *ū* (Tamil). (2) Independent indeclinable adjectives. *ā* 'that', *ī* 'this' (Kanarese, Tuḷu, Malayāḷam Kurukh, Telugu). *ū, ē, ō* 'that' (Kui) *u* 'that' (Kurukh) *ē. ō* 'that' (Brahūī).	

(a) *ad, id, av, iv*:—

The Avestic *ad*, *id*, and the Sanskrit *ad-as*, *id-am* are neuter singulars. In the neuter plural the bases *av*, *im*; and *am*, *im*; are used: the nominative forms being *avā*, *imā*, *ima*, *ī*; and *amūni*, *imāni*, *imā*. In Old Persian the plurals were *avaiy*, *imaiy* (cf. Tamil *avai*, *ivai*).

In the Dravidian languages *ad*, *id*; *adu*, *idu*; *adi*, *idi*; are neuter singulars: in the neuter plural the bases *av*, *iv*, come into play, the nominative forms being *av*, *iv*; *avai*, *ivai*; *avi*, *ivi*; *avu*, *ivu*. The *d* of the Dravidian singulars is not due to any intervocal pronunciation of a hard *t*, but appears like the *d* of the Āryan *ad*, *id*, to be a media (which is foreign to Tamil) by origin; for in Telugu it does not lose its medial sound even when it ceases to be intervocal, as *adi* 'that,' *dāniki* 'to that'; *idi* 'this, *dīniki* 'to this'[1]. The *v* of the Dravidian plurals is radical, not euphonic.

The Avestic *av* and *im* form the bases of masculine, feminine and neuter pronouns with suitable gender signs, *ava*, (m) *avā* (f), *avad*, *aom* (n); *ima* (m), *imā* (f), *imad* (n). In the Indo-Āryan literary dialects the base *av* plays little or no part having apparently been superseded by a new base *am* formed in the pro-Vedic period in imitation of *im*; here *am*, *im* form the bases of pronouns with distinction of gender. Similarly the Tamil etc., *av*, *iv* form the bases of pronouns: *avaṉ*, *ivaṉ* *avaḷ*, *ivaḷ*, *aḥdu* (av+tu), *iḥdu* (iv+tu) etc.

The Dravidian demonstrative bases and their methods of inflexion thus appear to be identical with the Āryan demonstrative bases and methods of inflexion, but with this difference that in the Dravidian proximate base *iv* a *v* appears in the place of the *m* of the Āryan proximate base *im*. The *m*, however, still persists in all the near demonstratives of *Tuḷu*, and perhaps in the forms *andu* 'that', *indu* 'this' of Telugu and *anda* 'that' *inda* 'this' of Tamil.

It is therefore concluded that the Dravidian bases *ad*, *id*, *av*, *iv*, are derived from the Iranian and Vedic bases *ad*, *id*, *av*, *am*, *im*,. Of these *id* and *av* are of Indo-Germanic antiquity; *im* and *ad* were formed in the Indo-Iranian period, and *am* in the pro-Vedic period.

The change of *m* into *v* is very common in Indian vernaculars.

(b) *a*, *i*, *u*, *e*, *ā*, *ī*, *ū*, *ē*, *ō*.

av also exists in the shortened forms of *ō*, *ū*, in the Dravidian languages as in Persian and modern Indo-Āryan, but with this difference that while in the latter these forms are by themselves demonstrative and personal pronouns they occur only in composition in some of the Dravidan languages; e. g., Gōṇḍī *ōr* 'he', Madras Gōṇḍi *ōṇḍu* 'he' Kui *ōañju* 'he" Tamil *ūngu* 'superior to, above'.

1. Contrast with this the Telugu imperatives *kammu*, *agumu*, *kā* 'become ye' where the guttural becomes a tenue when it ceases to be intervocal.

ā, *ū*, *ē*, *ō*. 'that' and *ī* 'this' are used as indeclinable demonstrative adjectives in the Dravidian dialects marked (2) in item 5 of the table at the head of this para. Of these *ā*, *ū*, *ō*, are shortened forms of *av* and *ī* of *iv*. It is remarkable that Kui and Brāhūī should use *ē* as a remote demonstrative; compare the Tulu remote neuter plural *eikuḷu*. These three instances deviating from the Indo-Āryan practice remind one of the Phl *ē* and Persian *ī*, the bases of *ēshān* and *īshān* the plurals of the genderless pronoun of the third person; these bases are traceable through Old Persian *aita* to the Avestic demonstrative *aēta* (8, a, c, above) corresponding to the Sanskrit *ēta*.

In a specimen of the language of the Nilgiri Baḍagas published in the Linguistic Survey (Vol. IV, page 403) the form *evam* occurs in the sense of 'this man'; if this is not a misprint we have here an instance of the use of *e* in Dravidian as a near demonstrative.

The so-called intermediate demonstrative *u* appears to be only a shortened form of *ū* (*ō*; *ava*) *uv* and *um* appear to be of comparatively late origin formed in imitation of *av*, *im*.

(c) *aṉ* :—The Āryan base *an* appears to have been imitated in the personal endings *aṉaṉ*, *aṉaḷ*, *aṉṟu*, *aṉar*, *aṉa* of verb-forms occurring in literary Tamil. These endings are formed in the same manner as the endings of *irundavaṉ*, *irundavaḷ* etc., are formed with the demonstrative base *av*. There is, however, one objection to the identification of Tamil *aṉ* with the Aryan demonstrative *an*, for the former occurs not only in the verb-forms of the third person but also in those of the first and second persons:—*irundaṉaṉ* 'I was', *irundaṉir* 'you were'. All the above forms containing *aṉ* are wholly artificial and unknown to the spoken Tamil of the people; and it is possible that the formations were originally confined to the third person in accordance with the demonstrative nature of *aṉ*, but were subsequently extended by the poets to the first and second persons when the true nature of *aṉ* was lost sight of. Such a thing has happened in poetic Tamil even to the demonstrative base *av*, for we have the sporadic forms *śāṉṟavir* 'ye (who) have become great, *kaṇḍavir* [1] 'ye (who) saw'. In Telugu also we have similar additions of first and second person endings to third personal forms; e.g., *unnāḍu*' 'he is', *unnāru* 'they are', *unnāḍanu* 'I am' *unnāramu* 'we are' etc.

(d) *ta*. In the Telugu forms *ataḍu*, *atanu*, *ātaḍu*, *ātanu*, *īṭaḍu*, *ītanu* etc., and the Kanarese forms *ātam*, *ītam*, *ūtam*, the Āryan base *ta* is subjoined to the vocalic demonstrative elements *ā*, *ī*, *ū* in imitation of the Sanskrit *ēta* and Avestic *aēta*. The dentals of all these forms are tenues as also that of *atham* and *itham* the pronouns of the third person in Tuda common to all genders and numbers.

---

1. Kalittokai, 140.

(e) The comparative table given at the head of this article is a practical and sufficient proof of the identity of the Dravidian demonstrative bases with some of those found in the Indo-Iranian group of languages and no discussion would have been necessary had not Bishop Caldwell obscured the subject by several incorrect propositions such as, (1) that the *v* of the forms *avan̤* etc., and the *n̤* of the forms *anan̤* etc., are euphonic; (2) that *u* is an intermediate demonstrative; (3) that the *m* of the Tuḷu forms arises from the hardening of a euphonic *v* etc. He has thus whittled down the Dravidian demonstrative bases to such an extent that there is nothing left of them but the initial vowels *a*, *i*, *u*, which again he assumes to be bases belonging to the old Japhetic stock. This is as if some future grammarian of English, unacquainted with the Latin privative prefix *in*, should from the English words *immoderate*, *illegal*, *irregular*, *inordinate*, *intemperate* etc., deduce a rule that *i* was a privative prefix, that when words beginning with *m*, *l* or *r*, were compounded with it their initials were doubled and that in other cases a emphonic *n* was interposed. We have seen, however, that the demonstrative letters *a*, *i*, *u*, originally existed in Tamil only as the initials of *av*, *iv*, *uv*.

§ 11.—*Interrogatives in Dravidian.*

The following table exhibits the interrogative pronouns in the chief, Dravidian languages.

	Masculine Singular.	Feminine Singular.	Epicene Plural.	Neuter Singular.	Neuter Plural.
Old Tamil ...	*yāv an̤*	*yāv-aḷ*	*yāv-ar*	*yā-du*	*yā*, *yāv-ai*
			yā-r		
	A genderless form		*evan̤*; also *en̤n̤a*		
Modern Tamil...	*ev-an̤*	*ev-aḷ*	*ev-ar*	*ed-u*	*ev-ai*
				ē-du	
Malayāḷam ...	*yāv-an̤*	*yāv-aḻ*	*yāv-ar*	*yā-du*	
			yā-r		
	ēv-an̤	*ēv-aḻ*	*ēv-ar*	*ēndu*	*ēv-a*
			ā r	*ē du*	
Old Kanarese ...	*āv-am*	*āv-aḷ*	*ā-r*	*āv-ud-u*	*āv-uv-u*
	A genderless form		*ēnu*		
Kanarese ...	*yāv-an-u*	*yāv-aḻ-u*	*yāv-ar-u*	*yāv-ad-u*	*yāv-av-u*
			yā-r-u		
			a-r-u		
	dāv-an-u	*dāv-aḻ-u*	*dā-r-u*	*dāv-ad-u*	*dāv-av-u*
Telugu ...	*ev-aḍu*	*ed-i*, *ēd-i*	*ev-ar-u*	*edi*, *ēd-i*	*ev-i*, *ēv-i*
	An indeclinable from		*ēmi*.		

Tamil: The following interrogative pronouns in use in Old Tamil are enumerated in two *sūtra's* (rules) of Tolkāppiyam (Śol. 164 and 169) *yavaṉ, yāvaḷ, yāvar* (*yār*) (High caste, rational) *yādu, yā, yāvai* (Inanimate, irrational).

It is worthy of note that none of the modern interrogatives *evaṉ, evaḷ*, evar, *edu, evai* beginning with a short *e* find a place in either list. A word *evaṉ* is mentioned in Tolkāppiyam (Śol. Kiḷavi, 31), and does occur in Old Tamil but it is genderless and is used in the sense of 'why, what for, for what purpose'. For instance, it occurs sixteen times in Kuṟaḷ but always in the sense of 'why, what, for for what purpose' and never in the sense of 'who?' (masc); this *evaṉ* has given rise to the *ēṉ, eṉṉa, eṉṉai* of modern Tamil.

Neither does the short *e* referred to in *Naṉṉūl* (*sūtra* 162) find a place among the interrogative letters which are stated to be only three *ā, ē, ō*, [1] though we see that this interrogative occurs initially in composition as in *eppeyar* [2] 'what name', *evvayiṉ* [3] 'what place' in Tolkāppiyam itself.

According to modern Tamil practice, the pronouns *adu, idu, udu, edu, yādu* receive an inflexional increment *aṉ* before the case post-positions *e. g.*,

ad-aṉ-ai, id-aṉ-āl, ud-aṉ-ōḍu, ed-aṉ-iṉ, yād-aṉ-ai.

Tolkāppiyam prescribes this increment for *adu, idu, udu, yādu*, but does not speak of or mention *edu* [4]. Similarly the neuter plurals *avai, ivai, uvai, evai, yāvai* now receive an inflexional increment *aṟṟ*; Tolkāppiyam prescribes this increment for *avai, ivai, uvai, yāvai* but does not speak of or mention *evai*. These facts leave little room for doubt that the interrogative pronouns with the short initial *e* came into use after the time of Tolkāppiyam.

In mediaeval Tamil poetry we find the forms *ēdu, ēvaṉ, ēvar* of which only *ēdu* has survived to modern times, but with a meaning different from that of *edu* 'what.' We also have in modern Tamil the words *yār, ār*, 'who?'.

The Malayāḷam interrogatives all begin with long *ē* or *yā*; *e* and *ē* are also used as interrogative adjectives, the former occurring only as the initial of compounds like *ekkālam* 'what time', *eppaḍi* 'how', *evvaṇṇam* 'in what manner, how' etc.

None of the forms *yāvaṉ, yāvaḷ, yāvar, yādu, yāvai* are used by the common people either in Tamil or in Malayāḷam. The *yā* forms of Malayāḷam occur in literature in relative constructions.

---

1. *ā ē ō ammūṉṟum viṉā* Eḻuttu Nūṉmarapu - 32.
2. Eluttu - Puṇariyal - 26.
3. Eluttu Pulli - 39.
4. Tol: Eluttu Urupiyal - 4, 5, 6, 28.

The Kanarese set all begin with *yā*, *ā* or *dā* ; the interrogative adjectives of this language are *e*, *ē*, *ā*, *āva*, *yā*, *yāva*, *dāva*. Of these *e* forms the initial of compounds like *etta* 'what place or direction', *enitu* 'what quantity or number', *elli* 'where', *endu* 'when', *ehage* 'in what manner, etc. The rest are not compounded but stand as separate words detached from the nouns qualified, e.g., *ā hottu* 'what time', *āva mātu* 'which word' *dāva ūru* 'what village' etc.

Tuḷu, The Tuḷu interrogatives are *dā* 'which' ; *dāye* 'why ?', *dāne jāne* 'what ?. *yēr* 'who.?' This *yēr* appears as *dēr* 'who ?' in *Brāhūī*.

Kuruḵh and Malto have interrogatives beginning with *nē*.

§ 12.—*The origin of the Dravidian interrogative forms with the initial dā.*

It is well known that the initial *y* of Sanskrit words always becomes *j* in Prakṛits [1] :—e.g., *yashṭi* 'liquorice', *yaśas* 'glory', *yasksha* 'a demigod' etc., become *jaṭṭhi*, *jaso*, *jakkha*, etc. Similarly the relative pronoun meaning 'who, which,' which is indicated in Sanskrit by the type *ya* has become *ja* in Prakrit and the modern Āryan vernaculars, and *yāvat* has become *jāva* through an intermediate *yāva*.

The Sanskrit palatal medial *j* is very often changed into *d* in Ardhamāgadhī and Singhalese ; e.g., *jugupsā* 'disgust', *jyōtsnā* moonlight, *rājan* 'a king', *tējas* 'lustre', *majjā* 'marrow, pith' have become *dugunchhā*, *dōsinā*, *rada tēdu*, *midul* (*vide* I. A. Vol. XI, pages 216-217). The word *jāmātā* 'a son-in-law' appears as *dāmāda* in some North Indian vernaculars. In Sanskrit itself the form *dampatī* 'husband and wife' is derived by some from *jampatī* (jāyāpatī). The Avestic *z* which in some cases is equivalent to Sanskrit *j* becomes *d* in Persian.

In the Dravidian languages also *j* often changes place with *d* in words of North-Indian or foreign origin, *e.g.*, *jinisu*, *dinisu*, 'class, kind', *javana*, *davana* 'the plant artemisia indica' etc.

The alternative forms *dāne*, *jāne* 'what' of Tuḷu indicate that the initial *d* of interrogative forms has probably arisen from a *j* ; and the Tuḷu *yēr* 'who' corresponding to the Brāhūī *dēr* 'who', shows that the initial *y* has probably become *d* through an intermediate *j*. It is therefore inferred that the Kanarese forms *yā*, *yāva*, *yāvanu* etc., are connected with *dā*, *dāva*, *dāvanu* etc., through the intermediate forms *jā*, *jāva*, *jāvanu* etc. This is also the explanation which Dr. Kittel seems to suggest of the initial *d* (K. K. G. § 265, page 231).

§ 13.—*Which was the original initial, yā, ē or ā,*

Scholars hold wholly divergent views on this question.

Bishop Caldwell thinks that *yā* was the original and that *ē* must have been corrupted from it.

---

1. *Adēr yō jah* (Var : II. 31) '*j* is substituted for an initial *y*'

Dr. Kittel on the other hand regards *ē* as the original base and *yā* to have been corrupted from it. According to him "The interrogative pronouns *āvam*, (*yāvanu*, *dāvanu*) *āvaḷ* (*yāvaḷu*, *dāvaḷu*), *āvudu*, (*yāvudu*, *dāvudu*), *ār* (*yāru*, *dāru*), *āvuvu* (*yāvuvu*, *dāvuvu*) rest on the interrogative *ē*, that becomes *yā* in the oblique cases of the mediaeval and modern dialects which is another form of *ā*" (K. K. G. § 265—page 231). As between *ē* and *ā* he seems to think that it is immaterial which of these is taken as the original as "they are related and occasionally interchanged". (*Ibid* § 138, page 77). He also considers the *v* in *āva*, *yāva*, *dāva* to be euphonic and that *āva* and *yāva* have been incorrectly assumed to be the bases of forms like *āvam* (*ē*+*v*+*am*), *yāvanu* (*ē*+*v*+*anu*) etc. (*Ibid* § 265 page 231). In his view *āva* and *yāva* are mere substitutes for *ē*.

Mr. C. P. Venkatarama Aiyar discusses this question in a paper entitled "The Glides" and arrives at the conclusion that *ā* was the primitive initial and that the prothetic *y* was an onglide necessitated in the difficulty of pronouncing an initial back-vowel.

We can understand the creeping in of a prothetic *y* in the pro[illegible]*udu*, ciation of initial palatal vowels, but it is difficult to assent to M[illegible]t[illegible]posi-[illegible]. Venkatarama Aiyar's assumption that in a certain stage of devel[illegible] it an initial *y* was found necessary in some of the most highly cultiva[illegible] of the Dravidian languages as an onglide before the initial *ā* and that [illegible]is was subsequently dispensed with. On the other hand the rule [illegible] of Tolkāppiyam that Tamil words cannot begin with *y* unless this consonant[1] be combined with the long *ā* clearly shows the difficulty experienced by the Tamils in pronouncing an initial *y*. We accordingly find that all old Tamils words which began with *yā* have changed their initials in popular speech and that most of them now begin with *ē* or *ā*. These facts raise a presumption that the Old Tamil words beginning with *yā* may not all be native words.

Words found in Old Tamil with the initial *yā* should, *prima facie* be regarded as foreign words which have since lost the *y* in accordance with Tamil phonetic laws.

(*b*) The oldest specimens of Dravidian speech that have come down to us belong to Tamil and Kanarese. The Tamil interrogatives in these specimens mostly begin with *yā*, but there is also the form *evaṉ*, 'why, what for' and the initial short *e* in interrogative compounds. The interrogatives in the oldest Kanarese specimens appear to begin with *ē* or *ā*; but as the Tamil specimens are earlier by some centuries than the Kanarese specimens it is allowable to assume with Bishop Caldwell that *yā* was the original interrogative and that *ē* has arisen from the corruption of *yā*.

---

1. Toll Eluttu Moli 32.

§ 14.—*Affinities of the Dravidian interrogative base yā.*

(*a*) Western scholars think that the Dravidian languages possess no relative pronouns and that what look like relative constructions in these languages are really interrogative sentences. This seems to be an extreme view; for there are many languages in the world in which the same set of pronouns do duty as relatives and interrogatives. The Dravidian family of tongues obviously belongs to this class; in fact, Telugu grammarians style their interrogative pronouns *yat-kim-arthakamu* 'Relative-Interrogative.' As Bishop Caldwell pointed out long ago the interrogative is used as a relative in many of the Scythian (Turanian) tongues. *In regard to the Indo-Germanic family philologists tell us that the stem* i̯o which was originally anaphoric came to be used as a* relative without losing its anaphoric value even in the pro-ethnic period of the Indo-Germanic languages, and that this relative* *i̯o* was displaced later by derivatives from the interrogative stem* *qo* and the demonstrative stem* *to* in several of these languages. (Brugmann Vol. II, pages, 331-332). We can see this displacement of the relative stem in the use of the interrogative pronouns *who, which, what*, and the demonstrative pronoun *that* as relatives in modern English 'in which no representative of the pro-ethnic relative stem* *i̯o* now survives (in Teutonic *hw* and *th* correspond to the pro-ethnic *q* and *t*). It will be shown presently that in Dravidian also the same pronoun is used as a relative and an interrogative and that the far demonstrative is also used as a relative.

(*b*) In his Sanskrit Grammar (§. 512) Professor W. D. Whitney briefly notices two marked peculiarities in the Sanskrit use of relative pronouns. One of these is "a very decided preference for putting the relative clause before that to which it relates; thus:

(i) Sanskrit. *yaḥ ṣunvataḥ sakhā tasmā Indrāya gāyata* (R.V.)

English. "Who (is) the friend of the soma-presser, to that Indra sing ye."

"The other arrangement where the correlative is put before the relative though frequent enough, is notably less usual." The second peculiarity noticed is "a frequent conversion of the subject or object of a verb by an added relative into a substantive clause; thus:

(ii) Sanskrit: *pari ṇō pāhi yad dhanam* (A. V.)
English Of us protect what wealth (there is)."

Some further examples may be given with Tamil renderings

(iii) Sanskrit. *yad aham vēda tad aham dhārayāṇi.* (T. A. 7-43.)
English. 'What I have learnt that may I not forget.'

Tamil. *edai nāṉ kaṟṟirukkiṟēṉō adai maṟavāmal iruppeṉāka.*

(iv) Sanskrit. *ya ēnam viduḥ amṛitās tē bhavanti.* (T. A. 6-1.)
English. Who this know, immortal they become

Tamil. *evarkaḷ idai aṟikiṟārkaḷō avarkaḷ maraṇam illād-avarkaḷ āvārkaḷ.*

Such constructions occur by many hundreds in the Āraṇyaka portions of the Taittirīya Veda. They are all practically interrogative constructions. In a way they correspond to the English sentences with 'whoso,' 'whatever' in which the relative is placed first.

The two peculiarities noticed by Professor Whitney and carried to excess in the manner illustrated above have made the relative construction look as if it was an interrogative one, and appear to take Sanskrit half way towards dispensing with one of the two pronominal sets, as has actually been done in some Indo-Germanic languages. It would seem as if the cultivated Dravidian languages had completed the process left half-finished by the later Vedic literature.

(c) The above discussion shows :

(i) that the interrogative pronouns in the cultivated Dravidian languages (as in many Scythian and several Indo-European languages) are also relative pronouns, *i.e.*, that they are what the Telugu grammarians call *yat-kim-arthakamu* 'relative-interrogative.' Dr. Gundert recognizes the double usage in Malayāḷam (G. M. G. § 554.)

(ii) that they are imitations of the Sanskrit relative pronouns derived from the base *ya* which look so like interrogatives in their use in the later Vedic literature.

(iii) if the cultivated Dravidian languages had separate interrogatives formerly we must suppose that these have been completely superseded by the relative-interrogative forms derived from Āryan.

§ 15.—(a) *Dravidian interrogative bases and their probable Indo-Āryan originals.*

We shall now briefly enumerate the various developments and modifications which the original Indo-Iranian relative bases underwent on Indian soil and indicate how the Dravidian relative-interrogative bases are traceable to them.

The root of the Indo-Āryan relative base is *ya* (m. *yas*, f: *yā*, n *yad*), but in forming compounds the neuter stem *yad* is generally used. Professor Whitney says "the use of *yat* as representative stem begins very early ; we have *yat-kāma* in the Veda, and *yat-kārin*, *yad-dēvatya* in the Brāhmaṇa ; later it grows more general. From the proper root come also a considerable series of derivatives ; *yatas*, *yati*, *yatra*, *yathā*, *yadā*, *yadi*, *yarhi*, *yāvant*, *yatara*, *yatama* ; and the compound *yādṛiś*" (W. S. G. § 510). In *yāvant* 'which like' (original meaning) and *yādṛiś* which like' the pronominal root *ya* is lenghtened.

In Pali [1] we have the adverbial forms *yāva* and *yāvaṁ* with the modern meanings of 'until, while, as long as.'

Sūtra IV-5 of Vararuchi's Prākṛita Prakāśa says that the *va* of the words *yāvat, tāvat* etc., is elided in Prakṛit and Sūtra IV-6 says that the final non-conjunct consonant of words is also elided; but as by that time (1st century B.C,) the initial *y* had also become *j* (II-31) the actual Prakrit forms of *yāvat* (the relative pronoun of quantity) in Vararuchi's time were *ja, jāva* [2]. An earlier form of *jāva* is the Pali *yāva*; it is reasonable to assume that *jā* too had an earlier form *yā*.

The later forms of *jā, jāva* in Prakrit were *jē, jēva, jēma.* [3] (H.G.G. 438-1).

In several modern Aryan vernaculars of India the direct singulars of the relative pronoun have the forms *yē, jē, javan, jaün, jaun, jau, jō.* (H.G,G. § 437-4).

The change of meaning which the form *yāvant* has undergone must be carefully noted. Professor whitney says that pronominal adjectival compounds, with the suffix '*vant*' conveying the meaning of 'after the manner of, like' were freely formed in the older language, e. g,, *māvant* 'like me'. *tvāvant* 'like thee,' *yushmāvant* 'like you,' *īvant* 'like this,' *kīvant* 'like what,' *tāvant* 'like that' *ētāvant* 'like this,' *yāvant* 'which like' (relative); and that of these only the last three were in use in the later languages in the sense of 'so much,' 'how much' (W.S.G. § § 517, 1233-f.)

The forms *tāva, yāva, yāvam* of Pali, *tā, tāva, jā, jāva* of the literary Prakrits dealt with in Vararuchi's Grammar (IV-5-6) have only the later senses of *tantus* and *quantus*. There is however reason to think that the older meanings of 'like that' and 'which like' must have persisted down to modern times in the popular dialects, for as noted above the forms *jēva, javan, jaün* etc., are now used in some of the Aryan vernaculars of India as simple relative pronouns which use is apparently derived from the sense 'which like.'

We may compare also the Telugu forms *māvaṇṭi* 'like me', *mīvaṇṭi* 'like you, *aṭuvaṇṭi* 'like that', *iṭuvaṇṭi* 'like this'. *eṭuvaṇṭi* 'what like' where the suffix '*vant*' in the sense of 'like' is preserved.

• (i) The Sanskrit masculine singular ending *n* when adopted in Tamil originally indicated only the singular number and was common to all the three natural genders (§ 20 below). The Sanskrit masculine *yāvān* appears to have been one of the earliest relative-interrogative forms

1 Childer's Pali Dictionary.

2. Vararuchi II-31, Ādēr yō-jab. II-5. Yāvadadishu vasya.
IV-6 Antyasya halah.

3. *m* also appears in the other pronominal forms ēma, tēma, kēma.

adopted in Tamil and other Dravidian languages, and seems to be the original of the Kanarese interrogative pronouns *ēnu*, *ēn* common to all the three genders (K.K.G. § § 102-*b*, and 125) and of the genderless Old Tamil *evaṉ* which has become *ēṉ* in Modern times (§ 11 above).

(ii) The interrogative *e* which appears initially in composition as in Tamil *eppeyar* 'what name', *evvayiṉ* 'what place' *emmaṉidaṉ* 'what man' and in Malayāḷam *ekkālam* 'what time', *evvaṇṇam* 'what manner' has apparently arisen from the imitation of such Sanskrit compounds and combinations as *yatkāma* 'having which desire' *yatkāraṇam* 'wherefore', *yatsukham* 'which pleasure', *yadduḥkham* 'which grief' etc., which would come to be pronounced *ekkāma*, *ekkāraṇam*, *echchukam*, *ettukkam* in Tamil and Malayāḷam. This *e* is another of the earliest relative-interrogative forms adopted in the Dravidian languages. It is possible that the base *yad* has also given rise to the Dravidian pronouns *edu*, *edi*.

(iii) The Tamil-Malayāḷam forms *yāvaṉ*, *yāvaḷ*, *yāvai*, and the Kanarese *yāva*, *yāvanu*, *yāvavanu*, *yāvaḷu*, *yāvadu*, *yāvaru*, *yāvavu* are apparently derived from the old Indo-Āryan base *yāva*.

The Kanarese base *āva* and the derivatives *āvam* etc., are derivable from *yāva* by the elision of the initial *y*, as in *yānu* 'I' which has become *ānu*.

The Kanarese forms with the initial *d* are derivable from the Prakrit bases *jā*, *jāva*, the initial of which has become *d* (§ 12 above) ; these must have come in later than the forms with the initial *y*.

The Tamil-Malayāḷam forms *ēvaṉ ēvaḷ*, etc., and the Telugu *ēvi* must have arisen from the weakening of the initial *yā* into *ē*.

In the forms *evaṉ*, *evaḷ*, *evaḍu*, *evaru* etc. the initial *ē* has been shortened.

The theory of Bishop Caldwell and Dr. Kittel that the *v* of the above forms is intervocal is altogether untenable.

(iv) The assumed old Indo-Āryan *yā* corresponding to the Prakritic *jā* of Vararuchi appears to be the original of the interrogative *yā* of Tamil and Kanarese, the interrogative *ē* of Malayāḷam, Kanarese and Telugu, the interrogative *ā* of Kanarese and the interrogative *dā* of Tuḷu. It is also the base of the Tamil *yādu* 'which, what?' which became *ēdu*, *edu* later in Tamil. Telugu *ēdi*, *edi* are traceable to the same base ; as also *yār*, *ār* 'who' of Tamil, Malayāḷam, and Kanarese, *yēr* of Tuḷu, and *dēr* of Brāhūī. The *Kurukh* and Malto interrogative *nē* can also be derived from the assumed Indo-Āryan *yā* as initial *y* often changes into *n* in Dravidian. c. f. Dravidian *yān* 'I', Sanskrit *yama* 'God of death', *yūgā* 'yoke' which have become *nāṉ*, (Telugu *nēnu*), *namaṉ* and *nukam* in Tamil.

(b).—*A possible alternative theory in regard to the origin of the Dravidian interrogative forms.*

It is also possible to conceive of the Dravidian interrogative bases as having arisen from the Āryan interrogative root *k* combined with a palatal vowel or semi-vowel. The neuter interrogative form in Sanskrit is *kim* and the Sanskrit pronoun of quantity *kiyat* was *kīvat* in the Vedas formed in the same manner as *tāvat* and *yāvat*. In modern Hindī the neuter interrogative is *kyā*. In all these cases the interrogative letter *k* is combined with a palatal vowel or semi-vowel. It is possible that the contiguity of these palatals palatalized the root letter itself which becoming weakened into *ch* and *ś* was ultimately weakened into *y*.

In the Avesta there are in addition to the *k* forms special forms of the interrogative beginning with the palatal *ch*, viz., *chi* 'who', *chid* 'which', *chati* 'how much' (J. A. G. § 407, K. A. G. § § 228, 229).

"Gujarātī has", in addition to the *k* forms, " a unique interrogative (masc) *śō*, (fem) *śī* and (neut, *śum*) the only approach to which is the Sindhī *chhā* used only as a neuter" (B. A. G., Vol. II, page 324).

It is therefore possible that in the language of the Indo-Āryans who emigrated into South India in pre-historic times there were interrogative bases of which the initial was *ky*, *ch*, or *ś* and that this consonant was weakened into *y*. Whether the initial of the earliest Dravidian interrogatives arose in this manner or was merely imitated from the Indo-Iranian relative base *ya* there seems to be no doubt, as will have been seen from section (*a*) above, that the Dravidian interrogative bases are derived from four different forms *yāvān*, *yad*, *yāva*, *yā* which have the same suffixes as the Sanskrit *tāvān*, *tad* and the Prakrit *tāva*, *tā*.

§ 16 (*a*).—*Relative participles.*

This is the name given by European grammarians to certain participles in the Dravidian languages which qualify nouns and are therefore called *peyar-echcham* in Tamil. There is a participle corresponding to each tense form as follows :—

		Tamil.	Kanarese.	Telugu.
Past	... *śeyda*	'that did'	*geyda*	*chēsina*
	kāṭṭina	'that showed		
Present	... *śeykiṟa*	'that does'		*chēyutunna*
Future	... *śeyyum*	'doing' or 'that will do'	*geyyuva*	*chēyun*

The majority of these are obtained by adding the particle *a* to the old non-pronominalized tenseforms ; where the non-pronominalized forms

still continue to be used as tenses, as in the Tamil *śeyyum* and the Telugu *chēyun*, no such addition is made.

Bishop Caldwell enters into a long disquisition as to the origin of the suffixed *a* and comes to the conclusion that it is the sign of the possessive case.!! Dr. Gundert on the other hand appears to have been of opinion that the suffixed *a* was the same as the demonstrative base *a* (C. D. G. pages 411-414).

Dr. Gundert's view seems to be the correct one. As in Dravidian the subject of the action is tacked on to the verb-form and becomes enclitic thereto, and as we have seen that in the Dravidian the same words are used to denote the correlative, the demonstrative and the third personal pronouns, it would seem correct to regard the suffix *a* as the subject of the action expressed in the relative participles ; in other words, the suffixed *a* of the relative participles should be regarded as corresponding to 'that' in the relative clauses 'that did,' 'that showed', 'that does' in the paradigm above. If this view be correct the suffixed *a* will be the same as *av* the old demonstrative base which had lost its final *v* ; in Tolkāppiyam several verb-forms occur ending in *av* which now end in *a* only [1].

It will be noted that the double use of *av* in Dravidian as a demonstrative and as a relative corresponds to the double use of 'that' in the same two senses in English. *Av* in Dravidian is also the base of the pronouns of the third person.

It may also be remarked in passing that without any addition for number or gender *av* is itself the pronoun of the third person in the neuter pluarl in Tamil. The original neuter plural forms must have been *irundaṉav* 'they (neuter) were', *pōkiṉṟaṉav* 'they (neuter) are going' etc.; these have now lost the final *v* and exist as *irundaṉa*, *pōkiṉaṟaṉa*, etc., as if the neuter plural termination was merely *a*. This has led Bishop Caldwell into supposing that the Dravidian languages resemble Latin in having a neuter plural in short *a*!! (C. D. G. Introduction, page 76).

(b).—The relative construction distinguished from the Interrogative.

In Old Kanarese there was practically no difference between interrogative sentences and the first parts of sentences formed with relative pronouns ; this led Dr. Kittel to argue that the so-called relative sentences were really interrogative sentences constructed in imitation of Sanskrit (K. K. G. §§ 267, 329 330). In modern Kanarese and in other cultivated

1. Tol. II. 2. *Uyartiṉaiyav-v-ē* for the modern *uyartiṉaiya-v-ē* 'they belong to the rational caste'.

Tol. II. 3. *Ahriṉaiyav-v-ē* for the modern *ahriṉaiya-v-ē* 'they belong to the irrational caste.'

Dravidian languages the interrogative and relative constructions are distinguished by the use of the particle ō in the latter, as thus :—

(i) Old Kanarese ... *āvan adhika puṇyan avanē sēvyam.*

(ii) Modern Kanarese ... *yāvanu adhika puṇyan-ō avanē sēvyanu.*

(iii) Telugu ... *evaḍu adhika puṇyamugalavāḍō vāḍē sēvyuḍu.*

(iv) Tamil ... *evaṉ adhika puṇyam uḷḷavaṉ-ō avaṉē sēvikkattakkavaṉ.*

English. "Who (is) a very righteous man he indeed (alone) (is) venerable.

Here again Dr. Kittel argued that ō was the vowel of questioning. On the other hand ō distinguishes the relative from the interrogative construction : it appears to be a corruption of the genderless *av* or *ava*. Sometimes this ō is directly joined to the relative, as in :—

(v) Kanarese ... *adhika puṇyan yāvanō avanē sēvyanu.*

The construction is the same as in the following :—" Whoso honours his parents (he) will live long '. *Yāvanō, evaḷō evarō* etc., correspond to ' whoso,' but a second correlative is added in the Dravidian sentences as in example (v) above as ō which has no number or gender cannot fully discharge the function which the particle ' so ' does in the English word ' whoso '

§ 17.—*The number and gender signs of pronouns.*

It will have been seen from §§ 4 and 11 that both the demonstrative and the interrogative pronouns use the same set of suffixes for indicating gender and number.

1. *Masculine Singular.*—The characteristic sign is *n* which is written *ṉ* in Tamil and Malayāḷam, but it appears only in the oblique cases in the languages of the Āndhra and Gōṇḍi groups, having been replaced by *nḍ, ḍ, ḍ, r* or *nj* in the nominative case in those languages.

2. *Feminine Singular.*—The characteristic sign is *ḷ* ; this has disappeared from the languages of the Āndhra and the Gōṇḍi groups which are now using the same termination for the feminine and the neuter singular.

3. *Epicene plural.*—The sign is mostly *r*, but Gōṇḍi has a double plural in *rk.*

4. *Neuter.*—As different bases are used for the singular and for the plural no distinguishing additions are necessary.

The personal and the reflexive pronouns are inflected only for number. The sign of the singular is *n* and that of the plural is *m* replaced in some cases by *r*.

Before proceeding to consider the origin and affinities of these signs we shall draw attention to a class of Dravidian agent nouns of which the suffixes are demonstrative pronouns, and which look so like Sanskrit formations that it has led some Dravidian scholars to contend that Sanskrit has imitated Dravidian in these cases.

In Professor Sten Konow's list of forms which Indo-Āryan is alleged to have imitated from Dravidian occur two which are not found in the earliest Vedic literature but are common in later Sanskrit. These are (1) the active past participle obtained by suffixing *vat* to the passive past participle as in *kṛitavān* and (2) the periphrastic future tense formed by adding the verb substutive to the noun of agency in the first and second persons, the agent noun itself being used as the tense form in the third person, Professor Sten Konow's contention being that these are imitations of Dravidian forms like (1) Tamil *śeydavaṉ̤* and (2) Gōndī *kiātōnā*, *kiātōnī*, *kiātōr* (L.S. IV, page 281).

This contention is totally disproved by the occurrence of these very forms in the language of the Avesta. Kanga's Avestic Grammar. (§ 563) gives two instances of the past participle active formed from the past participle passive :—

Root *v^{a}r^{a}z*. to work', p.p.p. *varsta*. p,p. a *varstavat*.

Root *shā* 'to become propitious', p.p.p. *shāna*, p.p. a *shānavat*.

The same Grammar (§ 471) gives from the Avesta instances of periphrastic future which are on all fours with the Sanskrit forms. Thus from *pā* 'to protect', *pāta* 'he will protect', *pātārō* 'they will protect', *pātāhmi* 'I will protect', *pātamahi* 'we will protect', *pātasto* 'you will protect'.

These two instances show the danger of assuming that if a form not found in the Vedas is found in later Sanskrit it must have been borrowed from a foreign source. The existence of such forms in the Avesta has demonstrated in these two cases that classical Sanskrit has inherited materials from some unknown Āryan dialects of India which are not represented in the existing Vedas.

§ 18.—*A parallelism in the terminations of the masculine singular nominative.*

Further, when we proceed to examine the terminations of the Dravidian forms which Indo-Āryan is said to have imitated the tables are turned and we find that these terminations have in every case been imitated from Āryan terminations. The Dravidian forms under consideration are the Tamil *śeydavaṉ̤*, Old Kanarese *geydavam*, Telugu *chēśinavāḍu* etc.,

and their terminations are practically identical with the nominative masculine singulars of demonstrative pronouns.

In the table below these demonstrative forms are compared with the masculine nominative singulars of the Āryan present participles which they imitate; the *nt* of these participles is, as is well-known, Indo-Germanic in origin. The comparison might also be made with the Sanskrit possessive adjectives containing *vat* or *mat*.

Dravidian dialects.	Dravidian forms.	Āryan forms.	Āryan dialects.	Dravidian oblique cases.
1	2	3	4	5
Tamil ... Malayāḷam ...	*avaṉ*	*bharan.*	Vedic	avaṉai
Kanarese ...	*avanu*			
Old Kanarese. Baḍaga ...	*avam*	*bharam*	Ardhamāgadhī	avanam
Telugu ...	*vāḍu* *vāṇḍu*	*bharantō*	Pali.	vāniki
Madras Gōṇḍī...	*ōñḍu*	*bharantu*	Apabhraṁśa P. P. G. 397.	ōn (k)
Gōṇḍī ...	*ōr*			ōn (k)
Kui ...	*ēañju* *ōañju*	*baras* (from *barans*)	Avestic (K. A. G. § § 132 & 133. P. P. G. § 397)	ēan (k) ōan (k)
Tuḷu ...	*āye*	*drvāe* from *dru* 'run'	Avestic (K. A. G. § 134).	

It will be seen that that there is a close parallelism between the terminations of Dravidian and Āryan forms. This parallelism gives us a clue as to the kind of Āryan influence to which the various parts of Southern India were subject in the earliest times. The termination *m* of the Old Kanarese *avam*, imitating that of *bharam* one of the forms assumed by the nominative masculine singular of the present participle *bharat* in Māgadhī and Ardhamāgadhī, betrays Jain or Buddhistic influence; while that of the Tamil *avaṉ* which corresponds to that of the Vedic *bharan* arising from the loss of *ts* in *bharants*, probably indicates that the earliest Āryan influence in the Tamil country was Brahamanic. The endings of the Telugu and Madras Gōṇḍī forms which correspond to *antō* or *antu* indicate Pali influence. The Kui termination *nju* may be taken to arise from the palatalization of Telugu *ṇḍu*; perhaps so, but there is also the possibility of there having

been an Āryan dialect in India possessing the Avestic form *barǎs* but not represented in Sanskrit or the Prakrits, and the Kui language might have received the termination *n̆iu* from this lost dialect. There is nothing very special in the form *baras* the termination of which arises from-*ans*. c.f. Sanskrit *vidvāmsa* 'learned'.

(ii) In the case of the Tuḷu *āye* we have to postulate the existence of a similar dialect not represented in Sanskrit or the Prakrits. Or we may explain the final *e* in *āye* as due to Māgadhī influence, and regard the initial *ā* as equivalent to *av*, the vowel being lengthened in compensation for the loss of *v*; this Māgadhī influence appears also in *imbe* the Tuḷu proximate demonstrative, and the long *ā* also appears in *āḷ* 'she' *ār* 'they (epicene)'. (Vide § 4 above.)

One of the peculiarities of the Māgadhī Prakrit was that the nominative singular of its *a* bases ended in *ē* as opposed to the Śaurasēnī *ō*. This can be seen from the Śvētāmbara formula when referring to the great Jain apostle.

Śē bhagavam mahāvīrē mahāmāhanē.

Sanskrit.—Saḥ bhagavān mahāvīraḥ mahāmāhanaḥ.

English.—He the Lord Mahāvīra, the great Brāhmaṇa.

The nominative *e* termination is now found extensively in the Tuḷu language and the Kōta dialect of Kanarese; this and the nominative termination *m* of masculine nouns in Baḍaga and Old Kanarese are no doubt due to the influence of the Māgadhī speaking Jains who emigrated to Karnāṭa in the fourth century B.C. in consequence of a severe famine in Magadha.

(iii) Professor StenKonow thinks that the Gōṇḍī *ōr* is a plural form used for the singular *ōn* which appears in all the oblique cases in the singular (L.S. IV, page 481). I beg to dissent from this view. This *r* also appears in the near demonstrative *ēr* and in the interrogative ***bōr***, which become ***ēn*** and ***bōn*** in the oblique singular; (ibid, page 486,); also in the nominative singular of masculine nouns like *tammur* 'brother' etc., which become ***tammun*** &c, in the oblique cases. This *r* is also seen in the masculine singular verb forms of the third person. In all these cases we should, on the Āndhra analogy, except to find *ṇḍ* or *ḍ* instead of *r*.

The Telugu *vāṇḍu* has become *vā'ḍu* and *vāḍu* in popular speech; if now we suppose the original Gōṇḍi *ōṇḍu* to have been similarly changed to *ōḍ* and to have ultimately become *ōṛ*, all the above Gōṇḍī terminations will be brought into line with the terminations of the Telugu area.

Professor StenKonow himself says that there is confusion in the pronunciation of the dental r and the cerebral ṛ. I find that the Telugu

āḍu (literary *ā(ḍu)* 'female' appears as *ār* 'a woman' in Gōṇḍī, (page 632) and that the Dravidian *nāḍu* 'rural parts' appears as *nār* 'village', (page 480). In these two cases, a final cerebral has certainly become *ṛ* and then *r*. There seems to be little doubt that the final *r* of the nouns and pronouns mentioned above is merely cerebral *ḍ* mispronounced. Professor StenKonow further points out that the nominative masculine singular also ends in *āl* in some cases. This replacement of a final *ḍ* by *r* and *l* has a most important bearing, as will be seen later, on the gender and the number signs of pronouns.

(iv) The correspondence between the terminations of the masculine nominative singular of the demonstrative pronoun in Dravidian and those of the same case forms of the Āryan participles is so exact even to details, that it leads irresistibly to the conclusion that the former are imitations of the latter, each Dravidian dialect imitating the contiguous Aryan dialect in this respect.

§ 19.—*The Telugu ṇḍu has arisen from the Indo-Āryan ntu*

In the table given in the previous article the Telugu cerebral *ṇḍ* or *ḍ* corresponds to the Sanskrit *nt*. Telugu appears to have a predilection for the cerebral *ṭ* and *ḍ*, for what is dental or alveolar in Kanarese and Tamil is very often converted into a cerebral sound in Telugu as will be seen from the following table.

Literary Tamil.		Kanarese.	Telugu.
kuṉṟu	'a hill'		*koṇḍa*
oṉṟu	'one'	*ondu*	*oṇḍu*
eṉṟu	'the sun'		*eṇḍa* 'sunshine'
ñāṉṟu	'a day'		*nā(ḍu*
eṉṟēṉ	'I said'	*endenu*	*aṇṭini*
tiṉṟēṉ	'I ate'	*tindenu*	*tiṇṭini*
puṟṟu	'ant hill'	*huttu*	*puṭṭa*
		puttu	
śuṟṟu	'envelope, coil round'	*suttu*	*chuṭṭu.*

The following Telugu particles and words appear to be *tadbhavas* in which also the Sanskrit *nt* has been cerebralized.

(i) *aṇḍu, uṇḍu*, occurring in the respectful address *ēmaṇḍī* and in the imperatives *raṇḍī, dayachēyaṇḍī, vinuṇḍu, vinu(ḍu*. The terminations in these Telugu forms appear to imitate the Sanskrit idiom in which the person addressed is put in the third person, as *āgachchhantu bhavantaḥ* 'may you honour be pleased to come'. *Bhavantaḥ* became *bhantē, hōntō, huntō*, in Pali and the Prakrits (D. P. G. § 166, P. P. G. § 476). The corresponding Apabhramśa forms will be * *hantu*, **hontu* * *huntu*. Of

these *hantu* and *huntu* losing their aspirate and with their dentals cerebralized will become *aṇḍu* and *uṇḍu* respectively ; the Sanskrit imperative plural termination *antu* will also become *aṇḍu*. The form *cheyaṇḍu* may be mistaken for the negative third person. Consequently an *ī* is added which makes *chēyaṇḍī* ; but we may have *chēyuṇḍu*, *chēyu(ḍu*, *vinuṇḍu* &c Thus *ēmaṇḍī dayachēyaṇḍī* is really *ēmi bhavantah dayachēyantu.*

(ii) *ē(ḍu)eḍu* 'measure or quantity', as in *mureḍu* 'cubit length' *mānēḍu*' as much as a *māna*' etc.

This is apparently derived from the Vedic suffix *-yant* occurring in *iyant* 'so much', *ki-yant* 'how much' (M.V.G. § 402-d).

(iii) *vaṇṭi*, as in *aṭuvaṇṭi* 'resembling it', *māvaṇṭi* 'resembling us', *mīvaṇṭi* ' resembling you'. The original form of *vaṇṭi* without the declensional suffix *ti* will be *vaṇḍ*, which is obviously derived from the Vedic *vant* in *māvant* 'like me', *tvāvant* 'like thee' (M.V.G. § 402-e).

(iv) *aṇḍa* 'neighbourhood, protection', from Skt *anta*, as in *antika* 'vicinity', *antevāsin* , a pupil.'

(v) *pēraṇḍa* the area adjoining a house, a 'backyard', from the Sanskrit *paryanta* which becomes *pēranta* in Prakrit.

The above examples are enough to show that the Sanskrit *nt* often becomes *ṇḍ* in Telugu.

§ 20.—*The Dravidian masculine sign.*

(*a*) It would appear from the table in § 18 above, that the termination of the nominative masculine singular of the Dravidian demonstrative pronouns varies from language to language, but in the oblique forms given in column 5 of the table, an *n* appears uniformly in all the languages under consideration. Thus we have Tamil: *avaṉai*, Old Kanarese; *avanam*, Telugu : *vāniki*, Goṇḍi *ōn* (*k*), Kui, *ōani*.

The Dravidian variations have their counterparts in the corresponding singulars of Āryan present participles given in column 3. In all the Āryan forms there is an inherent conjunct *nt* which is Indo Germanic in origin but which, owing to various causes, undergoes the above modifications.

(*b*) The Indo-Āryan forms which contain this conjunct *nt* are

(i) the present, aorist, and future participles active formed with the suffixes *ant*, *syant* ;

(ii) the past participle active formed with the suffix *vant* ; and

(iii) the possessive adjectives formed with the suffixes *vant*, *mant*.

Grammarians recognize two forms of the stem in these classes of words, the strong and the weak, the former containing the conjunct *nt* as in *bhavant*, the latter containing only the single consonant *t* as in *bhavat*. All the masculine case forms from and

inclusive of the accusative plural are formed from the weak stem, the previous ones being formed from the strong stem. In the neuter gender only the nominative, the vocative and the accusative plurals are formed from the strong stem, the remaining case forms being made with the weak. In classical Sanskrit and in the Vedic dialects the nominative singular always ends in *n* in the masculine, as in *bhavan, bhagavān*, and in *t* in the neuter, as in *bhavat, bhagavat*. The feminine form is obtained by affixing *ī* to the stem and is declined as a feminine noun in *ī* e.g., *bharantī bhavatī, kṛitavati, buddhimatī* etc. The masculine plurals are *bhavantaḥ*, and *bhagavantaḥ*.

The masculine nominative singular forms ending in *n* in Sanskrit are:—

dyutimān	possessive adjective	*bharan*	present participle.
balavān	do	*vridhan*	root aorist participle.
vidvān	perfect participle	*bharishyan*	future participle.
balīyān	adjective (comparative degree).	*kṛitavān*	active past participle

It looks as if *n* was tacitly adopted by the Dravidians as the ending of the nominative singular in imitation of this large class of Indo-Āryan words.

(c) It is needless to point out here that the Sanskrit masculine forms mentioned above indicate only grammatical gender and may refer to irrational animals or inanimate things like *simha* 'a lion', *vyāghra* 'a tiger', *vṛiksha* 'a tree', *sōma* 'the moon or the soma plaint,' which are all treated as of the neuter gender in Dravidian, as well as to males (and females, though rarely) of rational beings like *manushya* 'a man', *amātya* 'a king's minister', *dūta* 'a messenger', *kshatriya* 'a man of the kshatriya caste', *dārāḫ* 'wife'.

Consequently if *n* was imitated from Sanskrit as the sign of the singular number this sign will apply to all genders and will not necessarily be confined to the masculine.

In Tamil final *ṉ* now indicates the male sex of rational beings but there are remnants and traces which show clearly that at one time it indicated only the singular number without reference to sex. According to a rule [1] of Tolkāppiyam there were then only nine neuter nouns in the language in which the final *ṉ* could not be replaced by *m*; a rule [2] of Naṉṉūl written more than ten centuries later says that there are some neuter nouns in the Tamil language in which the final *m* could be replaced by *ṉ*. Reading these two rules together we might infer that there was once a large class of neuter nouns ending in *ṉ* in which the final has now been changed into *m*. The following are a few of the neuter nouns which now end in *m* but which are found in poetical works with a final *ṉ*; the latter forms are now considered archaic.

1. Tol. Śol. Pirappu 49.

2. Naṉṉūl Sūtra 121.

pulam, pulaṉ	'one of the five senses'
vaḷam, vaḷaṉ	'fertility'
tiṟam, tiṟaṉ	'ability'
maram, maraṉ	'a tree'
aṟam, aṟaṉ	'virtue'
nilam, nilaṉ	'the ground'.
iḍam, iḍaṉ,	'a place'

There are also traces of feminine forms once ending in *ṉ*. Thus we have :—

(1) Padumaṉ dēvi [1] where we should now say *Padmā dēvī.*

(2) Peṇ makaṉ [2] 'a young girl'.

(3) Akkaṉ 'elder sister' } S.I.I. Vol. II, pages 8 and

(4) Ammaṉ for Ammai 'mother' } 278.

It would thus seem that all nouns of the kind we are now considering formerly ended in *ṉ* adopted in imitation of the very numerous Sanskrit nominative singulars ending in *n*, and that such of them as belonged to the irrational class had their final subsequently changed to *m* so as to make them correspond to the Sanskrit nominative neuter singulars *ñānam* 'knowledge', *bilam* 'an aperture', *balam* 'strength' &c., leaving the final *n* unchanged in the case of high-caste nouns of the masculine gender like *maṉidaṉ* 'a man', *kaṇavaṉ* 'husband', *makaṉ* 'a son' *etc.* Nouns of the feminine gender like *akkaṉ* 'an elder sister', *ammaṉ* 'mother,' have now become *akkā, akkāḷ, ammā, ammai, ammāḷ*; while *ammaṉ* 'a goddess' still continues to be *ammaṉ*.

§ 21. *The Dravidian inflexional increment t.*

The oblique base of Tamil high-caste nouns (*uyartiṇai*) in the singular is the same as the nominative singular, but neuter nouns ending in *m* form the oblique base in the singular by substituting *t* for *m*.

		Nominative Singular.	Oblique Singular.	Accusative Singular.
Rational Masculine	... ...	*makaṉ* 'a son.'	*makaṉ*	*makaṉ - ai*
Neuter ...	Old form ...	*aṟaṉ* 'virtue'	*aṟaṉ*	*aṟaṉ - ai*
	Modern form ...	*aṟam*	*aṟat*	*aṟat - t - ai*
	Old form ...	*iḍaṉ*	*iḍaṉ*	*iḍaṉ - ai*
	Modern form ...	*iḍam*	*iḍat*	*iḍat - t - ai.*

1. Padirru-p-pattu IV & VII.

2. Tol. Śol. 164. Śēnāvaraiyar.

This inflexional increment *t* appears to be imitated from the Sanskrit neuter bases *bharat* etc., just as *ṉ* was imitated from the Sanskrit masculine bases *bharan* etc.

We thus have the following stages in Tamil :—

(1) A singular termination *n* appearing not only in rational masculine nouns but also in many nouns of the neuter and the feminine genders, (2) neuter nouns separated and given termination *m* in the nominative and *t* in the oblique cases, (3) feminine nouns separated and given termination *ḷ*.

But the process of development does not appear to have been the same in all languages. Professor StenKonow says that there are distinct traces in Gōṇḍī of a system of inflexion of nouns where rational masculine bases form their cases from an oblique base ending in *n* while the oblique bases of neuter nouns ended in *t*; but that now the latter form is used in most nouns (L. S. IV, page 290).

The evolution in Telugu differs from that both in Gōṇḍī and Tamil. Its feminine termination *lu* has been replaced by *di*, perhaps to avoid the confusion between the plural *lu* and the feminine *lu*.

But all languages which originally adopted *n* as the termination of the nominative singular appear to have felt later the necessity to have a characteristic masculine termination in the nominative singular of rational masculine nouns and to have replaced the original *n* as shown in § 18 above by the terminations of the nominative singulars of participles and possessive adjectives in the contiguous or surrounding Āryan vernaculars. No change was necessary in the Tamil area, perhaps because the Indo-Āryan nominatives in the Vedic area ended in *n* or because the Dravidian neuter and feminine nouns had been separated and given other terminations.

§ 22.—*The Dravidian feminine sign ḷ.*

The characteristic sign of the feminine gender in Tamil, Malayāḷam and Kanarese, is the letter *ḷ* in the suffix *aḷ*. The other Dravidian languages which contain traces of this termination are :—Telugu which has the words *ālu* 'a woman, wife', *kōḍalu* 'a daughter-in-law', *cheliyalu*, *chellelu* 'a younger sister', *maraḻdalu* 'a younger female relation'; Kui; *kuāli* 'a Kui woman', Kurukh: *āḷī* 'a woman'. Telugu has also the adjective *āḍu* (literary *āḻḍu*) 'female'.

The nominative plurals of the above Telugu nouns in *lu* are *āṇḍru*, *kōḍaṇḍru*, *cheliyaṇḍru*, *chelleṇḍru*, *maraḻdaṇḍru*; and the combination *ṇḍr* appears in all the plural oblique forms of the nouns: e.g., *āṇḍranu*, *kōḍaṇḍra yokka* etc. The final *ru* in the above forms is of course the plural sign, but what is the *ṇḍ*? There is no inflexional increment *t* in the oblique singular of these nouns and the *ṇḍ* cannot be due to any incremental *t*. It is apparently the original from which the feminine sign *l* in *ālu* &c.,

has been derived; the original of *ālu* must have been *āṇḍu* from which Telugu *āḍu*, *āḷḍu* 'female' have also been obviously derived by the total or partial loss of the nasal *ṇ*. We saw before that the Indo-Germanic *nt* has been cerebralized in Telugu and has given rise to the masculine sign *ṇḍu* as in *magaṇḍu* 'husband' *alluṇḍu* 'a son-in-law' etc. The *ṇ* of these words became an *ardhānusvāra* (obscure nasal) as in *magaḷḍu*, *alluḷḍu* etc., and has now wholly disappeared in colloquial language as in *magaḍu alluḍu* etc. By another process of corruption the same *ṇḍ* (arising from *nt*) has further become *l* as in *āṇḍu*, *āḍu*, *ālu*. *Āḍu* containing a cerebral should have become *āḷu*, but in this as in many other cases in Telugu *l* replaces the cerebral *ḷ* found in Tamil, Malayāḷam and Kanarese as the sign of the feminine gender. Strange as it may seem both the masculine sign *ṇ* and the feminine ending *ḷ* appear to be derived from the same Indo Germanic *nt*.

At pages 120-126 of his Grammar Bishop Caldwell enters into a detailed disquisition as to the origin and inter-relations of the Dravidian signs of the masculine and the feminine singular and arrives at the following conclusions :—

(1) Telugu *ṇḍ*, Tamil-Malayāḷam and Kanarese *n* and Old Kanarese *m* are identical: the masculine suffixes *aṇḍu*, *an* and *am* of these languages are also identical. (2) The Kui word *āṇju* 'a man' (which he writes *āñu*) is identical with the Tamil *āṇ* 'a male' and also probably with the Tamil *āḷ* 'a man, a person of either sex'. The Kui *āñu*, he points out, is in some connections shortened into *añu*, and this fact, he thinks, renders it probable that the Dravidian masculine suffix *an* is connected with the Kui *āñu* 'a man' and the Tamil *āṇ* 'a man'. (3) Similarly the Dravidian feminine suffixes *aḷ* and *alu* are, he says, derived from Telugu and Kui *ālu* 'a woman' which is probably connected with the Telugu adjective *āḷḍu* 'female'.

As we have seen above the suffixes *aṇḍu*, *an* and *am* can be said to be identical only in the sense that they are traceable ultimately to one and the same original; similarly Kui *āñju* and the Tamil *āṇ* and *āḷ* are identical only in the sense that their suffixes are derived from a common original. These two common originals are one and the same, *viz*, the Indo- Germanic *ant*.

There is a connection between the three words *āñju*, *āṇ* and *āḷ* on one side and the two words *āḍu* and *ālu* on the other, which Bishop Caldwell has not noticed. In Telugu *āḍu* (āḍ) means 'female' and *āḍudi* means 'a woman', but in Tamil *āḍuü* means 'a male' and *āḍavar* means 'males'; in Telugu *āḍangi* means 'a man of womanish character and ways'; the same word exists also in Tamil as *aṇṇakaṇ* (*āṇakaṇ*) 'a eunuch'. It would seem therefore that the terminations of the five words are derived from a common original, though the first three words denote 'a male' while the remaining two denote 'a female.' This

goes to confirm the inference stated above that the suffixes *aḷ* and *aṇ* are modified forms of *ant.* [1]

These facts clearly demonstrate that there was no differentiation of sex in the originals from which these words and suffixes have been derived, and that each Dravidian vernacular attached to them a masculine or a feminine signification according to its own convention.

§ 23.—*The Dravidian feminine signs di, tti.*

The feminine suffix *lu* now survives only in four words in Telugu, having been replaced in all other words by the suffix *di* which is stated to be the same as that of the neuter singular demonstrative *adi*. Both Bishop Caldwell and Professor Sten Konow think that the same neuter forms are to be found in the Tamil *vaṇṇā-tti* 'a washerwoman', *veḷḷāḷa-tti* 'a woman of the cultivator caste' etc., and Kanarese *okaḷa-ti* 'a farmer's wife' etc. (C.D.G. page 125; L.S.IV, page 290). This explanation leaves wholly unexplained the final *i* and the tenual *t*'s of the Tamil and Kanarese forms and can hardly be accepted.

The neuter singular demonstrative pronoun is *adi* in Telugu, and appellative nouns formed with this as suffix may no doubt give the feminine names *chinnadi* 'a young woman', *golladi* 'a shepherd woman' etc. But the neuter demonstrative in Tamil and Kanarese is *adu*, and it is *adu* even in the oldest specimens of these languages that have come down to us. Further the dental in *adu*, *adi*, *ad* is a media by etymology and by origin, not a tenue (vide § 10 above). The final *ti* of the Kanarese and Tamil forms has thus no connexion with the neuter *adi*. It is probably a corruption of the Sanskrit *strī*, 'a woman' which becomes *itthi*; *itthī*, *thī* in Pali; compare for example, Pali—*chaturithiō* 'four women' *manussitthī* 'a female of the genus *homo* (not a goddess or *apsaras*)', *nāṭakitthiō* 'actresses,' *taruṇithī* 'a young woman.' The *t* might also have arisen from imitation of the terminations of the Āryan participial and other forms ending in *tī*, e.g., *kṛitavatī*, *buddhimatī*, *balavatī*. The former of these is the more likely explanation, for the *tī* of these last forms had very early become *di* even in Prakrits, as Sanskrit *bhavati*, Prakrit *bhōdi*.

§ 24.—*Personal and reflexive pronouns.*

These are not distinguished for gender but show only number. The tables appended showing the personal pronouns in nine Dravidian languages have mainly been adopted from Bishop Caldwell's Grammar with a few modifications which more recent information has rendered necessary. In the column of the first person plural the exclusive plural is given in line (i) and the inclusive plural in line (ii). Where the forms are given in two separate lines against a language the first line shows obsolete and obsolescent forms and those found only in poetry.

1. It is also worthy of note that *mokaḍuu* means 'a female' in Tamil while in Telugu *magaḍu* means 'a husband' and *magavāru* means 'males'.

(*a*) There is a general agreement among scholars in regard to the following points :—

(i) Some of the oldest forms of the personal pronouns are those found in the personal terminations of verbs while the pronouns in actual use have considerably changed.

(ii) Some of the oldest forms of the first person singular are *ān*, *ēn* and *yān* and those of the second person singular are *īn*, *ī*, *nī*. The final *n* of the forms *ān*, *ēn*, *yān*, *īn* and of *tān*, the reflexive pronoun, is a suffix, Prof. StenKonow thinks that this suffix is perhaps originally identical with the suffix *n* of the demonstrative pronoun.

(iii) The normal plural suffix is *ṁ* which has in some cases been replaced by *r* in the second person and reflexive pronouns.

(iv) Professor StenKonow thinks that the first person inclusive plural did not exist in pro-Dravidian and was perhaps adopted later in imitation of the Kōl languages.

(*b*) The following considerations should also be remembered :—

(i) There are seven languages possessing inclusive plurals; in five of these all the inclusive plurals begin with *n*, while in four of these five, *viz.*, Malayāḷam, Tuḷu, Kurukh and Malto it is only the inclusive plurals that begin with *n*. It is probable that these plurals are late borrowals (§ 26. below) and it is possible that the initial *n* has spread from these to the other forms of the first person.

(ii) In colloquial Tamil *eṉakku* and *uṉakku* have become *nēkku*, *nōkku* by a metathesis of the initial vowels similar to those noticed in the demonstrative pronouns in Tuḷu and in the Telegu group. It is possible that *ān*, *ēn*, *īn*, *ām*, *ēm*, *īm*, may have as the result of a similar metathesis given rise to new bases *nā*, *nē*, *nī mā*, *mē*, *mī*; and some of these might have received suffixes a second time.

(iii) The initial *n* might also have arisen in some cases from a previous *y*, as in the Sanskrit *yama*, *yuga* which have become *namaṉ*, *nukam* in Tamil; perhaps the change took place through an intermediate *ñ* as in Malayāḷam. In this language the change has stopped at *ñ* in the first person.

(iv) Considering the very large number of Indo-Āryan and Iranian affinities exhibited by the demonstrative pronouns and, as will appear presently, also by the reflexive pronoun, it may not be unreasonable to assume *yā* and *yī* to be the oldest forms of Dravidian pronouns of the first and the second person.

(v) It is likely that the oblique plural forms of the second person *num*, *um*, *uṅgaḷ*, the vowel of which is anomalous, are derived from the Sanskrit base *yushma*; and that the first person plural forms *āmu*, *ammā*, *am* &c., corresponding to the Gauḍian forms *āmi*, *hāmi* &c., and to the Prakrit, *amha*, *amhi*, *amhē* &c., are connected with the Sanskrit base *asma* (H. G. G. § 430).

1. C.D.G. Part V. Section 1. Prof. StenKonow in I.A. Vol. XXXII.

THE PRONOUN OF THE FIRST PERSON.

Language.	Nominative 'I' (Singular)	Oblique form. (Singular)	Pronominal terminations. (Singular)	Nominative 'we' (Plural)	Oblique form. (Plural)	Pronominal terminations. (Plural)
Tamil ...	*yāṉ*, ... *nāṉ* ...	*ēṉ*, *nē* (coll) as ... in *nē k ku* ... =*eṉa-k-ku* ...	*eṉ*, *ēṉ*, *aṉ* ...	i. *yām*, *nāṅgaḷ* ... ii. *nām*, *nāmbaḷ* (coll)	i. *em*, *eṅgaḷ* ... ii. *nam*, *nambaḷ* (coll).	i. *em*, *ēm*, *ōm*. ii. *am*, *ām*.
Malayāḷam.	*ñāṉ* ...	*eṉ*, *iṉ* ...	*	i. *ñaṅṅaḷ*, *eṅṅaḷ* ... ii. *nām*, *nōm*, *nammaḷ*, *nummaḷ* ...	i. *ñaṅṅaḷ*, *eṅṅaḷ* ... ii. *nam* ...	
Kanarese...	*ān*, *yān* ... *nān-u*, *nā* ...	*en*, *nan* ...	*ēn*, *en*, *ēn-u*, *ēn-e*, *e* ...	*ām*, *āv-u*, *nāv-u* ...	*em nam* ...	*ev-u*, *ēv-u*, *ev-e*
Telugu ...	*ēn-u*, *ē*, *nēn-u* *nē* ...	*nā*, *nan* ...	(*nu*, *ni*) * ...	i. *ēm-u*, *nēm-u*, *mēm-u* ... ii. *manam-u* ..	i. *mā*, *mam* ... ii. *mana*, *manala* ...	(*mu*, *mi*).
Tuḷu ...	*yān* ...	*yeṅ*, *yena* ...	*e* ...	i. *yenkuḷu*, *enkuḷu*... ii. *nama* ...	i. *yenkuḷe* ... ii. *nam*, *nama* ...	*a*.
Gōṇḍi ...	*annā*, *nannā*.	*nā* ...	*ān*, *na* ...	*ammāṭ*, *mammāṭ* ...	*mā* ...	*ām*, *am*, *ōm*.
Kui ...	*ān-u* ...	*nā*, *nan* ...	*in*, *iṅ*, *e* ...	i. *ām u* .. ii. *āj-u* ...	i. *mā* ... ii. *ammā* ...	*ām-u*.
Kurukh ...	*ēn* ...	*en*, *eng* ...		i. *ēm* ... ii. *nām* ...	i. *em* ... ii. *nam* ...	
Malto ...	*ēn* ...	*eng* ...		i. *ēm* ... ii. *nām* ...	i. *em* ... ii. *nam* ...	

* Malayāḷam verbs have no personal terminations. The Telugu personal terminations are merely the last syllables of pronominal forms.

THE PRONOUN OF THE SECOND PERSON.

Language.	SINGULAR. Nominative 'thou'.	Oblique form.	Pronominal terminations.	PLURAL. Nominative 'you'.	Oblique form.	Pronominal terminations.
Tamil ...	nī, nīy ...	nin̤, nun̤, un̤ ... (coll) on, nō, as in nō k-ku = on̤a-k-ku = un̤a-k-ku ...	ī, i, ai, āy, ōy	nīm, nīvir, nīyir ... nīr ...	num, um uṅgaḷ ...	in̤, in̤ir, ir, īr.
Malayāḷam .	yī, nī ...	nin̤ ...		niṅṅaḷ, nīṅṅaḷ ...	nim, niṅṅaḷ ...	
Telugu ...	īv-u, nīv-u, nī.	nī, nin ...	(ru, vi) ...	īr u, mīr-u ...	mī, mim ...	(ru, ri).
Kanarese ...	nīn, nī, nīn-u	nin ...	ī, i, iye, ay e	nīm, nīv-u ...	nim ...	ir, iri, īri, ari.
Tuḷu ...	ī ...	nina, ni ...	a ...	nikuḷu, īr (hon) ...	nikuḷe, īre ...	ar.
Gōṇḍī ...	immā ...	ni ...	ni, i ...	immāṭ ...	mī ...	īṭ.
Kui ...	īn-u ...	nī, nin ...	i ...	īr u ...	mī, min ...	ēr-u, ār-u.
Kurukh ...	nīn ...	nin, niṅg ...		nīm ...	nim ...	
Malto ...	nīn ...	niṅg ...		nīm ...	nim ...	

The reflexive pronoun.

Dravidian	tān̤	tan̤, tan̤a		tām, tāṅgaḷ	tam, tama, taṅgaḷ

Honorific pronoun of the second person.

Tam : tāṅgaḷ.
Mal : tān̤, taṅṅaḷ.
Kan : tāvu.
Tel : tāmu, tamaru.

§ 25.—*One probable source of the plural sign m.*

It will be seen from the tables and the remarks above that the chief pluralising particles in personal and reflexive pronouns are *m*, *kaḷ*, and *r* ; *ṯ* is also used by Gōṇḍī.

(*a*) Bishop Caldwell considers the origin of the plural sign *m* at pages 301-303 of his Grammar and arrives at the conclusion that it must have arisen from, and is in fact identical with, the conjunctive or copulative particle *um* of almost all the Dravidian languages. One decisive point in his argument is that all universal nouns and pronouns in Tamil formed with *ellā*—'all', which should, of course, be regarded as always plural in number—the *nitya bahuvachana* of Sanskrit grammarians—must have this particle affixed to them as the sign of totality, whatever be their case ; e.g., *ellār-um* 'all', *ellā-namakk um* 'to all of us', *ellāvaṟṟil-um* 'in all things' etc. There is no doubt that the plural sign *m* has the same origin as the copulative conjunction, if not actually derived from it. This conjunction is *um* in Tamil-Malayāḷam, *un* in Telugu, *um* in Old Kanarese and *ū* in Modern Kanarese. The lengthening of *u* in the last form is perhaps due to the loss of *m*, or the long *ū* might have arisen from the Sanskrit *uta* as in Modern Persian.

(*b*) The conjunction *um* is found mostly used in what are literally *dvandva* compounds, i.e., combinations of *two* nouns :—

Tamil.	Sanskrit.	English.
(i) *aṉṉai-y-um pitā-v-um* *tāy-um takappaṉ-um*	*mātara-pitarau*	'mother and father.
(ii) *viṉ-ṉ-um maṉ-ṉ-um*	*dyāvā-kshāmā*	'the heaven and the earth.'
(iii) *al-l-um pakal-um*	*naktōshāsā*	'night and day.'
(iv) *ñāyiṟ-um-tingaḷ-um*	*sūryā-chandramasau*	'the sun and the moon.'

It will be seen that the conjunction is attached to each member of the compound. In cases other than the nominative each noun must be inflected and must have the conjunction attached to it.

(v) *eṉṉai-y-um eṉ-makaṉai-y-um aḻaittāṉ*

'He invited me and my son'.

(vi) *idu uṉakk-um uṉ tambikk-um podu.*

'This is common to you and your younger brother'.

This is the Tamil idiom ; we can also rewrite the sentences avoiding the repetition of the conjunction, but the construction will then become somewhat complicated :—as thus ; *nāṉ eṉ makaṉ, iruvarai-y-um aḻaittāṉ.*

(c) This method of inflecting each member of a *dvandva* compound appears to have prevailed in Iranian in the oldest Avestic period. A. V. W. Jackson says in his Avesta grammar :—

"Two co-ordinate terms which would form a pair connected by 'both—and' may dispense with the conjunction and unite into a compound. The Avesta *dvandva* compounds differ from the Sanskrit in this, that in the Avesta each member assumes the dual form and is declined separately : *e. g.*, *pasu-vīra* 'cattle and men', *pasubya-vīrabya* 'by cattle and men'. (J. A. G. § 879)

(d) In the R. V. in the most numerous group of the *dvandva* compounds the combination consists of two co-ordinated nouns in the dual number: e. g., *Mitrā-varuṇā* 'Mitra and Varuṇa', *Mātarā-pitarā* 'mother and father', *Sūryā māsā* 'the sun and the moon', *Dyāvā prithvī* 'the heaven and the earth.' (M. V. G. §§ 259—260)

Professor Whitney says that there are only three instances in which cases other than the nominative-accusative [1] are formed and that in these only the final word is inflected (W. S. G. § 1255-*a*.) He apparently overlooks the instance in R.V. IX—2—58 [2] in which both the members of the *dvandva* compound are in the genitive dual :—*dhvasrayōḥ-puru-santyōḥ*.

From the Avestic and the Ṛig-Vedic examples available it is not unreasonable to infer that in the Indo-Iranian period there was a practice of inflecting each member of a *dvandva* compound for case as now in Dravidian) and also for number.

(e) The most frequent ending of the nominative dual in later Sanskrit was *au* but in the earliest Vedic texts it was *ā* or *au*, predominatingly the former ; and even when later *au* became universal *ā* was retained as the ending of the first member of the compound, as in *mitrā-varuṇau*, *sūryā-chandramasau*.

Philologists tell us that the *u* of the dual sign *āu* is of Indo-Germanic origin, that it was an independent particle which became attached to the case ending and that its probable original meaning was 'two' (Brug: III. § 284, 289). This sign is given by some Western writers as *au* with reference to its acual sound [2] in Sanskrit at present. In the Vedic *dvandva* compound *mitrā-varuṇau* although the first constituent ends only in *ā* its real form is *mitrau* and the true etymological form of the compound is *mitrau-varuṇau*. Comparing this with its equivalent *mitraś cha varuṇaś cha* one might fancy that the dual terminatinn *au* was in its inception a copulative conjuction like the *cha* in the equivalent. In many of the Āryan vernaculars of India there is a copulative conjunction which looks as if it was related to this *au*. This conjunction is *au* or *aü* in Hindī, *āu* or *ō* in Oṛiya and *ō* in Bengālī ;

1. Accusative and vocative duals have the same form as the nominative dual.

2. M. V. G. § 16.

it is *aũ* with a nasal in Sindhi. Hoernle says that these forms are probably derived from Pkt: *abi*, Sk: *api* or *api cha* (H. G. G. § 559).

(*f*) However this may be, there is no doubt that as the original *u* was an independent addition to the case-ending, the real pronunciation of the compound will originally have been *mitra-ũ varuṇa-ũ* and the suggestion submitted for consideration now by the present writer is that an inorganic nasal subsequently attached itself to the particle and converted it into *u* or *um*, and that this *um* which was in use among the Indo-Āryan immigrants in South India as a copulative conjunction and which, as surmised by Bishop Caldwell, was the original of the pronominal plural sign *m*, was in its inception a dual sign. It must be pointed out, however, that the dual sign *āu* is not to be found in the Avesta, that the Vedic forms of the compound were *mitrā-varuṇā* and *mitrā-varuṇau*, that in classical Sanskrit the compound took the form *Rāmau-Lakshmaṇau* and that the suggested from *mitrau-varuṇaũ*, though a probable one, is unknown to grammar and literature.

§ 26.—*Probable origin of the inclusive plural nām.*

(*a*) The suggestion made in the previous article receives some confirmation when we examine the nature and origin of the inclusive plurals in Dravidian. It has already been pointed out that of the nine languages included in the tables of pronouns in § 24 seven possess inclusive plurals and that five of these, *viz.*, Tamil, Malayāḷam, Tuḷu, Kurukh and Malto, have plurals derived from the same form *nam*.

Dr. Gundert in his Malayāḷam grammar says (§ 530) that *nām* is in a way a dual form and quotes two examples where the word means 'you and I'. As ordinarily the person addressed is only one, the word *nām* must be a dual in most cases. Professor StenKonow quotes Lingam Lakshmaji Pantulu as saying that the Kui form *āju* is a dual, but observes that it occurs as an ordinary inclusive plural in a Kui specimen (L. S. IV § 460). One of the duals of the first person in Sanskrit is *nāu*; this is used in two celebrated prayers in the Taittirīya Upanishad where the disciple addressing his Guru invokes divine blessings on both of them:—

(i) *Saha nau yaśaḥ saha nau brahmavarchasam* (T. A. 5·3).

'May both of us attain glory! May both of us attain spiritual pre-eminence.'

(ii) *Saha nāv-avatu saha nau bhunaktu* × × ×

'May God protect both of us! may God shower benefits on both of us!

tējasvi-nāv adhītam astu etc. (T. A. 5·14.)

'May our studies render us famous.'

In the following instances taken from the Ēkāgnikāṇḍa and the Taittirīya Samhitā *nau* occurs as an inclusive dual in the words addressed by the husband to the wife :—

(iii) *sam nau manāsi ākaram* (Ēkā. I-3). 'I shall unite the hearts of both of us'.

(iv) *sam u dēshṭrī didēshṭu nau* (Ibid I-11) 'May the preceptress instruct both of us'.

(v) *sama njantu viśvē dēvā hṛidayāni nau* (Do) 'May the Viśvēdēva's render our hearts friendly to each other'

(vi) *tāni bhadrāṇi bījāni vṛishabhā janayantu nau* (Ibid I-14) 'May the virile gods render our seed fruitful'

(vii) *aham nāv-ubhayōs-suvō-rōkshyāmi* (T. S. I-7-9-1) 'I will make (raise) a heaven for us both'.

There are many other passages in which *nau* is used as an inclusive dual.[1] The Vedic pantheon, however, contains a number of twin deities which are always dealt with as pairs, like *aśvinau* 'the Asvins', *indrāgnī* 'Indra and Agni', *dyāvāpṛithvī* 'the Heaven and the Earth' &c; and when these speak they refer to themselves by the dual *nau* which, of course, *excludes* the person addressed. But such instances[2] are comparatively infrequent and will not occur outside religious literature. It is remarkable that the dual *nau* occurs in the R. V. only in about half-a-dozen[3] passages and in all these it is an *inclusive* dual It is clear that in common speech *nau* will in most cases have been an *inclusive* dual, and this word pronounced *nāu* has apparently become *nām. nōm*, the inclusive plurals of many Dravidian languages, thereby furnishing a corroboration of the suggestion in the previous article that the Indo-Germanic dual sign has in some cases become the Dravidian pronominal plural sign *m.*

(*b*) It should not be supposed that the change of *u* in the dual sign *aū* into *u* or of *nāu* into *nām* and *nōm* took place in consequence of Dravidian influences. We saw that *aū* has become *aŭ* in Sindhi; similarly the nasalization of the final *u* in *nāu* may have taken place among the Indo-Āryan immigrants themselves.

There are in several Indo-Germanic languages a pronoun of the first person having an initial *n* and a pronoun of the second person having an initial *v*; these, however, are confined to the dual and the plural and occur in the nominative only in a few of the languages. In Vedic Sanskrit these pronouns had degenerated into unchanging, accentless, enclitic particles confined to the A, D and G. cases :—

(Dual) *nāu*, *vām* (Plural) *nas*, *vas*

The dual form *vām* is anomalous. The only other language in which these pronouns occur both in the dual and in the plural is O. C. Sl, and

1. T. S. I-2 11 ; I-3 2 ; I-3-4. V.B.U. 5-2.
2. T. S. V-2-3-2 ; VI-4-9-1 ; VI-4-10-1. T.A.I-7-22.
3. R. V. VI-88-5 ; VIII-5-11 ; X-10-4, 10-5, 88-17, 95-1.

in this language the forms of the two persons differ only in their initial letters.

		A	I	D	G	L	
Dual		*na*	*nama*	*nama*	*naju*	*naju*	*Brugmann Vol. III Table at pp. 398-99*
		va	*vama*	*vama*	*vaju*	*vaju*	
Plural		*ny*	*nami*	*namu, ny*	*nasu*	*nasu*	
		vy	*vami*	*vamu, vy*	*vasu*	*vasu*	

Having regard to the regularity and symmetry of these formations it is not perhaps unreasonable to infer that there was a similar symmetry in the Sanskrit duals also, and that *vām* should originally have been *vāu*. If so we may suppose that the tendency to nasalize the final *u* which produced the anomalous *vām* extended also to *nāu* after the separation of the South-Indian immigrants from the main body of Indo-Āryans in the North, and we also get an explanation of the dual forms *yuvam* and *yuvām*. If *vām* is *not* anomalous then we may suppose *nāu* changed to *nām* under the influence of *vām*.

(c) As pointed out by Professor Sten Konow the Dravidians did not originally possess the inclusive plural. This plural, formed according to him in imitation of the Kōl dialects, has apparently been coined from Indo-Āryan dual forms. The bases of the new inclusive plurals are different from those of the old plurals generally.

§ 27.—*The uses of tāṉ, tām, taṉ tam.*

The Dravidian reflexive pronoun and its oblique form are used in widely different senses which are not often properly distinguished: and this has been the cause of some confusion. The following Tamil examples will bring out the various uses of the pronouns :—

(a) (i) *Vaḷḷi taṉ makaṉuḍaṉ vandāḷ* 'Vaḷḷi came with her son'

(ii) *Avaṉ taṉ makaṉuḍaṉ vandāṉ.* 'He came with his son.'

(iii) *Nī uṉ makaṉuḍaṉ vandāy.* 'You came with your son.'

(iv) *Nāṉ eṉ makaṉuḍaṉ vandēṉ.* 'I came with my son.'

The use of *taṉ* is prohibited in cases (iii) and (iv) The idiom is the same in all languages.

(b) (i) *Nāḷaikku tāṅgaḷ varukiṟadāka-ch-choṉṉārkaḷ.*
'they said that they would come to-morrow'

(ii) *Nāḷaikku nī varukiṟadāka-ch-choṉṉāy.*
'you said that you would come to-morrow'

(iii) *Nāḷaikku nāṉ varukiṟadāka-ch-choṉṉēṉ.*
'I said that I would come to-morrow.'

The use of *tāṉ* is prohibited in cases (ii) and (iii). There is *no* reflexive force in example (i)

(iv) *Nāḷaikku tāṉē varukiṟadāka-ch-choṉṉāṉ.*
'he said that he would himself come to-morrow''

(v) *Nāḷaikku nī-y-ē varukiṟāyā ?*
'will you yourself come to-morrow ?'

(vi) *Nāḷaikku nāṉē varukṟēṉ.*
'I will myself come to-morrow.'

The last three sentences show reflexive construction, but the reflexive force is furnished by the particle *ē*, not by any of the pronouns. The use of *tāṉ* is prohibited in the first and the second persons.

(c) (i) *avaṉ taṉṉai veṟuttu-k-koṇḍāṉ.* 'he hated himself',

(ii) *nī uṉṉaiyē veṟuttukkoḷḷavēṇḍum* 'you must hate yourself'

(iii) *naṉ eṉṉai veṟuttukkoṇḍēṉ.* 'I hated myself'.

Here the reflexive force is given by particle *ē* and the auxiliary verb *koḷ*.

(*d*) In the examples given in (*a*), (*b*), (*c*) above *tāṉ* can be inflected for number.

In the following cases it does not change for number and can be used with all persons.

(i) *avvaḷavu tāṉ* 'that much only' implying 'nothing more'.

(ii) *pattu pēr tāṉ* 'only ten persons' implying 'no more'

(iii) *adai avarkaḷ tāṉ śeyyavēṇḍum* '*they* must do that' implying 'there are none else to do it'

(iv) *adai nāṅgaḷ tāṉ śeyyavēṇḍum* '*we* must do that' implying 'there are none else to do it'.

(*e*) In the compounds given below *taṉ*, (*taṟ*) is clearly used as a reflexive :—

(i) *taṟkolai* 'suicide', (ii) *taṟpukaḻchchi* 'self-adulation',
(iii) *taṉṉaraśu nāḍu* 'a self-governing country', (iv) *taṟkāttal* 'self-protection'.

(*f*) In the following cases *tāṉ* appears to have a reflexive force and is found used with all the three persons.

(i) *avaṉ tāṉ-āka vandāṉā ?* 'did he come of his own accord'

(ii) *nī tāṉ-āka vandāyā ?* 'did you come of your own accord'

(iii) *nāṉ tāṉ-āka varavillai.* 'I did not come of my own accord'.

But it will be noted that the *tāṉ* of these examples can be used independently, without reference to any preceding noun or pronoun, as thus :—

tāṉāka varudal, tāṉē varudal 'coming of one's own accord',
taṉṉai maṟattal, taṉṉai aṟidal 'to forget, to know, one's self'

In these examples and in those given in (*e*) above *taṉ* and *tāṉ* are nouns, not pronouns with an antecedent.

(*g*) In the undermentioned examples the oblique form *taṉ* is seen combined with the oblique forms of the pronouns of all the three persons; they can also be similarly combined with all nouns. These combinations are regarded as equivalent to the oblique forms of the pronouns and nouns concerned to which case post-positions may be attached :—*e.g.*,

(i) *eṉ taṉ makaṉē* 'O my son' (ii) *avaṉ-taṉakku* 'to him'.

(iii) *uṉ-taṉai maṟavēṉ* 'I will not forget you' (iv) *maram-taṉṉai veṭṭu* 'cut down the tree'

(*h*) Bishop Caldwell gives a number of names of relationship which appear to be compounds with *tam* as their first member: (i) *tambirāṉ* 'lord' (ii) *tamappaṉ* 'father', (iii) *tandai* (*tam+tai*) 'father', (iv) *tameiyaṉ* 'elder brother', (v) *tamakkei* 'elder sister' (vi) *tambi* 'younger brother' (vii) *taṅgei* (*tam+kei*) 'younger sister.'

The meanings of these compounds are the same as those of the second members, and Bishop Caldwell is of opinion that the first member *tam* is used honorifically, the plural being used instead of *taṉ* the singular as a prefix of greater honor; he thinks that the compounds are similar to the English phrases :—

(i) His Lordship. (ii) His Fatherhood. (iii) His Eldership &c. (C.D.G. § 293-4).

(*k*) The pronouns *tāṉ* and *tām* are also used as honorific pronouns of the second person in respectful address :

Tamil *tāṅgaḷ*: Mal: Singh *tāṉ*, Pl: *tāṅṅaḷ taṅṅaḷ* Kan: *tāvu*; Telugu *tamaru*, *tāmu*.

In the examples given in (*a*), (*b*), (*c*) above, the pronoun *tāṉ* seems to have no reflexive force. This and the circumstance that the pronoun cannot be used in the sentences with *nī* and *nāṉ* as nominatives even when a reflexive force is required clearly show that in examples (*a*) (i), (ii), (*b*) (i), (iv) and (*c*) (i) it is merely a pronoun of the third person. It would therefore seem that the base *taṉ* was in its inception merely a pronoun of the third person, and that a reflexive meaning has come to be superimposed so as to overshadow its original sense to such an extent that it has now come to be called the 'reflexive pronoun', and to be understood reflexively even when used merely as a pronoun of the third person. The meaning 'alone or only' in the examples in (*d*) appears to be a development of this reflexive sense. For the probable origin and development of the reflexive and other later uses of *taṉ*, *vide* § 29 below.

28.—Reflexive pronouns in Indo-Āryan.

"(*a*) The reflexives in the Vedas are the adjective *sva* 'own', and the substantive *svayam* 'self' used as a nominative mostly. 'Cases other

than the nominative are regularly expressed in the R. V. by *tanu* 'body' *e g.*

(i) *Svayam gātum tanva ichchhamānam*, (IV-18-10), 'himself seeking a way for himself (*tanvē*)'

(ii) *Yajasva tanvam* (X-7-6) 'worship thyself'

(iii) *Mā hāsmahi prajayā mā tanūbhiḥ* (IX-128-5).

'may we suffer no harm with (regard to our) offspring or ourselves.

The reflexive adjective and a possessive genitive may be added.

(iv) *Agnē! yajasva tanvam tava svām* (VI-11-2).

'Agni worship thine own self.'

There are one or two instances in the R. V. of the incipient use of *ātman* 'soul' in a reflexive sense" (M. V. G. § 400.)

This word, *ātman* occurs very frequently in the shortened form of *tman*: the following case forms occur .—

A. *tmānam*; I. *tmanā*; D. *tmanē*; L: *tmani*, *tman* (M. V. G. § 329).

(*b*) The use of *ātman* as a reflexive which was just beginning in the R. V. became very general afterwards. The word was in wide use in later Sanskrit in the sense of 'self, one's self', occurring in all the three persons and entirely displaced the Vedic *tanu*; the shortened form *tman* was also used. Compounds with *ātman* and *tman* as first members will be:

ātmabhaginī 'own sister' *ātmahatyā* 'suicide'
ātmasutaḥ 'own son' *atmagrihaḥ* 'own house'
**tmasutā*'own daugther' **tmapitā* own father'
**tmabhartā* 'own husband.'

(*c*) In Pali both *ātman* and *tman*, in the corrupt forms *atta*, *atuma tuma* were used as reflexive pronouns. In composition the bases were *atta*, *atuma* and *tuma*. *Sayam* 'one's self' and *samam* 'self' were used as reflexive emphatic pronouns. (D P. G. §§ 328-330).

In the Aśoka inscriptions, *attapāshanḍa* is 'one's own religion'.

(*d*) *Āp* 'self', a *tadbhava* of *ātman*, is used as a reflexive in all the Gaudian languages which also use it as the honorific pronoun of the second person (H.G.G, § § 443-447).

§ 29.—*Dravidian reflexive bases derived from Indo-Āryan.*

On a comparison of the examples given in § § 27 and 28 above, the following conclusions suggest themselves.

(1) As already indicated the base *tāṉ* was originally a demonstrative or a pronoun of the third person related to the Indo-Iranian *ta-*. In Gōṇḍī the oblique base of *ad*, the demonstrative pronoun in the neuter

singular, is alternatively *tāṉ* in the A. D. Abl. and G. cases. (L. S. IV, page 486). In Seoni Gōṇḍī *tanva* 'his', occurs even in the masculine (*ibid* 514),

Bishop Caldwell himself notes the demonstrative use of the pronoun in some cases and admits its relation to the old Persian *tan's* (for *tana's*) 'he' (C.D.G. page 296). From the fact that *tāṉ* cannot be used in a large number of cases with pronouns of the first and the second person, we can go further and say that as in Indo-Iranian its sole original use in the Dravidian languages was demonstrative, and that forms of different origin adopted since into these languages and used in the sense of 'self' or 'own' have come to be mixed up with it. Its place as a demonstrative and a pronoun of the third person has mostly been taken now by *avaṉ*

(2) We saw in § 28 (*a*) above that in the Vedas the word *tanu* 'body' was regularly used to express the oblique cases of the reflexive nominative *svayam*. The oblique case forms in the singular are *tanvam*, *tanvā*, *tanvē*, *tanvāh*, *tanvāh tanvām* which, when the *v* of the forms was assimilated to the preceding *n*, as it would be, in the speech of the uneducted, will become *tannam*, *tannā tannē* etc., (P.P.G, § 300) ; all these look like oblique caseforms of *tāṉ* which will show a short included vowel and in most cases a doubled *n* :—*taṉṉai*, *taṉṉāl*, *taṉṉōḍu* etc. This is how the reflexive use of the pronoun of the third person must have arisen among the Indo-Āryan immigrants into South India. The reflexive sense which was originally confined to the form *taṉ* must have given rise to the formation of compounds like *taṟkolai* 'suicide', *taṟpukaḻchchi* 'self adulation' etc., referred to in § 27 (*e*) above.

(3) The oblique form of *tanu* was very often attached to the genitive case of pronouns as *tava tanvam*, *tanvam mē*, *tanuvō nah &c.*

(i) *prajāpatē tanvam mē jushasva* (Ēkā. I—11) 'O Prajapati! enter my body'

(ii) *mā nas-tanuvō rudra rīrishaḥ* (T. S. IV-5—10) 'Rudra! do not cause injury to our own selves'

(iii) *tanuvam mē pāhi* (T. S. I-2—1) 'Protect my body'

The use of the oblique cases of *tanu* even where no reflexive meaning is intended is like saying 'our bodies', 'my body', 'your body' &c, when mere *us*, *me*, or *you* is enough. Such expletive use of *tanu* must have given rise to the forms *uṉtaṉṉai*, *eṉtaṉṉai*, *maramtaṉṉai* referred to in § 27 (*g*) above where *taṉ* is wholly pleonastic.

(4) In the list of compounds *tameiyaṉ*, *tamakkei*, *tammai* etc., instanced by Bishop Caldwell there seems to be little doubt that *tam* is the first word of several of them. If so this *tam* appears to be traceable to *tma* (from *ātman*) in the compounds instanced in § 28 (*b*) above ; this *tma* became *tuma* in Pali. The compounds will then mean 'own elder

brother', 'own elder sister', 'own mother' etc., and must be attached to a previous noun or pronoun in the genitive, as :— *eṉ tamakkai* 'my own elder sister', *avaṉ tameiyaṉ* 'his own elder brother', *avaḷ tammai* 'her own mother'. But used as detached independent words they have come to mean merely 'elder sister', 'elder brother', 'mother'. In Tamil *tamar* means 'relatives, own people'.

The suggestion of Bishop Caldwell that the first word *tam* is a plural form used honorifically will not apply to *tambi* and *taṅgai*.

(5) The honorific forms *tām*, *tāṅgaḷ*, *taṅṅaḷ*, *tamaru*, *tāvu* may also be affiliated to *tman*; *ātman* in the form of *āp* is universally used in the present Indo-Āryan vernaculars not only as a reflexive, but also as an honorific form of the pronoun of the second person.

(6) The reflexive use of *tanu* is not found outside the Vedas, not even in Pali. The Indo-Āryan immigration to South India must have taken place several, perhaps many, centuries before the beginning of the Christian era.

§ 30.—*The plural signs kaḷ, ḷ or lu, r, etc.*

(*a*) We now come to a class of suffixes in regard to the origin of which available materials give us no lead or clue, and we have wholly to guess our way through. Tolkāppiyam [1] refers to *kaḷ* as the sign of the neuter plural, and the way in which the sign is referred to would seem to indicate that it was not then a very old suffix, previous to its introduction neuter pronouns probably had the same form both in the singular and in the plural. *Kaḷ* has now extended to nouns of the rational class also. *R* was originally the sign of the epicene plural of pronouns from which it has now spread to rational nouns also in several languages. *Lu* is the ordinary plural sign in the Telugu group.

(*b*) *Kaḷ*. If we assume a plural suffix *ḷ* the suffix *kaḷ* will evolve out of it through the operation of a pleonastic *ka*. In the couplets of words given below the Telugu forms appear with an additional syllable arising out of an added *ka*.

Tamil.		Telugu.	Tamil.		Telugu.
eṉbu ...	'a bone.'	*emuka.*	*ōḍai* ...	'a stream current.'	*ōḍika.*
kōḍi ...	'a collection of twenty.'	*kōḍiga.*	*umi* ...	'chaff.'	*umuka.*
eli ...	'a rat.'	*eluka.*	*podi* ...	'a load.'	*poduka.*
kiḷi ...	'a parrot.'	*chiluka.*	*maṟi* ...	'a kid.'	*maraka.*
yāṉai ...	'an elephant.	*ēnuga* / *ēnika*	*moḷai* ...	'a sprout'	*molaka.*

1 Tol. Peyariyal 15.

The plurals of the Telugu words given above formed with *lu* as *emukalu*, *kōḍigalu* etc., look almost like the Tamil plurals *eṉbukaḷ*, *kōḍikaḷ*, etc., formed with *kaḷ*, allowing of course for the difference between the Tamil *ḷ* and the Telugu *lu*. If we suppose for argument's sake that Tamil borrowed this suffix from an Āndhra dialect which was using both *ka* and *lu* no further explanation of *kaḷ* is necessary. But it is possible that Tamil itself was using the pleonastic suffix, and that the plural retains the syllable *kaḷ* while in the singular the last syllable has become abraded as in *kudirai* 'a horse', *malai* 'a mountain' etc., which must have been * *kudiraka*, * *malaka* etc.. originally, and must have assumed their present forms through the intermediate * *kudiraya*, * *malaya* etc., * *kudiray*, * *malay* etc , It is not necessary that all the words of Tamil should have had this *ka* suffix. If an important class of words had this suffix, the form *kaḷ* evolved out of them will come to be applied generally. The use of the pleonastic *ka* was very widespread in the Prakrits. There are now in the Telugu language nearly fifty couplets of words with and without the pleonastic *ka* like (1) *nippu*, *nippuka*, 'fire'; (2) *kuṭi*, *kuṭika* 'a hut'; (3) *nemmi*, *nemmika* 'love'; (4) *tūli*, *tūlika* 'a painter's brush'.

A similar thing has happened in New Persian. There are several words in this language ending in *a* which in Phl. ended in *k*. When the plural sign *ān* is added to these words the old *k* is restored but in a softened form, thus: singular: *banda*, (Phl. *bandak*) 'a slave; *bacha* (Phl. *bachak*) 'an infant, child'; plural *bandagān bachagān*. [1]

(c) The plural sign *ḷ* or *lu*. This was also once the feminine sign of the demonstrative pronouns and of certain other forms in all Drāviḍa and Āndhra languages, and it continues to be such in the Drāviḍa group; but in the Āndhra area it has been replaced by *di*. In the case of the feminine sign *lu* we had a definite lead in the forms which the Telugu nouns *ālu*, *kōḍalu* etc. assumed in the plural, and we concluded that the original form of the sign was *ṇḍu* and that it was traceable to *nt* (§ 22). So also in the case of the masculine nominative signs *ṇ*, *ṇḍu* etc., and the neuter inflexional increment *ṭ* we had a definite clue (§§ 18—21). It is possible that the plural sign *lu* is also derived from the same *nt*, for the plural of the Indo-Āryan present participle *bharat* shows *nt* in the plural in the Vedic Sanskrit and in Prākṛits: —*bharantaḥ*, *bharanti*, etc.

(*d*) The epicene plural sign *r*. The only lead we have is the conversion of the Gōṇḍī masculine *ḍ* to *r* (§ 18 (iii) above). But this is too slender to proceed on in view of the wide prevalence of a plural *r* independent of *nt*, in some Indo-Germanic dialects.

(*e*) The neuter plurals are *av*, *iv* in Tamil. What is the *ai* in *avai*, *ivai* which according to rule appears as *a* in Malayalam. (§ 4 above). Is

1 Platts's Persian Grammar (1911) § 20 (*a*), page 22.

it the Indo-Āryan plural termination *ā* as in *imā* or does it go further back to Avestic and Persian forms (§ 6 10 (*a*) above). Final Indo-Āryan *ā* becomes *ai* in Tamil ; C. F. Sanskrit *mālā* 'a garland, *vīṇā* 'a musical instrument' etc. Tamil. *mālai vīṇai* etc.

(*f*) What is the final *i* in the Telugu neuters *adi*, *avi*.? Originally the neuters must have been *adu*, *avu* as is clear from the negative forms *veḷḷadu* 'it will not go,' *veḷḷavu* 'they (neuter) will not go.' The negative forms are among the oldest of Dravidian forms.

§ 31.—*Summary*.

We shall now summarise the conclusions arrived at in this paper.

(*a*) *Demonstratives*. The Dravidian demonstrative bases may be arranged in the following order of importance as determined by wideness of use :—*av*, *iv*, *ad*, *id*, *an̤* *im*, *am*, *um*, *ud*, *uv*. The circumstance that *v* appears in the Tamil forms *av-yāṇai*, and *ivan̤*, and that *v* and *m* appear as initials in such forms as Telugu *vāṇḍu*, *vīṇḍu* etc., and Tuḷu *mēr*, *mōḷu* and *mōkuḷu*, clearly shows that these consonants should not be considered as euphonic. Of the above bases *av*, *im*, *ad*, *id* and *an̤* are common to Indo-Iranian and Dravidian ; *am* is common to Indo-Āryan and Dravidian. The bases *um*, *ud*, *uv* are Dravidian formations, the initial *u* arising out of *av* common to Indo-Iranian and Dravidian.

The Dravidian adjectives *ā*, *ū*, *ō*, *ē*, *ī* are also found in the later Iranian and Indo-Āryan dialects, but used as pronouns.

(*b*) *Relative-Interrogatives*. The same sets of pronouns are used both as relatives and as interrogatives in Dravidian as in many other languages of the world. The chief Dravidian interrogative bases are :— (1) *e* ; (2) *evan̤*, *ēnu*, *ēmi*, (3) *yāva*, (4) *yā*. These are derived respectively from the Indo-Āryan relative bases (1) *yad*, (2) *yāvān* ; *yāvam* (3) *yāva* (4) *yā*. The last two exist as *ēva*, *āva*, *ē*, *ā* in later Dravidian. The Prakrit relative bases *jāva*, *jā* have given rise to the Dravidian bases *dāva*, *dā*. The base *yā* has also been changed into *nē*.

(*c*) *Gender and number signs in demonstrtive and interrogative pronouns*.

(i) The signs of the masculine singular are *n̤*, *ṇḍu*, (*ḍu*. *ḍu*, *ñju*, *r*, *m*. All these have arisen from imitation of the terminations of the Indo-Āryan present participle in *ant* in the masculine singular nominative ; the signs *ṇḍu*, (*ḍu*, *ḍu*, *r* arising from the cerebralisation of the *nt* of these participles which is Indo-Germanic in origin. The termination *e* in Tuḷu is imitated from Ardhamāgadhī.

(ii) The sign of the feminine singular *ḷ* or *lu* is derived from *ṇḍ*, the cerebralised form of the same Indo-Germanic *nt* ; this *ṇḍ* lost the nasal and the remaining *ḍ* was converted into *ḷ*.

(iii) Two other signs of the feminine singular are *di* and *tti* The former of these is taken from the neuter singular *adi* 'it'; the latter is derived from the Sanskrit *strī* 'a woman'.

(iv) The neuter inflexional increment *t* appears to have been taken over from *bharat*, the nominative neuter singular of the Indo-Āryan present participle in *at*.

[Note. The *v*-forms of the Dravidian demonstrative and interrogative pronouns have throughout this paper been exhibited as derived from the bases *av*, *iv*, *yāv* by attaching to these number and gender signs arising from the termination *ant*. Most of these forms can also be derived from the Vedic *īvant*, *yāvant* and the possible * *āvant*].

(*d*) *Reflexives*. The so called reflexive base *ta* appears to be identical with the Indo-Āryan demonstrative base *ta*. The pronouns *tāṉ*, *tām*, formed from this base were originally really demonstrative or third personal pronouns. But their oblique forms *taṉ*, *tam* were indistinguishable from two nouns *taṉ*, and *tam* derived later from the Sanskrit *tanu* 'body', *tman* 'soul or body' used as reflexives in Sanskrit. The result is that the pronoun *tāṉ* has come to be called 'the reflexive pronoun', although it has not yet lost all its demonstrative uses, and although when it is used in reflexive constructions the reflexive force is in most cases furnished not by itself, but by the added particle *ē* or the reflexive verb *koḷ*.

It is a moot point whether the forms *tām*, *tāṅgaḷ*, *tamaru*, *tāvu* used as honorific pronouns of the second person in various Dravidian dialects should be derived from the pronoun *tām* or the noun *tam* (from *tman*).

(*e*) *The number signs in personal and reflexive pronouns*.

(i) The plural sign *m*. There is no doubt that this sign is related to, though not actually derived from, the Dravidian copulative conjunction *um* which appears mostly in what are literally *dvandva* compounds. It is probable that this *um* is the same as the Indo-Germanic dual particle *u* with an inorganic nasal attached. The inclusive plural of the first person, *viz.*, *nām* appears to be the same as the Indo-Āryan dual *nau*.

(ii) The plural sign *kaḷ* must have arisen from the plurals, formed with *ḷ* or *lu*, of noun stems containing the pleonastic suffix *ka*.

(iii) The plural sign *ḷ* or *lu*. It is possible that this has arisen from the Indo-Germanic *nt* in the same manner as the feminine suffix *ḷ* or *lu*.

(*f*) *The bases of personal pronouns*. It is clear that the final *n* and *m* of these pronouns are the singular and the plural suffix. It has been pointed out in § 24 (*b*) above, that the initial *n* and *m* also might not be radical in some cases but might have arisen adventitiously in various ways. If this view is accepted the primitive bases will be reduced to *ā*, *ē*, *ī* or *yā*, *yē*, *yī*. There is nothing corresponding to these in Indo-Iranian, and if the affinities of these bases are Āryan we have to go back in search of the originals to a period when the Vedic *aham* and the Iranian *azem* had not acquired their affixes.

It will have been clear from what has gone above that pre-historic forms of great antiquity, lost to literature, are often preserved in the submerged popular patois despised by men of culture, and that they crop up again most unexpectedly in modern times. Thus the Indo-Iranian demonstrative *ava*, obsolescent in the Veda and unknown to later Sanskrit and to the Prakrits, comes to the surface in the modern Indo-Āryan vernaculars in the form *ō*, *ū*; the original form has throughout been preserved in Dravidian. If it is admitted that there was a large immigration of Indo-Āryans into South-India in pre-historic times we should not be surprised at their speeches preserving Āryan forms not found in the available Iranian and Indo-Āryan literature. But the materials available are not sufficient to justify anything more in regard to the bases of the personal pronouns than the general observations contained in § 24 above.

§ 32.—*Conclusion.*

The identity of the demonstrative, the relative-interrogative and the so-called reflexive bases of the Dravidian languages with those to be found in the Indo-Āryan and Iranian languages; the adoption of the Indo-Āryan relative stems in the Dravidian relative-interrogative system; the derivation of the Dravidian masculine, feminine and neuter pronominal signs from the endings of the Indo-Āryan present participles in *nt*; the adoption of the Sanskrit words *nau*, *tanu* and *tman* in the Dravidian pronominal system; to say nothing of the other influences referred to in the course of this paper, such as those of the pleonastic suffix *ka* and of the dual sign *au*; all these clearly indicate that the present Dravidian theory should be totally abandoned.

One thing comes out most clearly from the discussion in this paper; *viz*; that some knowledge of Vedic Sanskrit and of the Indo-Āryan vernaculars of pre-Christian centuries is necessary to deal adequately with the questions involved in Dravidian philology.

V.—Dravidian Languages and Their Literature.

THE SANSKRITIC ELEMENT IN TAMIL LITERATURE.

BY

MR. T. R. RAMAKRISHNA SASTRI, M.A., B.L.,
MADRAS.

With its great antiquity, high originality and studied individuality, Tamil Literature has not escaped from the lasting effects of its inevitable association with Āryan Literature. Living in neighbouring territories, the association of the Āryan and Dravidian civilisations has been unavoidable, and has left permanent traces of the influence of each of them on the other.

The earliest Āryan influence on the Tamils is to be noticed in the migration of Agastya and his followers from the north to the Peninsula of Southern India, and in their reformation and reorganisation of the social and literary life of the Tamils. To Agastya is attributed the glory of having purified the Tamil tongue and systematised it with a Grammar of its own. To this great task, the puny sage is reported to have brought with him his immense learning and experience from the northern country. His disciple, to whom the greater task of framing the earliest authoritative and systematic Grammar of the Tamil language was entrusted was a Brahmin, who based his work or included in portions of it, principles of Grammar which were in vogue in the Āryan languages prior to Agastya's migration, and which were ascribed to the Āindra School of Grammarians.

But the influence of Sanskrit on the Dravidian Literature of this period is very indirect and small, and would probably reduce itself to nothing. The real effect of Āryan association is to be witnessed in clearer light in the literature of the next period, when Jainism and Buddhism had gained ground in the Dravidian country. Prior to the introduction of the literature and teachings of these religious sects, Tamil literature was chiefly concerned with themes involving love and war; and the vocabulary of the poetry of this period, such as the Pattuppāṭṭu, Kalittogai, Akanānūru, Puranānūru and Paripāḍal, is least affected by the Sanskrit language. And yet traces of Sanskritic influence are visible in a few references to the Vēda, the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata. The Tolkāppiyam refers to the four Vēdas as "Nānmarai", which the Brahmins attempted to preserve intact from the populace, and as a consequence of which came to be called "Maraiyōr".

"நான்கு கூறுமாய் மறைந்த பொருளும் உடைமையான் நான் மறை யென்றார். அவை தைத்திரியமும் பௌடிகமுந்தலவகாரமுஞ்

சாமவேதமுமாம். இனி இருக்கும் யசுவும் சாமமும் அதர்வணமுமென்பாருமுளர். அது பொருந்தாது; இவர் இந்நூல்செய்தபின்னர் வேதவியாதர் சின்னாட் பல்பிணிச்சிற்றறிவினோர் உணர்தற்கு நான்கு கூறாக இவற்றைச் செய்தாராதலின்" (தொல்காப்பியம், சிறப்புப் பாயிரம், நச்சினார்க்கினியருரை).

The Vedic Gods, Indra, Varuṇa, Viṣṇu and others are also spoken of in

"மாயோன்மேய காடுறையுலகமுஞ்
சேயோன்மேய மைவரையுலகமும்
வேந்தன்மேய தீம்புனலுலகும்
வருணன்மேய பெருமணலுலகும்" (தொல்)

The Mahābhārata is referred to in

"பெருஞ்சோற்றுதியன் சேரலாதன்
பாரதகாலத்தினனென்ப" (புறம்)

and particular incidents in the story of the Mahābhārata war are narrated or cited thus:

அஞ்சீரசையியல் கூந்தற்கை நீட்டியா
னெஞ்சம் பிளந்திட்டு நோரார் நடுவட்டன்
வஞ்சினம் வாய்த்தானும் போன்ம்;

படாரணியந்திப் பசுங்கட்கடவு
ளிடரிய வேற்றெருமை நெஞ்சிடந்திட்டுக்
குடர் கூளிக்கார்த்துவான் போன்ம்;

ஆரிருளென்னானருங்கங்குல் வந்துதன்
றாளிற் கடந்தட்டுத் தந்தையைக் கொன்றானை
தோளிற்றிருகுவான் போன்ம்—(கலி. 101.)

துரோணாசாரியனைக் கொன்ற சிகண்டியைத் தன்முயற்சியாலே வென்று கொன்று தன்தோளாற் தலையைத் திருகும் அசுவத்தாமாவைப் போலும்—நச்சினார்க்கினியர்.

"மறந்தலைக்கொண்ட நூற்றுவர்தலைவனைக்
குறங்கறுத்திடுவான் போற்"—(கலி. 52.)
"வயக்குறுமண்டிலம் வடமொழிப்பெயர்பெற்ற
முகத்தவன் மக்களுள் முதியவன் புணர்ப்பினா
லைவரென்றுலகேத்துமரசர்களகத்தராக்
கைபுனையரக்கில்லைக் கதழெரி சூழ்ந்தாங்குக்

களிதிகழ்கடா அத்தகடுங்களிறகத்தவா
முளிகழையுயர்மலை முற்றியமுழங்கழ
லொள்ளுருவரக்கில்லை வளிமகனுடைத்துத்தன்
னுள்ளத்துக்கிளைகளோடுய்ப் போகுவான்போல"—(கலி. 25.)

A few references to the Rāmāyana are evidenced in

" ஒன்று
ராரெயிலவர் கட்டாகவு நுமதெனப்
பாண் கடனிறுக்கும் வள்ளியோய் "—(புறம். 203.)
" கடுந்தேரிராமனுடன் புணர்சீதையை
வலித்தகையரக்கன் வெளவிய ஞான்றை
நிலஞ்சேர்மதரணிகண்ட குரங்கின்
செம்முகப் பெருங்கிளையிழைப் பொலிந்தா அங்கு "
(புறம். 378.)

" இமய வில்வாங்கிய வீர்ஞ்சடையந்தண
னுமையமர்ந்துயர்மலை யிருந்தனனாக
வையிருதலை யினரக்கர்கோமான்
றொடிபொலி தடக்கையிற் கீழ்ப்புகுந்தம்மலை
யெடுக்கல் செல்லாதுழப்பவன்போல " (கலி. 38.)

The Paripādal refers to the story of Ahalyā in

" இந்திரன் பூசையிவளகலிகையிவன்
சென்ற கவுதமன் சின்னுறக்கல்லுரு
வொன்றியபடி யிதென்றுரை செய்வோரும் "
(பரிபாடல் XIX. 50-52.)

and to the chanting of sāmans in

" ஏள இனகிளத்தலி
னிணைமை நற்கறிந்தனம் " (பரிபாடல் III. 62.)

The Palamoli also contains references to some incidents in the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyana.

The coming of the Jains into Southern India witnessed an influx of Sanskritic ideas and vocabulary into Tamil literature. The Śilappadikāram, the earliest work of the Jains in the Tamil land, presenting a clear picture of their religious and social customs and manners, has a marked reference to the story of the mongoose and the hasty Brahmin lady, as narrated in the North Indian Pañcatantra.

" பிள்ளைநகுலம் பெரும்பிறிதாக
வெள்ளிய மனையோளினைந்து பின் செல்ல

வடதிசைப் பெயருமாமறையாளன்
கடவதன்றுநின் கைத்தூண்வாழ்க்கை
வடமொழி வாசகஞ்செய்தநல்லேடு
கடனறிமாந்தர் கைந்நீகொடுக்கென ''
வடமொழி வாசகமாவது

अपरीक्ष्य न कर्तव्यं कर्तव्यं सुपरीक्षितम् ।
पश्चाद्भजति सन्तापं ब्राह्मणी नकुले यथा ॥

சிலப். II. xv.

In "ஆயர்பாடியி லெருமன்றத்துமாய
வனுடன்றம்முனாடிய பாலசரிதை நாடகங்களில்
வேனெடுங்கட் பிஞ்ஞையோடாடிய குரவையாடுதும்
யாமென்றாள்" (சிலப்) II. 17.

It is probable that the reference to the *பாலசரிதை* is to one of Bhāsa's plays or its original.

The Maṅimēkalai, while describing the Jaina and Buddhist doctrines has also discussed the tenets of almost all Sanskrit philosophical systems, the Nyāya, Sāṅkhya, Vāiśēṣika, Mīmāṁsā, Śaiva, Vāiṇava, Ājīvaka and Lōkāyata. The Jīvakacintāmaṇi, has for its sources, the Mahāpurāṇa, the Gadyacintāmaṇi and the Kṣatracintamāṇi; and in the Nariviruttam, written by the same author, the tale would appear to have been adapted from the Sanskrit Hitōpadēśa.

The Tirukkuraḷ of this period is pre-eminent, unprecedented and unparalleled in literature. It might, however, be suggested that such ethical manuals came to be written in Tamil literature only after it had come under Āryan influence for some time, and as a result of the pacifying and ennobling effects of Āryan civilisation. There has been a view that the author of the Tirukkuraḷ has followed the Sanskrit ethical manuals, such as the Mahābhārata, adapting his work to the Tamil language and the Tamil people. This view has the high authority of Parimēlalagar, who adds that the divine poet has adopted the classification of the *puruṣārthas* into Aṛam, Poruḷ, and Inbam, from Sanskrit writers, and that in his disquisitions on each of these, he has followed the Sanskrit authorities, Manu, Cāṇakya, Kāmandaka, Vātsyāyana and others. Tradition also favours the view that since he is believed to have had as the basis of his work a Sanskrit work named the Trivargam, the author of which was Brahmā, he has come to be regarded as an incarnation of Brahmā. The proportion of Sanskrit expressions in this Tirukkuraḷ is comparatively larger than in earlier works and points to increased imbibing of Sanskritic culture.

The Perunkathai, another great work of this period, is entirely based on a Sanskrit original, the Bṛhatkathā of Guṇādhya in one of its various redactions. It has scrupulously kept to the original and narrated the story of Udayana, as in the Sanskrit narratives.

Among the other works of this period, are the Yaśōdhara-Kāvya closely based on the Sanskrit Kāvya of Vādirāja, and the Nāgakumara-kāvya based on Malliṣeṇa's Sanskrit original.

When the Jain influence waned and the Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava religious sects gained power and prominence, there came to be a fresh influx of Sanskrit words in their writings. The sectarian religious teachers introduced Āryan conceptions in their philosophy, and translated or adapted the Sanskrit purāṇas and Itihāsas. Among the works translated during this period were the Rāmāyaṇa, the Māhābhārata, the Skāndapurāṇa and the Hālāsya Māhātmya. Kambanādar, the author of the Rāmāyaṇa in Tamil, closely followed the Sanskrit original (read over to him every day) and made his additions and improvements thereon. Some purāṇas were translated from their Sanskrit originals and others were followed in original Tamil works. Chief among the former were, the Kandapurāṇam, the Bhāgavata purāṇam, the Maccha, Kūrma, and Tiruvilāiyādal purāṇams; and among the latter were the Sthala purāṇas. The Sūta-samhitā, the Upadēśakāṇḍam, Kāñcipurāṇam, Tiruttaṇigāippurāṇam and Kāśikāṇḍam are translated portions of the Skandapurāṇam, and the Vāyupurāṇa and Brahmōttarapurāṇa portions of the Śivapurāṇa in Sanskrit: and the Sētupurāṇa, being nothing more than a translation of the Sētumāhātmya.

About the same time, some Sanskrit literary pieces also came to be translated into Tamil. The foremost among them was the Naiṣadha, which Pugaḷēndi introduced to his readers in his Naḷaveṇbā and Ativīrarāma Pāṇḍya in his Nāiḍadam. The latter very closely followed the story of Naḷa as narrated in the Mahābhārata and the Nāiṣadha and attempted to adhere to the Sanskrit original even in the introduction of ślēṣa. Raghuvaṃśa was similarly the subject of a translation by Araśakēsari.

In this period is also noticeable a transition from the purely original metres, and alaṁkāras of Tamil prosody and literary criticism to the inclusion of Sanskritic metres and alaṁkāras, such as the Daṇḍaka metre. The leading work on Literary Criticism in Tamil, the "Daṇḍi Alaṁkāram" is mainly based on the "Kāvyādarśa" of Daṇḍin. The translator has faithfully followed the original not only in the text but also in many illustrations. Another work of importance that has been, in recent times, translated into Tamil is the Chandrālōka. Of the alaṁkāras mentioned in Tamil literary criticism many are wholly traceable to Sanskrit literary criticism; the only alaṁkāra that is found

mentioned in the Toikāppiam, being the Upamā or Uvamai. Similarly, Śabdacitra or Sollaṇi Iyal has also been adapted from Sanskrit prosody.

As in Sanskrit literature, prose literature in Tamil is very limited and specimens of the earliest Tamil prose are found in the Śilappadikāram; and later on in the Bhārata of Perundēvanār and in the Tagādūr Yāttirāi. Prose style was chiefly the medium of interpretation and was largely resorted to by commentators. In the writings of the Jains and the later Sectarian poets, we meet with a prose style in which the admixture of Sanskrit expressions was very large. These sectarian writers compared their religious work with those of the Brahmanic religion, and the Vaiṣṇavites attempted to assimilate their works to Vedic literature by assuming the works of Nammālvar to be the Dravidian counterpart of the four Vēdas and the six poetical works of Tirumangai Ālvar to take the place of the Vēdāṅgas.

Philosophical literature in Tamil has not been exempt from this Sanskritic influence. Apart from the Āryan influence in the Sāiva philosophy of South India, some philosophical works in Tamil are based on the Upaniṣads and other Sanskrit philosophical treatises. Among these are the Īśuragītai, Brahmagītai, Kāivalyam, Vēdāntacūḍāmaṇi, Vāśiṭṭam, Prabōdha Candrōdayam and Śiva Dharmōttaram. The Śivajñānabōdham, the foremost Tamil philosophical treatise, has grouped the subject matter into Adhikaraṇas, with their Sanskritic divisions, Viṣaya, Saṁśaya, Pūrvapakṣa, Siddhānta and Saṁgati; and in its exposition has resorted to the Tarka, Vyākaraṇa, Mīmāṁsā, and explained them, having reference to the relative authority of Vedic texts.

The doctrines of Sanskrit philosophy are visible here and there in the works of the Śangam age. While explaining the term பாழ் occurring in

"பாழெனக் காலெனப் பாகென வொன்றென
விரண்டென மூன்றென நான்கென வைந்தென
வாறென வேழென வெட்டெனத் தொண்டென
நால்வகை யூழியெண் ணவிற்றுஞ் சிறப்பினை"
—(பரிபாடல், III. 77.)

as புருடன் Parimēlaḻagar says

"சாங்கியர் பிறிதொன்று பிறத்தற்கிடனாகாதென்பவாகலான், அவர்மதம் பற்றிப்புருடனைப்பாழ் என்றார். ஈண்டுத்தத்துவங் கூறு கின்றமையின்".

While commenting on "கேள்வியுட் கிளந்த வாசானுரையும்" (பரிபாடல். II. 61), he adds, "வேள்விக்கிறைவனை ஆசான் என்றார்; தலைமைபற்றி. அவனுரையாவது வேதத்துள் நான்காம் வேற்றுமை யை ஈறாகவுடைய தெய்வப்பெயர்ச்சொல். அதனை வைதிகர் உத்தே

சத்தியாகமென்ப. சொல்லே கடவுட்கு உருவென்பது சயிமினியாற் செய்யப்பட்ட வைதிக நூற்றுணிபாகலின்''.

Commenting on "நின்னொடு முன்னிலை யெவனோ" (மதுரைக் காஞ்சி, 209) Naccinārkiniyar says "ஐம்பொறிகளுக்கும் நுகரப்படுவனவாய் முன்னிற்கப் படுவனவாகிய இன்னுகர் பொருள்கட்கு நின்னோடு என்ன உறவுண்டு? நின்னென்பது சீவான்மாவை"

Similarly some tenets of the Sanskrit philosophical schools are also noted by Naccinārkiniyar in his commentary on "கொன்னொன்றுகிளக் குவலடு போரண்ணல் கேட்டிசின்வாழி கெடுகநின்னவலம்" (மதுரை 207) where he says "நின்னுடத்துண்டாகிய மாயை இனிக்கெடுவ தாக. அம்மாயைக் கொல்கின்ற போர்த்தொழில் வல்லதலைவனே. பெரிதாயிருப்பதொரு பொருளை யான் கூறுவன். அஃது என்னாற் காட்டுதற்கரிது. என்றது கந்தழியினை. அதனைத் தொல்லாணை நல்லாசிரியரிடத்தே கேட்பாயாக".

Elementary treatises on Nyāya, such as the Tarka Sangraha and the Dīpikā and the Tarka Paribhāṣā have been translated into Tamil, and in very recent times the Muktāvalī as well. Even in Astronomical literature, Tamil is indebted to Sanskrit literature to a large extent, having closely followed Sanskrit treatises, even in respect of nomenclature.

The influence of the Āryan immigration is also visible in the civilisation of the Tamils in those early ages; in which the Āryans introduced their caste system and marriage rites and obsequies among the Tamils.

Such, in brief outline, has been the influence of Sanskrit literature on Tamil; and the former also bears the stamp of the latter's influence, notably in the Cerebrals of the Sanskrit language. Such mutual influences on peoples, their customs and languages are inevitable; and such influence does not, in any manner affect the antiquity or greatness of any one language or literature, but on the other hand, as in the case of Tamil, it often has the tendency to improve the language to suit its changing needs and enhances the beauties of its literature.

DRAVIDIAN LEXICOGRAPHY.

BY

MR. J. RAMAYYA PANTULU.

English Lexicography.

Murray's Oxford English Dictionary on historical principles is the high water mark in Lexicography. Its aim is to trace every standard English word to its ultimate origin and follow its subsequent history both in form and meaning up-to-date. It is based on the materials collected by an army of enthusiastic workers some of whom commenced their work more than half a century ago.

Dravidian Lexicography.

Its Drawbacks.

This is a model which all authors of future attempts at lexicography in whatever language, will do well, to keep in view. It must be confessed, however, that Indian vernacular literatures do not afford sufficient scope for producing a dictionary which can approch to—much less equal the Oxford Dictionary. The Dravidian literatures—especially Tamil, Telugu and Kanarese—are perhaps older than those of the modern Prākṛt languages current in the greater part of India but even they are very much more limited both in quantity and in variety—than the English literature and owing to the fact that they were standardized at a comparatively early period, these languages have not undergone changes (Kanarese not excepted) to the same extent as English. Moreover, the state of Dravidian Philology is still in its infancy and it is more than any one can honestly attempt to trace every Dravidian word to its ultimate origin. In these circumstances, any Dravidian Dictionary that can be compiled in the near future must be content to follow the Oxford English Dictionary at a respectful distance.

Component parts of a Dictionary.

Dravidian Vocabulary fourfold.

Tatsama.

The component parts of a Dictionary are (1) words, (2) meanings, (3) illustrations, and (4) derivation. The vocabulary of a Dravidian language is four-fold *i.e.*, the words are either *tatsama*, *tadbhava*, *deśya* or *anyadeśya*. *Tatsamas* are Sanskrit words which have come into the language with no other change than the case endings. The body of a *tatsama* word is pure Sanskrit but it takes a Dravidian ending and by doing so becomes, for all practical purposes, a Dravidian word. In this way some words are borrowed also from Prākṛt languages and some Telugu Grammarians treat them also as *tatsamas* but it is more logical to confine the term to Sanskrit words. *Tatsama* words may be compared to such English words as dictionary and sympathetic. *Tadbhava* words

are Sanskrit words which have undergone basic changes and have, thereby, become Dravidian words in all respects but the origin. Some of these words have come direct from Sanskrit but the bulk of them have come through one or other of the old Prākṛt dialects during the time when those dialects were current in Southern India. This, at any rate, is true of the *tadbhava* words in the Telugu language. This process of borrowing words is similar to that of the English words (such as frail) which have come from Latin through the Norman French or French language.

Tadbhava.

Deśya words are unborrowed indigenous words of which there is a large body in all languages. These may be divided into two classes *viz.*, words which are current in all parts of the country and words which are current only in some parts of it. The latter are provincialisms and the Telugu Grammarian Appakavi confines the term *deśya* to this class of words, while he calls the other class pure Telugu words.

Deśya.

Anyadeśya words are words borrowed from foreign languages such as Urdu and English. Sanskrit and Prākṛit, though etymologically foreign to the Dravidian languages are not so treated because of the very longstanding and intimate connection between them.

Foreign Words.

Method of Treatment.

We shall now consider how these different classes of words should be treated in the Dictionary.

In the Tamil Lexicon that is being compiled under the auspices of the Madras University, they are proceeding, I believe, on the principle that only those Sanskrit words should be dealt with which actually occur in the Tamil literature. This is, no doubt, the principle on which Latin and Greek words are dealt with, in English Lexicon and is logically unexceptionable. But this principle has its limitations when applied to the Indian Vernacular Dictionaries. The Indian Vernaculars have freely borrowed from Sanskrit from the remotest times to which these languages can be traced, so much so, that Sanskrit has ceased to be regarded as a foreign language in relation to those languages. For obvious reasons, the modern Prākṛt languages of Northern, Eastern and Western India are more indebted to Sanskrit than the Dravidian languages of the South, but even these latter have come so much under the yoke of Sanskrit that it is usless for them to think of shaking off that yoke. There is no hope of complete Svarāj for them. This is specially the case with Telugu, Kanarese and Malayālam. The claim has been often put forth on behalf of Tamil that it is comparatively independant of Sanskrit and it is even contended that there are Tamil books which do not show any trace of Sanskrit influence. I am not personally competent either to admit or to refute these claims but I know they have

Tatsamas.

been denied-sometimes by Tamil scholars themselves. Tolkāppiyam is said to be the earlist Tamil book extant and it is said that, far from being independent of Sanskrit, this book owes even its name to that language, *kāppiyam* being but a corruption of *Kāvyam*. Like German among the European languages, the Tamil language seems jealous of its purity and individuality and it tries to cloth the ideas which it undoubtedly borrows from Sanskrit in its own indigenous form. While Telugu and Kanarese call Vowels by the Sanskrit name *Svara* or *Prāṇa*, Tamil calls them *Uyireḻuttu i. e.* life-word. Similarly, it has coined the word *Meyyeḻuttu* body-word for a consonant which is called *Vyañjanam* or *Hal* in Sanskrit, Telugu and Kanarese. It may also be that Tamil uses more *tadbhavas* than *tatsamas*, although the very defective nature of the Tamil alphabet often invests *tatsama* words with the false garb of *tadbhavas*. *Ilakkaṇam* may be taken as a *tadbhava*, of *lakṣaṇam*, but it would be hypocracy to regard *tānam* as a *tadbhava* of *dānam* or *Kaṅkōtakam* as a *tadbhava* of *Gangodakam*. These false appearances are due to the fact that the Tamil alphabet has only one character to denote four different though allied sounds which are denoted by four separate characters in Sanskrit; Telugu, Kanarese and Malayālam have borrowed or coined these characters and so has the Grandha alphabet which is used by Tamil scholars in writing Sanskrit books. But where the *Vaṭṭeḻuttu* alphabet is used, as is done in The Madras University Tamil Lexicon, the form of many a Sanskrit word is mutilated although such words do not, on that account become *tadbhavas*.

Extent to which Sanskrit words should be admitted.

The number of such words must be large indeed. And then what about compounds? Whatever may be the case, with Tamil, Sanskrit compounds (*Samāsams*) are freely used in Telugu and Kanarese and I believe also in Malayālam and there is practically no limit to the length of these Samāsams. If any thing, *Samāsams* are sometimes even longer in Telugu and Kanarese than in Sanskrit. For Lexicon purposes, are we to regard a *Samāsam* as one word only and so treat of the principal or leading word in it or are we to regard each component part of the *Samāsam* as a separate word which it really is? In the former case, how is a Telugu, Kanarese, Tamil or Malayalam reader to know the meaning of the component parts of a *Samāsam* without a knowledge of which, he would be unable to understand the meaning of the Samasam itself? If the latter course is adopted, does it not amount to so enlarging the scope of the treatment of Sanskrit words as to practically neutralize the value of the principle of limiting the treatment of Sanskrit words? For, unless you analyze all the compounds occurring in literature, you will not be able to say what words are actually used. When you do this, you will, in all likelihood find that the number of words used is very large-much larger than one would be inclined to believe from a superficial view of the

matter. As has been stated already, Sanskrit has ceased to be regarded as a foreign language in its relation to the vernaculars and it forms the great storehouse from which words are freely borrowed to express ideas so as to suit the changing requirements of the vernaculars. Such a process is even now taking place under the stress of the new conditions in the country political as well as cultural. If you have to deal with such a vast number of Sanskrit words, would it not be more economical, if nothing else, to take the words and their meanings direct from a Standard Sanskirt Dictionary with such broad limitations as can be easily defined than to find them out by a tedious process of analysis? The former method is the one adopted in Kittel's Kannada-English Dictionary which is perhaps the best existing Dravidian Dictionary and it is also the method which is being adopted in the Sūryarāya Telugu Lexicon which is being compiled by the Āndhra Sāhitya Pariṣat (Telugu Academy). There are cases in which a Sanskrit word while remaining perfectly Sanskrit is sometines used in vernaculars in a form or sense different from that in which it is used in Sanskirt literature. The word *dhāruṇī*, for instance, sometimes occurs in Telugu literature along with the word *dhāriṇī* meaning the earth. Only *dhāriṇī* is found in the Sanskrit dictionary. Similarly the word *anumānam* means inference in Sanskrit but in Telugu it *also* means suspicion. These variations occur not in *samāsams* but only when the words are used independently. They will, of course, have to be noted in the Dictionary. It is necessary to state that those who argue in this connection on the analogy of the relation of the English language to Latin and Greek will do well to bear in mind that the analogy breaks down on the question of compounds.

Tatsama Verbs. How to be treated.

The above observations apply mainly to nouns and adjectives. The case of verbs is different. In Sanskirt, there are no ready made verbal bases as in the vernaculars or English. They are all deduced from the roots (*dhātus*) as occasion arises in accordance with the rules of Grammar and it is only these roots that are exhibited in Sanskrit Dictionaries. There are elaborate rules for adopting Sanskrit nouns and adjectives into vernaculars at any rate in Telugu and Kanarese—but none such for adopting Sanskirt verbal forms and it is not every Sanskirt verb that can be adapted into the vernacular. Moreover, several *Tatsama* verbs are formed from nominal bases—such as *Stutinchu* and *Karuninchu*. In these circumstances *tatsama*, verbs can only be taken from the vernacular literature and this is an easy matter inasmuch as verbs are used independently. In dealing with tatsama nouns and adjectives, it is necessary to show in addition to the part of speech to which the word belongs, the gender which the word bears and the final letter of its base in Sanskirt, for, on these depends the correct form which the word bears in the vernacular. It is, at any rate, necessary to distinguish words of the feminine gender from those of the

masculine and neuter genders, for, while the latter words take the case-endings which are appropriate to the gender which the words bear in the vernacular on the principle of gender following sex, words of the feminine gender follow a different course. They simply shorten the final long vowel or drop the *visarga*. The Sanskrit word *kalā*, for instance, become *kelā*. Similarly, *Stutiḥ* in Sanskrit becomes simply *Stuti* in Telugu. Unless, therefore, a student knows both the gender and also the exact form of a word in Sanskrit, he will not be able to use it correctly in the vernacular either simply or in compounds.

Tadbhavas and Deśyas.

Tadbhavas are Sanskrit words which have entered the fold of a vernacular language after undergoing basic changes in form in order to appear exactly like the indigenous words of that language and be easily pronouncible by the people whose mother tongue that language is. They are like the denizens of a country who came from a foreign country in remote times but have during all this period gradually shed off their foreign characteristics and assumed those of the natives of their adopted country. Owing to this transformation, the foreigners have become merged in the native population and there is nothing to distinguish them except their remote origin which, in many cases, can only be discovered by research. The question arises whether these *tabdhavas* should be distinguished from *deśyas* in a Dictionary. The Telugu Dictionary Śabdaratnākara makes this distinction and in doing so, has made many mistakes. As has been stated already most, if not all, of the *tadbhavas* must have come into the Dravidian languages through the ancient Prākṛt languages during the period the Prākṛt speaking people held sway over Southern India which was the period which immediately preceded and followed the commencement of the Christian era. Some words may have come direct from Sanskrit and in later times but, I think, their number is small. In Telugu, there is a class of books called pure Telugu (*accatenugu*) books. They are so called because they avoid the use of *tatsama* words and they manage to do this not so much by coining new *tadbhavas* as by manipulating the existing *tadbhava* and *deśya* words to form long and straggling compounds to express ideas which are ordinarily expressed by single *tatsama* words. And these books far from being among the earliest books in the language, as one might suppose, are of comparatively modern origin and they are still being produced. It may be broadly stated that cultural Sanskrit words enter the Dravidian languages in the *tatsama* form and the *tadbhavas* express the ordinary non-cultural ideas of the people.

The average Pandit believes that all vernaculars are derived from Sanskrit and he thinks it his duty to attemp to trace every Dravidian word to a Sanskrit origin. On the other hand, there is a class of scholars

represented by Kittel, who think that some at least of the Sanskrit words are derived from the Dravidian languages. Both views are correct up to a point but both are liable to be carried too far. In order to judge correctly, a systematic and critical study of the ancient Prâkṛts is necessary and this study has yet to be undertaken in Southern India. Pischell's monumental work on the subject will probably be of great help in this study, but I believe, there is no English edition of this book. As matters stand, it seems wisest to abandon this attempt to systematically classify *tadbhava* words and to group them with the dêsyas quoting what the editor considers to be the Prākṛt and Sanskrit cognate forms whenever they can be traced.

Kittel has grouped tatsamas and what he considered to be *tadbhavas* together by printing them in small type while he printed the words which in his opinion were *deśyas* in fat type. This grouping is, in my opinion, not correct. There is no merit in grouping with the French, the large number of English men who trace their descent to Norman ancestors. They are, for all practical purposes, Englishmen and must be treated as such.

Foreign Words.

Foreign words where admitted should, of course, be indicated as such. How far such words should be admitted in a debatable question. The number of foreign words found in Standard literature is very small. They are Persian, Arabic or Urdu and came in during the Mahomedan ascendency. A larger number of these words and also a large number of English words are used in colloquial speech and in the literature of daily life and business. There are differences of opinion in regard to the admission of these words. They have not become merged in the Standard Vernacular dialect and the proper course would probably be to include them in a supplement to the dictionary.

Dialectal Colloquial and Slang words.

A more important question is whether dialectal, colloquial and slang words should be shown in the dictionary. The proper course seems to be that which is adopted in the Oxford Dictionary, Slang should obviously be relegated to a slang dictionary. The Oxford Dictionary has admitted such dialectal words as were used in the several literary dialects of English before those dialects were standardized about the beginning of the sixteenth cenrury. The vast bulk of dialectal words are excluded in order to be dealt with in separate dialectal dictionaries. This is the logical outcome of the conception of a Standard Dictionary which should primarily and mainly deal with the standard dialect.

The vast bulk of words in any language are common to the Standard dialect and colloquial speech. The former is based on—indeed arises out

of the latter and there must always be intimate connection between the two in every vernacular. But the colloquial speech contains many irregular forms of words which are not met with in the literary dialect. This is inevitable. Owing to the well-known laws of phonetic change the language of the daily speech constantly changes. Some of these changes manage to enter the standard dialect from time to time but for obvious reasons, spoken dialects change faster than the literary ones. Should these unrecorded forms be embodied in the dictionary? I think they should not, for this among other reasons—*viz* they are not necessarily uniform throughout the country, which is another way of saying that they are not standardized.

Meanings.

Inductive Method of ascertaining them.

The meaning of a word must be ascertained from actual usage. For this purpose it is necessary to read the entire standard litareture and make extracts therefrom. The extracts must then be arranged alphabetically. When this is done the bundle of extracts relating to a particular word should be taken out and the extracts classified according to the sense which the word, at first sight, bears in each extract. This will give you as many groups of extracts as there are meanings of the words. Take one of these groups again and critically examine each passage to ascertain the exact meaning. In this process you will probably transfer some of the extracts to other groups. Deal similarly with the other groups and when the word is finished, record the result in a tentatively final form. The existing dictionaries should, of course, be consulted but only for the purpose of verifying the results arrived at independently. It is, in my view, desirable to put off this consultation till the definitions are framed, in order that the process of independent research may have full scope for play without being hampered by suggestions from the older dictionaries. As the work proceeds, it will probably be found necessary to revise the work already done here and there and it is, therefore, desirable to put off printing till the possibility of revision is greatly minimized, if not eliminated. Revisions made after printing will have to be embodied in a supplement.

Words with several unconnected meanings.

It sometimes happens in all languages that certain words have two or more meanings which are etymologically unconnected with one another. Such, for instance, as the Telugu word *andu* which is a locative case ending meaning *in* and is also a verb meaning *to be reachable* or *enu* which means both *I* and also *five*. Here we have got not one word with two or more meanings but two or more separate words having the same spelling and pronounciation and they should be treated as such. Where, however the several meanings of a word are etymologically related to one another, however remotely, they should all

be shown under the same word. There are two orders in which the meanings may be exhibited—the etymological and the historical. In many cases, these two orders run in parallel lines but they may sometimes cross each other. Obviously the primary or root meaning of a word should be shown first. It is, however, sometimes difficult to say which is the primary meaning. The Telugu word *vagachu* means *to think* as well as *to grieve* and both meanings appear in the oldest book extant. In such cases, one has to be guided by analogies and much scope will have to be given to discretion in arranging the subsequent meanings. In this matter, inscription sometimes give the help which books fail to give. The Telugu word *eḍlu* means bullocks in colloquial speech and is also the sense in which it is used throughout the literature, but in some of the ancient inscriptions it is used in the sense of *milch cattle* as when an inscription says that a certain number of *eḍlu* is given to a temple as an endowment for the up-keep of a perpetual light established by the donor. Here, we have evidently to assume that milch cattle was the earlier meaning of the word.

Etymologically connected meanings how to be exhibited.

Where the shade of difference between one meaning and another is sufficiently great, they have, of course, to be numbered separately but where the difference is not so great, but still notable, they have to be shown as two varieties of the same meaning. Here again, much will have to be left to the good sense of the editor.

The object of quoting passages from literature or folklore is two-fold *viz.*, to enable the student to verify for himself the meaning given in the dictionary by a reference to original authorities and also to show him how the word is to be used in a sentence. The old metrical *Nighanṭus* embodied the net result of the authors' researches but gave no clue of the process of that research and the earlier alphabetically arranged dictionaries were not much better. Illustrations of the meanings by quotations from literature is the chief feature of modern lexicography and no respectable dictionary can afford to neglect this. The length of the quotations varies from case to case. The principle to be borne in mind is that as much should be quoted as is necessary to bring out the meaning of a word and also to show the usage. Sometimes a very short sentence might suffice for this purpose. But often a longer quotation is necessary. In the Indian languages whose literatures are mostly metrical, it often becomes necessary to quote a whole verse and sometimes even more than one verse. Even this does not meet the requirements of the case in some instances. There are cases in which the sense of a word has to be gathered not from a verse or two but from the context in which those verses occur, and several verses before or after have, in some cases, to be studied before

Illustrations.

this context can be ascertained. It is obviously impossible to quote all these verses in the dictionary. In such cases, the proper course would perhaps be to preface the quotation by a brief passage explaining the context and leave the reader to refer to the original poem if he is unsatisfied.

Plurality of Illustrations.

Plurality of quotations become necessary in the following circumstances.

(1) Although one passage may be enough to bring out the sense of the word, it may in some cases be necessary to quote at least another passage to confirm that sense.

(2) One passage may be specially apt to illustrate the meaning of a word, while another may be better suited to illustrate its form and a third to illustrate the usage. All the passages will have to be quoted. This is specially the case in Telugu where meticulous attention is paid to form. Indeed, many Telugu scholars think that reliance should be placed only on those passages in which the form of a word is fixed by the requirements of prosody. There are considerations weighing against this view. It may, for instance, be suggested that, in the first period, at any rate, of the literature, the rules of prosody if not also of grammar, were not so hide bound as they now are. But the chief objection to that view is that it unduly restricts the choice of selection. In this connection reference must be made to the view held by some scholars that the compilation of a dictionary should be undertaken only after all the standard works in the language are critically edited and published. This view may be compared to that of the man who wanted to wait till the waves subsided before taking a dip in the sea. Critical editions of books are good as far as they go. But what about the very many readings which are rejected by the editors? Is the compiler of the dictionary to be guided entirely by the discretion of the editors of books? Should he not also use his own discretion?

(3) Another consideration in favour of a plurality of quotations is the desirability of exhibiting the use of a word at different times. The Oxford Dictionary undertakes to give an illustration for each century. A very much smaller number of quotations suffices in the Indian Dictionaries.

Use of Folklore & Inscriptions.

Quotations should be taken not only from standard literature but also from folklore and incriptions. Folklore often illustrates the meaning and use of a word even more aptly than literature and should, therefore, be utilized in the making of a dictionary as is done by Kittel. But in folklore, words not seldom appear in their vulgar or dialectal forms

and the reader has to be warned not to take the forms from these illustrations. Some advocate editing the proverbs by replacing the irregular by standard forms of words. Inscriptions which are being published in large numbers day by day, are of great use in ascertaining the older forms and meanings of words. Their special value consists in their coming to us in the very form in which they first came into existence and in not having been edited as books have been by generations of ignorant and perverse scribes. But some sort of editing by the compiler of the dictionary would be necessary even here. Some words appear in different forms in different inscriptions. Some of these variations may be due to dialectal differences and some to the influence of the laws of phonetic change but not a few are also due to the idiosyncrosies or ignorance of the engravers and all these causes will have to be carefully investigated and the variations due to the last cause eliminated.

Considerations of Economy of Space.

While considerations of scholarship urge the editor to amplify illustrations, those of economy of space pull him the other way and the position of the editor in having constantly to choose between these two alternatives, is by no means enviable. Even apart from these consideration, great indeed must be the fortune of the editor who can escape from the double accusation of being extravagant and parsimonious at the same time in the matter of giving illustrations. But why should the maker of a dictionary be exempt from the operation of fate any more than other persons?

Derivation.

Derivations of the *tatsama* words are out of the question. Giving accurate meanings is as much as a Dravidian Dictionary can and ought to attempt to do. Those who wish to know more of these words must refer to a standard dictionary of the Sanskrit language. The same must be said of the foreign words which are admitted into the dictionary.

The case of the *tadbhava* and *deśya* words is, of course, quite different. It must be the aim of the dictionary to investigate and give the etymologies of these words. This can be done in several cases, but I am afraid it is impractiable in many cases in the present state of research in the field of Dravidian and Prākṛt Philology. In such cases the editor must be content with giving what seems to him to be the cognate forms in allied languages rather than attempt at guessing and mislead future investigators.

Among the worries of the compiler of a dictionary must be mentioned that which is due to the impatience of the public. When it is known that a work of this kind is undertaken especially by a public body there is a tendency on the part of the public to expect the publication of the

work almost at once. It is not their business to enquire what amount of patient and tedious research dictionary making involves and how much time that takes. They fail to see that a dictionary which pretends to any degree of scholarship cannot be compiled as examination papers are answered with the eye constantly on the clock. Murry took more than forty years and did not live to see the last volume printed and most of the collection work was done before he entered on the editorial function.

An Editor who wants to do justice to himself can only go on doing his best refusing to be stampeded by popular impatience.

THE EPOCH OF KŪṆA PĀṆḌYA, TIRUJÑĀNASAMBANDHAR AND TIRU-MANGHAYĀḶVĀR.

BY

DR. R. SHAMA SASTRI, B.A., MYSORE.

Kūṇapāṇḍya or Kubjapāṇḍya, as he is also called, is the last of the seventy-two Kings of Madura narrated in the Hālāsyamāhātmya. According to the tradition of both the Jainas and the Śaivites as recorded in their religious works, he became a Jaina when in youth and disregarded the Śaivism of his ancestors. Both in the Rājāvali Kathā and the Triṣaṣṭhipurātanacarita of Karnāṭaka Kavicakravarti, Kubjapāṇḍya is stated to have married Mangāyakkaraśi or Mangaraśi, the daughter of Vikrama Cola, a King of the Cola territory. She was a born Śaivite and was pained to see her husband a Jaina. His minister was known as Kulapakṣa. He was also a Śaivite. Both the queen and the minister were very anxious to reconvert Kubja to Śaivism, if possible. They waited for an opportunity which to their hearts' content, offered itself to them. Kubja had an attack of a severe type of fever and no medicine could cure him. Resort was taken to charms and spells which the Jaina ascetics at his Court could make use of. The saintly Jaina scholars such as Jinasena, Nayasena, Śrutakīrti, Viśālakīrti, Budhacandra, Suvratakīrti and others attempted to cure the King of his burning fever.* When the Jaina charms and spells failed to effect a cure, the well-known Śaiva saints, such as Vāgīśa, Haradattācārya, Tirujñāna-sambandhar were called in and fortunately for Śaivism, their spells had the desired effect. The King was accordingly reclaimed to Śaivism and was given the name of Sundara-Pāṇḍya.

It is also stated in the Rājāvali Kathā that prompted by Bhaṭṭākalanka, Sala, the founder of the Hoysala Kingdom in Mysore, invaded Madura and having destroyed Kūṇapāṇḍya ruled over Mysore, as a feudatory of the Cālukyas of Bādāmi.

The mention of the name of Jinasena among the Jaina saints who tried their charms in curing Kubjapāṇḍya of his fever is an important aid in settling the chronology of that King and his contemporaries, Vāgīśa, Tirujñāna-sambandhar, Tirumanghayāḷvār, and a host of other scholars of the time. Speaking of the time of the writing of his Bṛhaddharivaṁśapurāṇa, Jinasena says at the conclusion of that work as follows :—

When seven centuries increased by five in the Śaka era have elapsed, when Indrāyudha, son of Kṛṣṇa, was ruling in the north, Śrī Vallabha in

* Triṣaṣṭhipurātana carita, Chapter 32. Verse 58. Śivarahasya under Vāgīśa and Pramatha carita, Śivabhaktimāhātmya, Skāndapurāṇa.

the South, when Vatsarāja, the King of the Avanti country was ruling in the east, and when Jayavarāha, King of the Śūrasenas was reigning in the west, this Vaṁśa of the Haris was composed in Vardhamānapura."

From this verse it is clear that Jinasena completed his Harivaṁśa in A.D. 783. It may be presumed that he was then about 40 or 50 years old. It follows therefore that Kubjapāṇḍya lived in the same century.

(2) Another tradition which tends to confirm the above date is the statement made in the Rājāvalikathā that Jinasena, Guṇabhadra and Govinda, the teacher of Śaṅkarācārya, were contemporaries. The author of the Rājāvalikathā goes so far as to say that Guṇabhadra was the student of Jinasena, and that Govinda studied under Guṇabhadra (Page 215) * and that they were all scholars at the court of King Bhoja whom he takes to be the Bhoja of Dhārā. The last statement is evidently opposed to Jinasena's own statement that he completed his Harivaṁśa in Śaka 705, whereas Bhoja of Dhārā lived so late as the 11th century A.D. It is more than probable that the author of the Rājāvalikathā mistook the Gupta King, Bhoja of Kānyakubja, son of Dunduka, grandson of Ama, and great-grand-son of Yaśovarma (A.D. 690) for Bhoja of Dhārā. According to Prabhāvikacarita (pp. 128-180) Bappabhaṭṭi, Govinda and Nannayasūri were all contemporaries and that after the death of Bappabhaṭṭi in A.D. 839, Govinda was invited by Bhoja to stay in his Court. Bappabhaṭṭi was stated to have been born in Samvat 800 corresponding to A.D. 744 and to have lived for 95 years. His date of birth is given in the Prabhāvakacarita as Vikrama Samvat 800 Bhādrapada (Su) 3 Ravivāra and Hastanakṣatra, which exactly corresponds to Sunday the 28th July 743 on which day the constellation Hasta was current after 3 hours and 14 minutes in the after noon,

The date of his death Vikrama 895 Sravaṇā 8 with Svātī corresponds to Thursday the 4th July on which day there was the constellation Svātī. Referring to Govinda and Nannayaūrī Bappabhaṭṭi is stated to have said that in respect of learning he (Bappabhaṭṭi) could not approach even as much as the weight of a dust particle of their feet. As he is also stated to have spoken of the learning of Vākpatirāja, the author of Gauḍabandha and Madramahī-Vijaya, that " irrespective of caste and creed, men of merit should every where be respected." It is more than probable that Govinda and Nannayasūri, though students of Siddhasena, a Jaina teacher under whom Bappabhaṭṭi also learnt, were not Jainas.

* Hastimalla, son of Bhattāraka Govinda, and author of Vikrānta Kaurava and other three dramas, says in the Kavipraśasti at the end of Vikrānta Kaurava that Guṇabhadra was the pupil of Jinasena and that among the successive disciples of Guṇabhadra, Govinda was one. This later Govinda is evidently quite different from Govinda who was contemporary to Bappabhaṭṭi and Jinasena.

From this it is clear that the date given to Bappabhaṭṭi and Govinda is quite in harmony with the date of Jinasena. The statement made in the Rājāvalikathā that Jinasena, Guṇabhadra and Govinda were contemporaries is also corroborated by the Prabhāvakacarita.

(3) This epoch of Govinda, the teacher of Śaṅkarācārya, is in harmony with the dates of Śaṅkara's birth and death given in Kṛṣṇabrahmānanda's Śaṅkaravijaya. In verses 11 and 23 he says that

"*Nidhināgebhavahnyabde vibhave Śaṅkar odayaḥ,*
Kalau tu Śālīvāhasya Sakhendu-śatasaptake.
Kalyabde bhūdṛgāṅkāgni sammite Śaṅkaro guruḥ,
Śālīvāha Śake tvaksi-sindhu sapta-mite bhyagāt.

In (Kali) (9, 8, 8, 3=3889), Vibhava, Śaṅkara was born, corresponding to Śaka 710, In Kali 1,2,9,3=3921 corresponding to Śaka 742 Śaṅkara passed away.

(4) This epoch is also more or less, in harmony with that arrived at, for Śaṅkara by Mr. Lewis Rice by totalling the years assigned to the series of Gurus that succeeded Śaṅkarācārya in Sṛngeri. According to him Śaṅkara lived between 745-767 A.D.

(5) Another evidence in support of the correctness of the above epoch is the statement made in the Rājāvalikathā that Bhaṭṭākalaṅka advised Sala, or Hoysaḷa, the founder of Hoysaḷa dynasty in Halebid in Mysore, to invade the territory of Kūṇapāṇḍya and arrest the growth of Śaivism in Madura under that Śaivite's rule. According to Wilson, Akalaṅka confuted the Buddhists at the court of Himaśītala in Kāñcī in A.D. 788 and procured their expulsion from the South of India. The author of the Rājāvalikathā quotes a Kanarese verse (Page 209) stating that in Śaka 800, the cyclic year Viḷambi, in the month of Caitra (March) tenth lunar day of the white fortnight. Thursday, Puṣya constellation, Kautuka dṛtiyoga, and Girijakaraṇa, Bhaṭṭākalaṅka taught a Mantra to Hoysaḷa for success in his undertakings. The date referred to in the verse corresponds to Saturday 7th March A.D. 879 on which day the constellation Yoga and Karaṇa with the exception of the weekday exactly coincide with the Tithi, as stated in the verse. Evidently the date is not a contemporary record, but a later fabrication made on the strength of tradition. This traditional epoch of Bhaṭṭākalaṅka is not, however, far from his true epoch; for Jinasena the author of Harivaṁśa speaks of him in one of his verses as follows :—

"The merits of Bhaṭṭākalaṅka, Śrīpāla, and Pātrakesari (Vidyānanda) prove when kept at heart a necklace of pearls." [1]

From this it follows that Bhaṭṭākalaṅka was almost a contemporary of Jinasena. If the tradition that Bhaṭṭākalaṅka was the teacher of

1. Mahāpurāṇa Parva I. 53.

Saḷa or Hoyasaḷa is accepted, then there must be an interval of about 150 or 160 years between Saḷa, the founder of Hoysaḷa feudatory State, and Nṛpa Kāma and Vinayāditya, who were independent of the Cālukyas.

Also there is attributed to Bhaṭṭākalaṅka a verse in which he addresses Dantidurga, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa King (A.D, 753—775) as Sāhasa tuṅga and says as follows :—

Oh, Sāhasatuṅga ! just as Kings, as victorious in war and as famous for generosity as you, are rare, so scholars as famous for their poetical skill and vast erudition as myself are very rare. This verse is taken to settle the date of Bhaṭṭākalaṅka. From this it follows that Kūṇapāṇḍya lived in the 8th century A.D.

(6) An additional proof is also found in the contemporaneity of Haradattācārya to Kūṇapāṇḍya. In the Skāndopapurāṇa treating of the 63 Śaiva Saints Haradattācārya is stated to have accompanied Vāgīśa and Tirujñānasambandhar in their journey to Madura to reclaim Kūṇapāṇḍya to Śaivism. There can be no doubt that Haradatta mentioned in the Purāṇa is the same as the author of the commentaries on the Gṛhya, Dharma, and Paribhāṣā Sūtras of Āpastamba and also of the Grammatical work called Padamañjari and of Tatvaprakāśikā known also as Śrutisūktimālā, a work treating of the superiority of Śiva to other gods. This work is commented upon by Śivalingabhūpa, a Pāṇḍya King, probably the successor of Kūṇapāṇḍya. In this work and also in the commentary Haradatta is spoken of as having been favoured with a dose of Pārvati's breast-milk which is believed to have made him a depository of all learning at an early age. The Skāndopapurāṇa also refers to this incident as the cause of his wide learning. There is also an anonymous biography of Haradatta called Haradattopākhyāna, in which the learned Śaivite, a disciple of Sudarśanācārya is said to have been the teacher of the Pāṇḍya King Śivaliṅga. Sudarśana is also known to be a commentator on the Dharma and Gṛhya sūtras of Āpastamba. In the Haradattopākhyāna, the date of Haradatta's death is given as follows :—

In Kali years four thousand less by twenty-one, in the cyclic year Viḷambi, in the month of Puṣya, the fifth lunar day of the bright half, on Thursday, Haradatta with Sudarśana passed to Heaven, as seen by the inhabitants of the village Kamsa on the Northern bank of the Kaveri. This date corresponds to Tuesday the 2nd December, 878, which was Viḷambi. It is Tuesday but not Thursday, as stated in the verse. If the statement of the Skāndopapapurāṇa that Haradatta accompanied Tirujñānasambandhar to Madura be true, it would follow that he was then at least twenty-five years old. If so, it is hard to believe that being born in the last quarter of the 8th century he lived for 78 years in the 9th century.

This absurdity coupled with the error in the citation of the week-day of the Tithi shows that the date is a later fabrication. Nevertheless it may be asserted on the strength of the synchronism of Haradatta with Kūṇapāṇḍya, as mentioned in the Skāndopapurāṇa that the century assigned to him is not wide of the mark.

Thus it is clear that Kūṇapāṇḍya of Madura lived partly in the second half of the 8th century and partly in the first quarter of the 9th century when celebrated Śaiva Saints and Scholars such as Vāgīśa, Tirujñānasambandhar, Haradatta, Govinda, Śaṅkarācārya and others together with Tirumaṅghayālvār and other Vaiṣṇava saints were engaged in reviving Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism in Southern India. That Tirumaṅghayālvār was contemporary to Tirujñānasambandhar is clearly stated in the Divyasūricarita (XV, 89 93, Page, 104) and also in Guruparamparāprabhāva (Page 134, Kāñci Ed).

In the Divyasūricarita Chapter V, 44 & 76 and Chapter XII, 2, it is stated that Vallabhadeva was the King of Madura when Vaiṣṇava saints, such as Bhaṭṭanāthasūri, Bhaktāṅghrireṇusūri, Uraiyūr Nācciyār, Prāṇanatha, Parakāla (Tirumaṅghayālvār) Viṣṇucitta and others flourished in the land round Śrīraṅgam. It may be presumed that this Vallabhadeva was no other than Śrīvallabha who, according to Jinasena's statement quoted above, was ruling over the South in Śaka 705. It is probable that Vallabha's capital was Kāñci and that, being the feudal lord of Kūṇa-Pāṇḍya of Madura, he is described in the Divyasūricarita as the King of Madura.

THE DATE OF ŚILAPPADIKĀRAM.

BY

PANDIT E. M. SUBRAHMANYA PILLAI.

Śilappadikāram is one of the ancient classics composed by Iḷangovaḍikal, the brother of the great Cera King Śeṅkuṭṭuvan. The author has divided the work into three parts *i.e.*, (1) The story related to Puhar, (Kāvirippūmpaṭṭinam) the Cola capital, (2) to Madura, the Pāṇḍiyan capital and (3) to Vañci, the Cera capital. The whole story is very natural and has not even a single exaggeration, because the author was a great saint who was an eye-witness to the back-portion of the story and heard the other parts from reliable great personages such as Sathanar, Madalan and others who were also eye-witnesses. The incidents mentioned in the classics are very clear so that the way to determine their dates becomes easy.

At Kāvirippūmpaṭṭinam, the Indra festival began in the month of Cittirai nakṣatra. "சித்திரைச்சித்திரைத் திங்கள்சேர்ந்தென, அங்கான்," (சிலப். V. 64-65). The festival lasted for twenty-eight days. ("நாலேழ் நாளினும்" Maṇimekalai I-8. And Aḍiyārkkunallar's commentary to Śilappadikāram). On the 29th day the sea-bath took place. Kōvalan, the hero of the poem, went to the sea-shore with Mādavi, a dancing girl. On account of some misunderstandings. Kōvalan left her alone in the evening and reached his house in the night where his wife Kaṇṇaki, the heroine of the poem, received him with much pleasure. Kōvalan felt very sorry for his misconduct and poverty, since he had lost all his property when he was with Mādavi. He took his wife with him the very night and departed from the city just before dawn. That was the fourteenth night after New-Moon and the moon set a little before dawn.

" வான்கண்விழியா வைகறையாமத்து
மீன்றிகழ்ந்த விசும்பின் வெண்மதிநீங்கக்
காரிருணின்ற கடைநாட்கங்குல்".—சிலப். X. 1-3.

Kōvalan reached Madura with his wife, left her in the house of Mādari, a shepherdess who lived outside the town, and went into the town to sell one of his wife's anklets. The then Pāṇḍiya King was the great Neḍuñcelian. One of his wife's anklets was stolen by a goldsmith who misrepresented to the King that Kōvalan with the anklet was the thief of the stolen anklet, in order to save himself. The King believed the words of the goldsmith. Accordingly Kōvalan was slain by the persons sent by the Pāṇḍiyan.

Hearing this news Kaṇṇaki hurried into the town with the other anklet in her hand and saw her husband in the evening.

" புண்டாழ்குருதி புறஞ்சோர மாலைவாய்க்
கண்டாளவன்றன்னைக் கணுக்கடுந்துயரம்."

சிலப். XIX. 37-3

At that time the sun set, and it was twilight.

" மல்லன்மா ஞாலமிருளூட்டி மாமலைமேற்
செவ்வென்கதிர் சுருக்கிச்செங்கதிரோன் சென்றொளி

சில XIX.

யாருமின் மருண்மாலை யிடருறுதயிவேன்முன்." XIX. 43.

She hurried at once to the palace and proved to Neḍuñcelian his great fault. Knowing that he had committed a great sin, the Pāṇḍiyan fell down at once from his throne and breathed his last. Then Kaṇṇaki came round the city thrice and set fire to it. It was about two hours after sunset. That was in the month of Āḍi, Friday, the eighth *tithi* after Full-Moon, and *kṛttikā*.

" ஆடித்திங்கட் பேரிருட்பக்கத்
தழல்சேர் குட்டத்தட்டமி ஞான்று
வெள்ளிவாரத் தொள்ளெரியுண்ண
வுரைசான் மதுரையோடரசுகேடுறும்."

சிலப். XXIII. 133-136.

This is the most important data to decide the date of the burning of Madura. In this data *kṛttikā* is known by the words "அழல்சேர்குட்டம்." But the old commentator has written the meaning for this as *kṛttikā bharaṇi*. From this statement we have to conclude that *kṛttikā* must have come after *bharaṇi* and that too at the very same time when Kaṇṇaki set fire to Madura. Calculating from 100 B.C. to 400 A.D. we can find that only 144 A.D. satisfies all the conditions mentioned. From this we can also give the dates for the other incidents.

In 144 A.D. the Indra festival began in the month of Cittirai 21st, Friday, *Nakṣatra Cittirai* and the fourteenth *tithi* after New-Moon. Till Vaikāśi 17th Thursday the festival lasted, and came to an end on the 18th of Vaikāśi. On the 19th Vaikāśi, Saturday, Kōvalan left Mādavi and went to his house. On that very same night just before dawn he left Puhar with his wife. That night was the 14th night after New-Moon. In that year on the 25th of Āḍi it was Friday, the eighth *tithi* in the dark fortnight and *bharaṇi* and *kṛttikā* met two hours after sunset. And it was at that time Kaṇṇaki set fire to Madura. In the month of Āvaṇi 4th Thursday, the fourteenth day after the burning of Madura

'எழுநாளிரட்டி யெல்லை சென்றபின்" சிலப். XXIII. 193) Kaṇṇaki, mounted the top of Neduvēlkuṉṟam and went to the Indraloka with her husband on a celestial car. Hearing this news from the vedars who were eye-witnesses to the scene Ceran Śeṅkuṭṭuvan built a temple for Kaṇṇaki in his capital city, Vañci, and deified her in the stone brought by him from the Himālayas. We shall carefully consider here Śeṅkuṭṭuvan's journey and return since it is very important.

Śeṅkuṭṭuvan as soon as he decided to instal Kaṇṇaki, started with a large army, reached the northern bank of the Ganges, won a great victory over the Āryan Kings Kanaka and Vijaya, sent his general to the Himālayas to bring the stone for Kaṇṇaki's image, crossed the river and was on its southern bank. As soon as the stone was brought it was bathed in the holy waters of the Ganges. On that day the King saw the crescent moon. It was the third *tithi* in the bright-fortnight. The palace-astrologer said to the King that 32 months have passed since they started from Vañci.

"எண்ணான்கு மதியம் வஞ்சி நீங்கியதும்" சிலப். XXVII. 149.

So he must have also started from Vañci on the third *tithi* in the bright-fortnight. Now let us see the details of his journey till the close of the 32nd month.

Since it is known that Śeṅkuṭṭuvan did not make any delay at Vañci he should have started on the 26th day Monday the third *tithi* in the bright fortnight after Kaṇṇaki went to Indraloka. That was the 29th of Āvaṇi in 144 A. D. He reached the Nilgiris and halted there to receive the presents sent by other kings. The Koṅgaṇars and the Karnāṭars came in the summer and the Kuḍagars in the winter. Śilappadikāram 26, கால் கோட் காதை (85—175). He left the Nilgiris in the beginning of the winter season *i.e.*, in the month of Āvaṇi. It was then one year since he left Vañci.

He crossed the Ganges with the help of the boats made ready by the hundred Kaṇṇars who were friendly with him, and defeated Kanaka and Vijaya in seven hours. But it is known that he was waiting there in his camp awaiting the arrival of, and an opportunity to attack the enemy.

"பகைப்புலம்புக்குப்பாசறையிருந்த" சிலப். XXVI. 180.

So about one month must have been spent in that matter. Then his general should have taken two months to go to the Himālayas and bring the stone to the Ganges. So the journey from the Nilgiris to the Ganges lasted for 17 months [32—(12+1+2)]. The way from Vañci to the Nilgiris is $\frac{1}{5}$ of the way from the Nilgiris to the Ganges. So it will take about $3\frac{1}{2}$ months to reach the Nilgiris from Vañci. On the whole

Śeṅkuṭṭuvan's journey from Vañci to the Ganges lasted for 20½ months (17+3½.) And also 20½ months were spent for his return journey. He had halted in the Nilgiris for 8½ months (12—3½).

Śeṅkuṭṭuvan returned to Vañci on the 53rd month (32+20½). The installation of Kaṇṇaki took place soon after *i.e.*, within a month or two. That is to say on the eighth month after the lapse of four years from the burning of Madura, Kaṇṇaki was deified. It was the month of Panguni, in 149 A.D. At that time Gayabāhu, the King of Ceylon, was also present there and worshipped her.

" கடல் சூழிலங்கைக்கயவாகு வேந்தனும் " சிலப். XXX. 160.

According to Dīpavaṁśa, the oldest of the Ceylon Chronicles, Gayabāhu reigned from the 642nd till the 664th year after the Buddha Nirvāṇa. Now we have to see when the Nirvāṇa was.

In the life of Buddha the following astronomical facts are known :— (1) Buddha was born on Friday Full-Moon in Vaikāśi in 68th year of Īśānaśaka. (2) In Īśānaśaka 96 in Vaikāśi on Friday Full-Moon he went to the forest. (3) In Īśānaśaka 103 in Vaikāśi on Wednesday Full-Moon he attained *jñānam.* (4) In Īśānaśaka 107 in Ādi on Saturday Full-Moon his father died at sunrise. (5) In Īśānasaka 148 in Vaikāśi on Tuesday Full-Moon he attained Nirvaṇā. All these dates are satisfied only if we take 493 B.C. to be the date of the Buddha Nirvāṇa. From this we find that Īśānaśaka began in 641 B.C. This date for the Nirvāṇa is supported by the following facts :—

According to the Ceylon Chronicles, Aśoka's *abhiṣekam* was 218 years after the Nirvāṇa. It was in 275 B.C. (493—218). He actually came to the throne in 278 B.C., *i.e.*, four years before his *abhiṣekam.* Before him, Bindusāra reigned from 302 to 278 B.C. Before him Candragupta reigned from 325—302 B.C., that is to say, he came to the throne 168 years (218—50) after Buddha Nirvāṇa. The date of his accession 325 B.C. is correct according to history; therefore, Buddha Nirvāṇa is (325+168) 493 B.C. So Gayabāhu's reign was for 22 years from 148 A.D. to 170 A.D. [(641 to 663)—493]. He had ascended the throne in 148 and was present at Vañci in 149 A.D.

Gayabāhu's grandfather Vasaba had improved agriculture and made the lands very fertile by digging many canals (Dīpavaṁśa Chap. 22 and Mahāvaṁśa Chap. 35). Vasaba's contemporary King Karikāla Coḷa had done the same thing in his country. For want of coolies to work in the canals he had invaded Ceylon and taken many of its inhabitants, as captives. This fact is found in the Mahāvaṁśa (in Tamil). Gayabāhu's father Vaṅkanasikatissa had reigned only for three years (Dīpavaṁśa Chap. 22, 12, 27; Mahāvaṁśa Chap. 35, 112). Gayabāhu took vengeance and invaded the Coḷa country as soon as he came to the throne

and during that time visited also Vañci and worshipped Kaṇṇaki. These facts are also supported by the foot-note in page 117 of the Manual of the administration of the Madras Presidency. Therein we find the following: "In A.D. 110 the Coḷas again invaded Ceylon and carried away 12,000 Singhalese prisoners. In 113 this outrage was avenged by Gayabāhu, King of Ceylon, who invaded the Coḷa Kingdom and brought back not only the rescued Singhalese captives, but also a large number of prisoners".

Thus we conclude that the burning of Madura was in 144 A. D. and the installation of Kaṇṇaki was in 149 A. D. I have laid these facts and inferences befoie the public in the hope of being enlightened by the research scholars.

VI.—Archaelogy, Epigraphy Numismatics, Music and Indian Art.

MEMORIAL STONES IN THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY.

BY

Mr. G. V. ACHARYA, BOMBAY.

1. Bombay Presidency, as it extends over a large area on the west of India, affords ample opportunities for a sort of comparative study of the different features of one and the same practice and observance.

2. Though the main underlying idea may be the same, still there may be an appreciable difference in details in different provinces due probably to the different manners and customs prevailing in them. Such like comparisons and contrasts from the antiquarian, anthropological and architectural standpoint-of-view will be beneficial to students and scholars in the respective branches.

3. In this paper it is intended to deal with Hindu memorial stones found in all parts of the Bombay Presidency. The subject may be made still wider by treating such stones in the whole of India but I leave that for some future occasion or for some other enthusiastic scholar to take up.

4. Before I proceed further I think it better to qualify this attempt of mine and declare that as I have not till now the good fortune to go to the extreme north and the south of the Presidency, I have to depend either upon the books on the subject or upon the scanty information which I received from persons with whom I corresponded for this purpose. This is just to save me from an attack of not being thoroughly exhaustive.

5. No man is perfect and in fresh fields like this no man should lay claim to such perfection. I shall be really thankful to persons who would do me the favour of supplying fresh information on the subject and thankfully acknowledge the same when I shall have the occasion to make use of it at any second similiar attempt at this subject. Memorial stones are stones with or without inscriptions erected by the relatives or other interested persons of the deceased with a view to commemorate the death or the incidents that lead to it.

6. Hero-worship is found in all nations at all ages and stages of civilization. In course of time it develops into different tangible and material attempts at inventing cheapest, simplest and yet the most permanent mode of recording the heroic deeds of the hero with a view primarily to honour him but at the same time to leave consciously or unconsciously some history of the lives of great and ideal men for the succeeding generations to follow. Love, regard and appreciation of the relations, friends and admirers of the deceased could not invent anything cheaper and simpler than these memorial stones and that accounts for the presence throughout the presidency of stones of all shapes, and forms to suit all individual cases.

7. There is always a good word for the dead with the exception of a few hopelessly depraved and degraded, and the generosity and sympathy of an Indian mind finds out or rather hunts out some salient points in the life of every dead man and tries to make most of them. Thus the honour and distinction reserved for the select and deserving few came to be lavished indiscriminately on all, great and small, good and bad.

For whom erected.

8. A *satī* who sacrifices herself on the funeral pile of her husband has every right to this sort of honour; and the inhabitants of the village or the locality where the *Satī*-memorial stone is found, always refer to it with a sort of pride. Similarly a religious person who has courted death either by some austerities or by fasting rightly deserves this honour from the people of the place. A chief or a leader plays an important part in the history of the village or the district and naturally he is honoured with this sort of distinction. Besides, a person who has sacrificed his life for the sake of the village people by responding to some call of duty at the time of danger to the village, has a just claim to this sort of honour and appreciation. Petty warfare between neighbouring villages were very frequent and a hot exchange of words would easily lead to a free fight and bloodshed.

9. Memorial stones were thus appropriately raised for types of persons detailed above but later on the line of demarcation between persons and persons became fainter and fainter and distinctions being odious such stones were erected for one and all without discretion or distinction.

Places where erected.

10. In the majority of cases these stones are being erected near the cemetry and the burning ghats. They are also erected on elevated and prominent places round about the villages. At times some solitary stones are also found in fields or some such places when they refer to some local incidents which might have occurred on the spot. Thus on battle-fields one can notice such stones by dozens. Such stones are also seen near temples though they have hardly any connection with the temples proper. As a rule, religious mendicants of all sorts are staying round about big temples and they are thus honoured after death usually by their devotees or the followers.

Shape and material.

11. These stones are cut out from the hardest possible stone available in different provinces. In Sind and such other places where such pieces are not locally available only those who can afford, send for them from Rājputāna and neighbouring places while others either use bricks or go without them. This accounts for the scarcity of such stones in the Northern part of the Presidency.

12. The pieces cut out are rectangular at the base and the two sides come nearer and meet at different angles at the top. As a rule they are 4 to 5 feet in height, 18 to 24 inches in breadth and 6 to 9 inches in thickness but I have noticed several of abnormal sizes measuring about 7 ft. in height and 4 ft. in breadth. The biggest in the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India measures 6′-6″ by 3′-1.″

13. It is the fashion to leave these stones by themselves defying the inclemencies of weather. About a foot at the base they have buried in the ground to keep them standing. Stones recording the death of ruling chiefs or other big personages are usually placed on a low platform and provided with a covering in the form of a *chatri* (Umbrella resting on four or more pillars).

Representation on them.

14. Ninety per cent of these stones are inscribed and in such inscribed stones about ⅓ portion from the top is reserved for representations of different types. These representations vary according to the incidents which they attempt to commemorate.

15. A *Satī*-stone has either a complete female figure or more commonly only the hand of the *Satī* on it. A hero's stone has on it the representation of a mounted warrior in fighting attitude with various weapons (usually a sword or a shield) in his hand. He is either by himself or in the act of fighting with his opponent.

16. Representations on South Indian Stone are more beautiful and vivid in architectural designs. The whole height of the stones is divided into several compartments or sections and the incident intended to be commemorated is carved out with full details in several sections one after the other beginning from the bottom. In the lowest section there is usually the representation of a cattle raid. India is an agricultural country and in the absence of up-to-date implements of agriculture which are beyond the means and capacities of uneducated class of agriculturists, cattle forms the prime factor of the activities of these people. Driving away the cattle of the neighbouring village is thus the surest way of challenging and offending the people of that village and such an action is sure to result in bloodshed. In the compartment next to that there is a scene of a free fight and the hero slain in the action is carried away to heaven, where he is figured as worshipping God in some form or other.

17. *Sun and Moon.* Orb of the sun and the digit of the moon are each invariably found towards the top on either side. These are invoked with a view to perpetuate the existence of these stones. They are expected to last as long as the sun and moon will endure.

18. *Cow and Calf.* In some of them are noticed a cow and a calf probably sculptured with a view to give sanctity to the stones. Cow is

most sacred to Hindus and the man who disturbs the stone brings upon him the sin of cow-killing. On one which is in the Prince of Wales Museum there is the figure of a small mortar one of the paraphernalia of an opium eater to show that the hero was addicted to opium.

19. With the exception of some South Indian Stones they are as a rule inscribed. The lower $\frac{2}{3}$ or $\frac{1}{2}$ of the stone is generally set apart for inscription.

Inscriptions.

20. On South Indian Stones, with scenes in several compartments the inscription is found usually on the belts separating the several scenes. There are two such inscribed stones in the Prince of Wales Museum, one from Dharwar and the other from Belgaum. The style of the inscription is neither figurative nor elaborate. They open out with the date in different eras according to provinces. Those in the Northern half are dated in the Vikrama Era while those in the southern are dated in the Śaka Era. Then follows the name of the ruling chief or the fuedal chieftain and towards the end comes the narration of the incidents to which the hero fell a victim. There are at the end a stanza or two, imprecatory in nature, to secure the stone from any future disturbance. Over and above the imprecatory stanzas there is at times the expression of an ass curse. Religious sentiments are always associated with them and it is the practice for people who believe themselves to have descended from the hero to offer red lead, incense and cocoanuts once every year usually on the hero's death-date. Red lead is usually applied to representations at the top but at times it is applied over the inscribed portion by ignorant and blindly religious descendants without any consciousness of the disservice they are thus doing to the stones.

These stones play an important part also in the history in general, and chronology in particular, of India. In support of this statement I give below short summaries of two north-Bombay and three south-Bombay inscriptions on such stones.

(1) *Satī*-Memorial Stone in the *chatri* of Rao Bharmalji 1 at Bhuj (Cutch).

Bai Śrī Līlāvatī, the daughter of Rao Maṇḍalik of Junagad became a *satī* (ascended the funeral pile of her husband) at the time of the death of Rao Śrī Bharmalji, the son of Rao Śrī Khengarji, at Bhuj (capital of Cutch) on Thursday of the dark half of the month of Pauṣa in the year 1688 of the Vikrama Era = 1632 A.D.

(2) Memorial stone in the *chatri* of Pragji at Bhuj.

Rao Śrī Pragmalji, son of Rao Śrī Raidhanji, died on the eighth day of the bright half of the month of Pauṣa............in the Śālīvāhana year 1637 and the Vikrama Samvat 1772.

(3) An Old Kanarese inscription at Kotur in Parasgad taluka of Belgaum district. Indian Antiquary, Vol. XX, 1891, p. 69.

This describes how a śaiva ascetic named Śambu *i.e.*, Śambhu performed the ceremony of walking through the fire and then stood in it till he was burnt to death. It mentions a Cālukya prince named Parahitarāja. It is not dated but can be referred on palaeographic grounds to about the 9th century A D.

(4) Hatti Mattūr inscription of the time of Kṛṣṇa I.

Epigraphica Indica, Vol. VI, No. 16, p. 160. The inscription refers itself to the reign of a king Akālavarṣa who because of the locality to which the record belongs and of the standard of the characters, is to be indentified with the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Akālavarṣa Śubhatuṅga Kṛṣṇa I. The object is to record the death in some local affray of two heroes named Dasamma and Ereya. The second is not dated but it is to be placed after A.D 754 (date for Danti Durga predecessor of Kṛṣṇa I) and before A.D. 783-84 which we have for his successor. We may place it roughly about A.D. 765.

TRANSLATION.

Hail while the Bhatara the glorious Akālavarṣa (Kṛṣṇa I) was reigning over the earth. In the destruction of the village of Maltavūr, Dasamma and Ereya of the villages of Surageyur, pierced (some of their foes) and died and ascended to heaven. These are the stones of those two men themselves.

(5) Naregal inscription of the time of Dhruva.
Naregal is the headquarters of Hangal taluka of the Dharwar district.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of a king named Dora who is to be identified with the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Dhruva son and successor of Kṛṣṇa I. The object of the inscription is to commemorate the death on the occasion of a cattle raid, of a local hero, named Dommara Kaḍava, Kaḍava of the Dombas or gipsies."

The record is not dated but, as we have for Dhruva the date A.D. 783-84 it may be placed roughly about A.D. 780.

TRANSLATION.

Om Hail while the glorious Dora was reigning over the earth and while Marakkaraśa was governing the Banavāsi twelve thousand. In the fight about the cows of the thousand *mahājanas* of Nareyanigal Dommarakaḍava died and ascended to heaven.

21. *Conclusion.* Having thus shown the importance of the memorial stones, I finish this paper with a prayer to all touring officers to note and supply information about interesting stones that they come across in various districts, as would enable me to be thoroughly exhaustive on this subject when I take it up once more.

THE STYLES OF INDIAN ARCHITECTURE.

BY

DR. P. K. ACHARYA, I.E.S., M.A., PH.D., D.LIT.

The style is a technical and purely architectural subject. Thus it is not dealt with in the Purāṇas, Epics or other poetical works, where casual references to architecture and sculpture are frequently met with. In the Bṛhat-Saṁhitā, however, as also in some epigraphical documents, mention of the style is occasionally made.[1] The Āgamas contain a little more detail, while in the architectural treatises like the Mānasāra, the subject is exhaustively treated.[2] The Nāgara, Vesara and Drāviḍa are the three broad styles distinguished. They are applied to both architecture and sculpture.[3]

With reference to cars or chariots a fourth style is mentioned: this is called Randra which name seems to be a corrupt form of Āndhra [4]; further, Kaliṅga is mentioned as another distinct style [5]. But if the identification of Vesara with Telugu or Tri-Kaliṅga be accepted, the Āndhra and the Kaliṅga would be but two branches of the Vesara style.

The Nāgara style is distinguished by its quadrangular shape, the Drāviḍa by its hexagonal or octagonal shape, and the Vesara by its round shape [6].

1. Bṛhat-Saṃhita, LVIII, 4; an inscription on the capital of a pillar in the Amṛteśvara temple at Holal (Progress report of Assistant Superintendent for Epigraphy Southern Circle, 1914-15, page 90).

2. Kāmikāgama, LXV, 6, 7, 12-18 etc; Suprabhedāgama, XXXI, 37, 38, 39 etc.; Mānasāra, XVIII, 92-104; LIII, 53-54; XXI, 72-73; XXVI, 76; XLIII, 124-125; LII, 78, 100; XLIII, 124-125, etc.

3. Mānasāra, LII, 78, 100; LIII, 46, 47, etc.

4. Manasāra, XLIII, 124, 125 etc.

5. Progress Report, (*ibid.*) page 90.

6. वेदाश्रं नागरं प्रोक्तं वस्वश्रं द्राविडं भवेत् ।
सुवृत्तं वेसरं प्रोक्तामन्ध्रं स्यात् तु षडश्रकम् ॥

(Mānasāra, XLIII, 124-125).

This is applied to cars and chariots. The rules referring to buildings proper are given in XVIII, 92-104. XXVI, 76; XXI, 72-73, etc. etc.; referring to sculpture proper, LII, 78, 100; LIII, 46-47, 53, 54, etc.

द्वारभेदमिदं प्रोक्तं जातिभेदं ततः शृणु ।
नागरं द्राविडं चैव वेसरं च त्रिधा मतम् ।
कण्ठादारभ्य वृत्तं यद्(तत्?) वेसरमिति स्मृतम् ॥

Like the Greoo-Roman orders on which the European styles of architecture are mainly based, the Nāgara, Vesara, and Drāvida also are but geographical names [1].

Drāvida is the well known country where the Tamil language is spoken, extending from Madras to Cape Comorin. This tract is roughly bounded by the Vindhya range on the north where the Madhya-deśa ends, Kerala or Malabar coast on the west, and Kalinga or Coromandal coast on the east. Thus it would imply the whole southern country.

Vesara seems to cover the country known as Kalinga, that is, the country along the Coromandal coast, north of Madras where the Drāvida country begins. It would include the whole of Orissan country and a large part of Bengal and Bihar also. Roughly it would imply the eastern country.

Nāgara is also a geographical name. It seems to imply the whole of Northern India from Bihar to Gujarat and from the Himālaya to the Vindhya.

The identification of Nāgara with Northern India needs, however, an explanation. It seems to have been never before used exclusively in that sense. Moreover it is the name of an extensive division in Mysore, a

---

ग्रीवमारभ्य चाछाश्रं विमानं द्राविडाख्यकम् ।
सर्वं वै चतुरश्रं यत् प्रासादं नागरं त्विदम् ॥

(Suprabhedāgama, XXXI, 37-39).

These also refer to buildings. For rules referring to sculpture, see the Kamikagama, LXV, 6-7. 12-18 ; and the Bṛhat Samhita, LVIII, 4 (Kern's edition.)

" An interesting record from Holal is the label cut out on the capital of a finely carved pillar in the Amṛteśvara temple. It is called in the inscription a Śukara pillar. Speaking of the sculptor who made it the record says that the Bammaja, the pupil of Padaja of Soge, was a Viśvakarman, *i.e.*, the architect of the gods in this Kali age, the master of the sixty-four arts and sciences, the clever builder of the sixty-four varieties of mansions and the architect who had invented (? discovered) the four types (styles) of buildings, *viz.* Nagara, Kalinga, Dravida, and Vesara."

(Progress report of the Assistant Archæological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Southern Circle, 1914-15, page 90).

In another inscription (Ep. oarnat, vol. VIII, part 1., Sorab Taluq Inscription No. 275, Roman text page 92, translation page 46, note 1) these styles are called " Drāvida, Bhūmija and Nāgara," of which Bhūmija which literally means 'grown up on the spot' may refer to the Vesara style with Kalinga and Andhra as its two branches.

These and many other quotations will be found in the writer's Dictionary of the Hindu Architecture under Nāgara.

1 The Doric is derived from the cities of Doria. The Ionic has reference to the Ionians, the inhabitants of Ion. The Corinthian is originated from the country about Corinth (Vitruvius IV, I). The Tuscan has reference to the country of Tusoany, formerly called Eutruria in Italy. The Composite is compound of Corinthian and Ionic,

part in Tanjore and a number of ancient villages in the Deccan [1]. But it is found used more frequently as the name of villages, towns, and rivers in Bengal, Bihar, United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, Rajputana, the Punjab, and Gujarat. [2] Nāgara is also the name of a portion of the Skāndapurāṇa, a sect of northern Brahmin and a script. The Skāndapurāṇa, which to some scholars seems to have been named after Skandagupta (455-480 A D.), the seventh emperor of the early Gupta dynasty, bears a part called Nāgara-khaṇḍa. In this part of the Skāndapurāna, it is claimed that the Nāgara Brāhmins are superior to all other Brāhmins.

It is held that they came over from the north and settled down in Gujarat at a place known as Nāgarānandanapura. From these Nāgara Brāhmins, it is said, came the use of the Nāgarī alphabets which belong exclusively to Northern India. As a matter of fact it is most famous as the name of a script particularly of Northern India extending from Bihar on the east to the Punjab and Gujarat on the west, and from the foot of the Himalayas on the north to the Vindhya range on the south. This is the very tract which seems to have been covered by the Nāgara style about the time of the Mānasāra.

The southern and eastern tracts represented by the Drāviḍa and the Vesara styles can also be associated with the Tamil and the Telugu including the Orissan scripts. If based on scripts and languages, these divisions, Nāgara, Drāviḍa and Vesara were existing apart from the architectural styles.

The expression Nāgara is not certainly coined in the Mānasāra. Nāgara is a common name for the town, and Nāgara is an adjective therefrom and implies something connected with a city. Madura of Southern India can be connected with Mathurā of Northern India. In the same way, the Nāgara-Khaṇḍa of Mysore, the part Nāgara of Tanjore and the village Nāgara of the Deccan can be accounted for. It is true that the borrowed names sometimes become more prominent than those of which they are but imitations. New York of America, for instance, is much more prominent than the old York of old England.

The styles are indicated by terms which have already been in use as class names. For the purposes of architectural generalisation the country is divided into three parts, Northern, Southern and Eastern, and they are called respectively the Nāgara, Drāviḍa and Vesara.

This geographical basis of the classification of the Indian architectural styles is partly corroborated by the modern Western scholars also.

1. See the writer's Dictionary of the Hindu Architecture under Nāgara.

2. J.A.S.B., 1896, Vol. LXV, part 1, pages 116-117, Basu's collection of references in this Journal and many other quotations will be found under Nāgara in our Dictionary.

"So far as yet known, we cannot point to any buildings......of very early date, or before the sixth or seventh century, if indeed quite so early". This is the statement made by authorities like Fergusson, Burgess, Smith and others. This may be referred to all parts and all styles of India. Cunningham has gathered together fragments of what he calls the Gupta style, of which, however, no single example in its entirety can be cited.

The Draviḍian "temples generally consist of a square base amounted externally by thin tall pilasters, and containing the cell in which the image is kept. In front of this may be added a maṇḍapam or hall, even two such, but they are not characteristic of the style. Over the shrine rises the Śikhara of pyramidal form, but always divided into storeys and crowned by a small dome, either circular or polygonal in shape. Another special feature of these temples is the Gopurams or great gateways, placed in front of them at the entrances to the surrounding courts, and often on all four sides. In general design they are like the vimānas or shrines, but about twice as wide as deep, and very frequently far more important than the temples themselves. Another feature is the cornices of double curve; in other Indian styles the cornices are mostly straight and sloping downwards. As the contemporary northern styles are characterized by the prevalence of vertical lines, the Draviḍian is marked by the prevalence of horizontal mouldings and shadows, and the towers and Gopurams are storeyed. Then the more important temples are surrounded by courts enclosing great corridors or prākāras, and pillared halls."

"The square rathas were evidently models of Buddhist Vihāras, and became the designs from which the temples proper or Vimānas of Southern India were for long copied; and further, the oblong rathas, like Arjuna's temple, appeared to have given the first form to the great gate-ways or Gopurams." [1] Pierced stone windows are found at Ellora and other places. Regarding the Cālukyan style, which covers the Hyderabad territory, the central Provinces, Berar, and the Marathi and a part of the Kanarese speaking Districts of the Bombay Presidency, it is stated that the earliest temples within this area, however, are not very clearly marked off from "the Draviḍian and the more northern style, some of them have distinctly northern spires, and others are closely altered to the southern style." For instance, "the old temple of Pāpanāth at Paṭṭadkar presents a curious combination of styles. The body of the temple is Draviḍian but the Śikhara is a curious approximation to the form of the early northern Hindu or Indo-Aryan order, while in details the temple shows a strong leaning to the Draviḍian." "Still in Mysore, Dharwar, and Belgaum district, as well as in Berar and Maharatha Districts, sufficient

1. Burgess, Imp. Gazetteer II, pages 171-172. Examples: temples at Madura, Rameśvaram, Tinnevelly, Śrīrangam, Kavelupmam; Paṭṭadakal (Virūpakṣa temple) Ellore (rock-cut Kailāsa temple).

remains exist to illustrate the various developments of the (Cālukyan) style. [1]".

"In the Cālukyan temples the corners are often made prominent by increments placed over them, or the whole plan is star-shaped, the projecting angles having equal adjacent faces lying in a circle as in the temple of Belur in Mysore (built about 1120 A.D.)". There are other examples where "the Śikhara did not preserve the southern storeyed form but was rather stepped, forming square pyramid with breaks corresponding to the angles in the wall, and with a broad band answering to the larger face in the middle of each exposed side of the shrine". "The pillars are markedly different from the earlier Dravidian forms; they are massive richly carved, often circular and highly polished. Their capitals are usually spread out while middle section of the shaft is richly carved with mouldings in the round. They are almost always in pairs of the same design". The richly carved and richly ornamented pierced windows belong specially to this (Cālukyan) style as we see at Ajanta and elsewhere, just like the pierced stone windows employed in Dravidian temples at Ellora and other places." "The buildings were erected without mortar, and the joints were carefully fitted. The whole was covered with sculpture, often of geometric and floral patterns, intermixed with numerous mythological figures; and in the later examples, the courses of the base were carved with the succession of animal patterns prescribed for them in the Śilpa Śāstras. This is very fully exemplified in the great temple of Hoysaleśvara at Habbad [2]".

These peculiarities of the Dravidian and the Cālukyan styles are taken from the existing temples. Most of these details are also found under the Drāvida style of the Mānasāra, which, however, does not recognise the Cālukyan style as a separate order.

The Northern or Indo-Aryan style of architecture covers the whole area once occupied by Aryans "usually designated as Hindusthan", to the north of the Tapati and Mahānadi rivers. "What is known as the Jain style of architecture in Western India is a development or variety of this Indo-Aryan order, and was used by Hindus and Jains alike all over Rājputanā, Mālwa, and Gujarāt. It was employed in its most ornate form by the Jains in their famous marble temples on Mount Abu, and by both Jains and Hindus at Nāgdā near Udaipur. At Girnār also and Śatruñjaya in Gujarat as well as Khajurāho in Bundelkhand are clusters of temples of this order [3]. "Under this style are classified monuments of very various orders and may be separated into two or more distinct types". The Vesara of the Mānasāra is apparently one of these.

1. Burgess, Imp. Gazetter II, page 175. 2. *Ibid.*, pages 176, 177.
3. *Ibid.* pages 178, 179.

"The shrines and maṇḍapas are square, and only slightly modified by additions to the walls of parallel projections, which in the earlier examples, were thin; the walls were raised on a moulded plinth (*pīṭha*) of some height, over which was a deep base (*adhiṣṭhāna*), the two together rising, roughly, to about half the height of the walls; over this is the paralleled face of the wall, usually of less proportionate height than the Cālukyan style, and though devoted to figured sculptures in compartments, the tall thin pilasters of the southern style have disappeared. Over this is the many-membered architrave, and cornice, above which rise the spire and roof. The spires follow the vertical lines of the wall, and present no trace of division into storeys, but vary in details with the age. In the earlier examples the summit was crowned by a large, fluted, circular block called *amala* (pure, shining) *Śilā*, probably mistaken for *Āmalaka* (Phylanthus Emblical). The finial over this is of the shape of a vase, known as the *Kalaśa* or *Karaka*." "One of the most striking features of the style is the richly carved domes over their maṇḍapas or porches. (Nothing can exceed the elaboration and delicacy of details in the sculptured vaults of the temples at Abu and Nāgdā). These, with the diversified arrangement of variously placed and highly ornamented pillars supporting them, produce a most pleasing impression of symmetry and beauty [1]".

"The earlier examples were apparently astylar, then, like the southern forms, with columns arranged in the maṇḍapas in groups of four, and later, especially in Western India, the larger domes or twelve pillars formed the central area of the halls. These maṇḍapas in early examples were roofed with long, sloping slabs; but, to provide for carved conical roofs inside, their outer forms represented courses of masonry, which were carved in temples of Kanarak, Bhuvaneśvara (older); Ambaranāth, Baroli, Khajurāho, Abu and Chitor (mediaeval); Nāsik, Benares, Udaipur, Śatruñjaya, etc., (recent.')[2].

The peculiarities of the Nāgara style, excepting one or two rather unessential points, would correspond to these details of "Northern or Indo-Aryan style". The *Amala* or *Āmalaka Śilā* is not mentioned in the Mānasāra under this appellation; but the *mūrdhni-iṣṭaka* (brick at the top) seems to serve the same purpose as the *Amala Śilā*. The kalaśa, dome, śikhā, and śikhara are the distinguishing features of the style found also in the Mānasāra in addition to the square shape.

"Temples at Bhuvaneśvara......differ very markedly from those in the west in being almost entirely astylar-pillars having been introduced in later additions. They have the early form of śikhara—nearly perpendicular below, but carving near the summit; and the crowning member has resemblance to anything like the small domes on Cālukyan spires."

1. Burgess, Imp. Gazetter II, pages 178, 179. 2. *Ibid*, pages 180, 181.

Burgess, following the classification of Fergusson, has included the style found at Pūri, Bhuvaneśvara and Kanarak under the Indo-Aryan or Northern style. But he has admitted that "it may be separated into a distinct order." What is called the Vesara in the Mānasāra seems to be identical with this style. The main characteristic feature of this style is, according to the Mānasāra, its round shape and this is clearly exhibited by temples and images in the Orissan countries.

MESSAGE FROM THE BARHUT VOTIVE LABELS.

BY

B. M. BARUA, M.A., (CAL.), D. LIT., (LOND.)

The Votive Labels on the railing of the Barhut Stūpa are made use of for acknowledging the gifts or donations received from different donors. The receipts are legibly incised precisely on those parts for which the contributions were made. With the exception of the coping its remaining component parts, including the gateways or ornamented arches, are actually mentioned in some of its acknowledgments, the gateways invariably, and the pillars and rail-bars occasionally. The following examples will make the point clear :—

(a) *As written on the lower pillar of E. Gateway* :—

" Within the dominion of the Śuṅgas the gateway has been caused to be made and the workmanship in stone produced by Vātsīputra Dhanabhūti son of 'Gotiputa Āgaraju' (and) grandson of king Gārgiputra' Viśvadeva."

(b) *As written on railing-pillars and rail-bars* :—

" The pillar-gift of the Noble Master Panthaka."
" The gift of Dharmagupta—a pillar."
" The rail-gift of Rṣirakṣita."
" The gift of Saṅghila—a rail-bar."

The very opening words of its acknowledgments on the gateway-pillars indicate its location, that it was situated within the dominion of the Śuṅgas, who came into power about the middle of the second century B.C., and held sway over Northern India with their capital at Pāṭaliputra or Patna. The name of King Dhanabhūti, the donor of its gateways has been mentioned along with those of his parents and grand-parents, which goes to show that the royal dynasty was in power for upwards of two generations. There is another acknowledgment on a rail-bar stating that it was a gift of Prince Vadhapāla or Vṛddhapāla, [1] the son of King Dhanabhūti. Just a generation after, Dhanabhūti's grandson, King Dhanabhūti II dedicated the gift of a Buddhist gateway at Mathurā, [2] which enables us to surmise that the seat of power of this royal dynasty was either in Mathurā or a country near about. As a matter of fact, King Dhanabhūti's dedicatory inscriptions on the gateway pillars abound in the use of the cerebral nasal in line of the dental, which was decidedly an influence of the Jaina Prākṛt then prevalent at Mathurā. You must have noticed that in these inscriptions the princes of this royal dynasty have

1. Barua and Sinha's Barhut Inscriptions, No. 103.
2. Cunningham's Stūpa of Barhut, p. 130.

been distinguished by certain metronymics, the son by the queen Gārgi and so forth, their mothers being called by some notable gotras or families of spiritual culture and social polity tracing their origin from the ancient Ṛṣis. The use of such metronymics as these only proves the prevalence of polygamy in Hindu Society, particularly among the kings and princes [1].

There is no reason to doubt that our railing and the gateways owed their existence and reached their completion under the fostering care of Buddhist monks and nuns of the local Saṅghārāma, the traces of which could be found among the ruins of the Stūpa [2]. The early existence of this monastery is evident from one of the votive inscriptions recording the gift of a nun of the local monastic abode:

Āvāsikāya bhikhuniyā dānam.

Buddhist teachers of this monastery must have been persons well-known, honoured and trusted throughout the country. We can presume that it is mainly by the influence of this holy body of trustees that several gifts in the shape of donations and materials flowed in from the four quarters, from the monks and nuns, all of whom were Buddhists, the Buddhist laity consisting of both men and women, princes and artisans, other persons, as well as collective bodies of wealthy citizens and Buddhist *dāyakas*. Among the various localities of the donors, those which were most important and can now be identified, include Pāṭaliputra (Patna) in the extreme north-east, Kauśāmbi (Kośam) on the Yamunā in the extreme north, Vidiśā (Besnagar or Bhilsa) and the port of Śrīputra in the extreme west, and probably Pāṇḍya in the extreme south. Purikā, Bhogavardhana and Nāsika were evidently three important cities of the Āndhra rulers of the Deccan to the south of the Vindhyas. It is under the patronage of the Āndhra Kings that Buddhist Saṅghārāmas at Nasik and Sāñci, belonging to two or more Buddhist sects, were maintained. There are also places, such as Bhojakaṭa, Asitamasā and the rest, which may be said to have been included in the region to the north of the Vindhyas. Seeing that no place of the North-Western region is mentioned, one must imagine that this region was under the sway of some rival power, unfriendly towards the Buddhist cause. We may perhaps understand that the political supremacy was at the time contested by these three rival powers, *viz.*, the Śuṅgas of the north, the Āndhras of the south, and the Bactrian Greeks or Scythian hordes of the north-west. From the given list of places you can form an idea of the wide extension of Buddhism in India. Buddhism was no longer a local movement of the central region in the north but spread far and wide, reaching as far as the western coast in Bombay, and reached, after crossing the Vindhyas, and crossing the Godāvari, as far south as Pāṇḍya. One cannot expect such a state of things as this before the reign of Aśoka. In reality one

1. Bühler quoted in Barua Sinha, No. 1. 2. Barua Sinha, No. 83.

must ascribe this wider propagation of the religion to the missionary organisation of the Buddhist emperor and the liberal state-support given by him to the movement.

By this time you must have followed the trend of the tale of our railing far enough to be able to realise that its construction with all its ornamental designs was after all a most costly affair. The Buddhist chronicles of Ceylon will tell you that King Aśoka had to call upon all his subjects including the subordinate potentates to raise money for the erection of 84,000 Buddhist edifices, while the Buddhist legends of India go to show that, in spite of all voluntary or compulsory contributions, the king had to exhaust his imperial treasury for the purpose. Our railing itself bears an inscription recording the amount required for the simple purchase of Prince Jeta's garden near Srāvasti, ultimately converted into a Buddhist monastery. It says that the Buddhist banker Anāthapiṇḍika had to pay to the owner of the park crores of gold coins in cash. We read in the Kathāvathu (I. 2), a Buddhist compilation of Aśokan time, that a man who had ready money to the extent of four lakhs was eligible for the status of a Banker. We read in literature that fifty-four lakhs of gold pieces had to be spent in erecting the Jetavana monastery and celebrating a great feast lasting for nine months. Even leaving a fair margin for exaggerations, the fact stands out that the construction of a Buddhist edifice such as the Bārhut Stūpa with its railing and gateways was not an easy affair within the reach of one generation, of one or two men, however rich. Now the question arises—by what method or methods the donations were collected The Votive Labels afford instances where the Buddhist *dāyakas* of Purikā collectively offered a donation. It cannot be supposed that all of them happened to visit Barhut at the same time. There must be some local agent or some one sent from Barhut to raise subscriptions. The same holds true of another case where we find that the citizens of a town made a gift 1. In this latter case one cannot suppose that all the donors were Buddhists. There is a third instance where we find two ladies of the same family and a gentleman, certainly related to them, made three gifts, consecutively recorded 2. All of them hailed from Pāṭaliputra. From the manner of description it is clear that the ladies came to the place on pilgrimage under the escort of the man. The rows of recesses for lights at the base of the Stūpa bear evidence of an elaborate arrangement for illumination. We must, indeed, presume that fairs, festivals, illuminations and their religious demonstrations helped the monks to attract annually

1. Barua Sinha, No. 119 : *Karahakaṭa-nigamasa dānam.*

2. Barua Sinha, Nos. 9, 50, 52 :
Paṭaliputā Nāgasenāya Koḍiyāniyā dānam.
Pāṭaliputā Koḍiyāniyā Śakaṭadevaya dānam.
Pāṭaliputā Mahidasenasa danam.

a large number of pilgrims and to heighten the importance of the place [1]. But is it not strange that the monks and nuns, who are supposed not to touch money, are included among the donors? If they had no savings of their own, how could they make these contributions? It is difficult to surmise anything positively on this point, though the traditions of the time make it clear that much controversy was then going on in Buddhist churches about the legality of handling and hoarding money by the members of the Buddhist religious order [2].

Our railing has evidence to show that by the second or first century B.C., the history of Buddhism had far outgrown the two earlier stages, namely, that represented by the career of the Master, and that by the career of the Apostles. That is to say, it reached the third stage marked by development of the churches. Not only that. It is in a position to say that the Saṅghārāmas of the different Buddhist churches, like the Christian monasteries in Europe during the Middle Ages, became centres of religious education and polite learning. So far as India is concerned, these educational institutions were liberally supported by the people, irrespective of castes and creeds, the creation of stūpas, railings and gateways served only to create an artistic atmosphere.

Please note the personnel of each church or Saṅghārāma. It consisted, as appears from the list of its donors, monks, nuns, and *dāyakas*. Note that the *dāyakas* are no mere *upāsakas* and *upāsikās*, that is, mere admirers and occasional supporters of the new movement. Mark that some of them have adopted or retained Buddhist names, *e.g.*, Stūpadāsa, Bodhi, Bodhigupta, Buddharakṣita, Dharmarakṣita, Dharmagupta, Saṅgharakṣita, Saṅghamitra, and the like. See that such prefixes as Bhadanta—Gentle Sir, Ārya—Noble Master, and Bhadanta Ārya—Gentle and Noble Master have been freely used to denote church dignitaries: Observe that the nuns are simply referred to as "Bhikkhunis' or "Bhichunis," which is not the case in all of the labels elsewhere. It is for you to guess if they were not accorded an inferior position in the particular church connected with Barhut tradition. Some or most of the names of monks and nuns go to show that on being ordained they were given Buddhistic names replacing those given by their parents. This was in practice a departure from the older tradition where Buddha's followers retained their quondam names, such as Rāhula, Ānanda, Śāriputra and Vaṅgeśa, though in theory it was a more logical carrying out of the Master's wish to organise an ideal order ignoring the previous social names and ranks, bonds and ties. It was at the same time, an adaptation to the old Brahmanist conception of a second birth having at its back a natural analogy from bird-life. Now the distinctive epithets

1. Cunningham's Stūpa of Barhut, p. 5.
2. Notably the Buddhist account of the Second Council convened at Vaiśālī.

have a peculiar message of their own. The fact that the laities are distinguished as *dāyakas* is a clear evidence that they were kept outside the pale of the Buddhist Saṅgha, while according to Buddha's own idea, a Bhikṣu or a householder who has mastered certain stages of sanctification to be called Āryas was *ipso facto* a constituent of the Saṅgha, and not simply one formally ordained. Among the Bhikṣus there are some bearing the epithets Navakarmika, a church functionary whose business it was to supervise the construction of new Buddhist edifices or monuments. There were among the laities employed as church-functionaries in a monastery, such as Bhaṭṭodeśaka, whose business it was to distribute food. There were among the monks *Bhāṇakas* or Reciters who rehearsed, got by heart and orally handed down the traditions of the Buddhists. The schools of such *Bhāṇakas*, as appears from Buddhaghoṣa's account, arose soon after Buddha's demise. The institution of these bodies of Reciters survived till the time of the construction of our railing, which means that the Buddhist texts were not till then committed to writing. There were also among the monks Peṭakis who knew the Piṭaka by heart, as well as Sautrāntikas, well versed in the Sūtras. Even among the laities there were persons who bore the epithet Pañcanaikāyika, the Master in the Five Nikāyas. The term Piṭaka wherefrom Peṭakī was derived is suggestive of double metaphor of a basket for carrying earth from head to head, that is, from teacher to teacher and of a pit or box where the whole thing is deposited or closed. The biological expression Nikāya as applied to literature denotes a distinct division or body having an independent identity. These epithets are a clear evidence of the fact that a Buddhist Canon with its division into Piṭakas and five Nikāyas was well-known in the second or the first century B.C. Seeing that Nikāya is not used in this sense by any other Buddhist sect than Sthaviravāda, one need not be surprised that the Barhut donor using the epithet connected with it belonged to this sect. How could it be that even the laities were repositaries of textual traditions? The best explanation is that they were persons who reverted to household life from the monastaries retaining their knowledge of the texts, as well as their monastic names.

The facts supplied by our railing are not adequate to give you an idea of the social condition of the Buddhist laity. It is difficult to say if there was at the time any Indian Buddhist community or caste, within which interdining and intermarriage were confined, though there were beginnings of such social processes, particularly where the whole tribe or the whole population of place professed the religion. Along with these social processes there was a national process of identification of men's existence with a place, and So and So the Selapuraka, the man of Śailapura, So and So the Therākuṭiya—the man of Sthavirakūṭa, and so forth. The personal names of the donors clearly show that *deva*

datta, gupta, mitra, rakṣita, pālita are not used yet as surnames. These are parts of so many compounds. It is very curious that the Barhut set of names are conspicuous by their absence among the members of the modern Brahmin caste. It is still more curious that in Bengal the Hindu castes where *deva, rakṣita, pālita* and the like are current as surnames have a much lower social status at the present day. Is it not a pity that even behind these names and surnames one gets the scent of sectarian narrowness? Stūpadāsa is the single name where we trace the later Vaiṣṇavite spirit. Most of the names, other than those connected with religion or religious personages and orders, are yet of astrological import, Revatimitra, Bharaṇideva, Puṣya, Śravaṇā, and the like. Here Revati, Bharaṇi, Puṣya and the rest are names of important constellations of stars.



AN INDIAN MUSEUM STATUETTE.

IDENTIFICATION OF AN INDIAN MUSEUM STATUETTE.

BY

MR. B. BHATTACHARYA, M.A., BARODA.

The object of this paper is to offer an identification of an unidentified Buddhist image now preserved in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. The image under discussion is of medium height and represents a goddess in Dharmacakra Mudrā. She sits in the Lalitāsana, and from under her two armpits rise a lotus (*padma*) in the right and a blue lotus (*Utpala*) in the left. She is accompanied by two goddesses sitting on two double conventional lotuses. Under the lotus-seat there are also two figures representing no doubt two more goddesses, as they also sit on lotuses. On the aureole surrounding the head are carved miniature figures of the five Dhyānī Buddhas with Amoghasiddhi in the centre, right above the head of the principal deity. The lowermost Dhyānī Buddha in the right is Vairocana with the Dharmacakra Mudrā; the next is Ratnasambhava showing the Varada Mudrā; the third is Amoghasiddhi with the Abhaya Mudrā: the fourth is Akṣobhya with the Bhūmisparśa Mudrā and the fifth and the last is Amitābha in Samādhi Mudrā. The whole piece of stone is an admirable piece of sculpture; it is profusely but at the same time delicately ornamented. The figures all have a bold and clear outline. The symbols are definite and even the minutest details have been admirably shown. The principal figure has a serene and peaceful appearance and is pervaded with a divine dignity. The fingers of the goddess are plump and fleshy and even in the phalangses all marks and modulations are clearly perceived. The slender beauty of form, the delicate expression and finally the superb dignity of the goddess make it one of the most wonderful treasures of the Indian Museum. Never have I seen a better production of Oriental art and I think it will compare favourably with the sculpture of the celebrated Prajañāpāramitā of Java.

When I first saw the figure I took it to be an emanation of either Amoghasiddhi or of the combination of the five Dhyānī Buddhas but I could not discover the Dhyāna that explains the whole image including the principal figure and her companions. But from the image of Amoghasiddhi, and the two companions on either of her sides I however tentatively identified the principal figure as Khadiravaṇī Tārā, who is an emanation of Amoghasiddhi, and the two companions on two sides were identified as Marīcī in the right and Ekajaṭā in the left. This in fact is the identification which has already been offered by me in my

recent publication on Indian Buddhist Iconography [1]. Therein I confessed that my suggestion was admittedly nothing but a probable conjecture. As I could not explain the Dharmacakra Mudrā in Khadiravaṇī there remained some misgivings in my mind as to the proper identification of the image.

Later on while I was collating my press copy of the Sādhanamālā [2] with palm leaf MSS of the same work now deposited in the Cambridge University Library, I luckily came across a new Sādhana which explained not only the central figure along with his two companions but also explained the two minature figures under the lotus-seat. This MS bears a date in Newari Era which corresponds to A.D. 1165. The image also bears an inscription in the characters of the 12th century and so the image and the explanation may safely be taken to be contemporary. The Sādhana in questien is here given for the first time :—

Mahāśrītāriṇyai namaḥ.

Ādau tāvat mantrī svabhayaśuddhetyādinā mantreṇa adhisṭhāya śūnyatām vibhāyya tadanantaram śubhrāṅkārodbhūtam candramaṇḍalam tadupari harita-tām kārabījasambhūtām Mahāśrītārām candrāsanāthām śyāmavarṇām dvibhujām hastadvayena Vyākhyānamudrādhārām ekavaktrām sarvālaṅkārabhūṣitām pārśvadvayenotpaladvayaśobhām suvarṇasihmāsanopari āpāśrayādiśobhām nānāpuṣpavṛkṣāśokacampakanāgeśvarapārijātakādivirājitām Amoghasiddhimukuṭinīm. Mahāśrītārāyāḥ pārśve Ekajaṭām ardhaparyaṅkopaviṣṭām nīlavarṇām kartrīkapāladharām sakrodhām lambodarām piṅgalajaṭāvibhūṣitām vyāghracarmāmbaradharām, Dakṣiṇe pārśve Aśokakāntām pītavarṇām ratnamukuṭinīm vajrāśokadharām. Punarvāme Ārya-Jāṅgulīm śyāmavarṇām sarpavaradahastām, dakṣiṇe Mahāmayūrīm pītām mayūrapicchavaradahastām. Bhāvanāvasānasamaye utpalamudrām bandhayet. Tato alātacakrākārām paśyan mantram japet, 'Om Tāre tuttāre ture dhanam dade svāhā.'

Rājalīlā (lalita) sthitā devī
Mahāśrīḥ karuṇānvitā.
Iti Mahāśrītāriṇyāḥ sādhanam samāptam.

Cambridge MS (No. ADD 1686) Fol. 81-*b*-82-*b*.

In conformity with this Sādhana, the principal figure Mahāśrī Tārā, is represented as one-faced and two-armed exhibiting the Dharmacakra Mudrā and two Utpalas on either sides. She bears the image of

1 *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, 106-7. Seeing the Dharmacakra Mudra I suggested also that she may conceivably represent Prajñāpāramita. All these suggestions are now proved to be definitely wrong.

2. The *Sādhanamālā* is in course of publication in the Gaekwad Oriental Series. The first volume is expected to be issued in July 1925. The second volume is now being printed.

Amoghasiddhi over her head right on the top thereby showing herself an emanation of the Dhyānī Buddha Amoghasiddhi. To her left is the fierce figure of Ekajaṭā, sitting in the Ardhaparyaṅka attitude, and carrying the Kartrī and the Kapāla in her two hands. In accordance with the Sādhana she has blue complexion, protruding belly, garments of tiger-skin, and bears a wrathful demeanour. Similarly, there is Aśokakāntā Mārīcī to her right, who is yellow in colour, has a bejewelled head-dress and carries the Vajra and Aśoka flower in her right and left hands respectively. The Sādhana also prescribes that Mahāśrī Tārā should be accompanied by Ārya-Jāṅgulī, green in colour, showing the snake, and the Varada Mudrā in her two hands; similarly in the left there should be Mahāmāyūrī, yellow in colour, and showing the peacock's tail and the Varada Mudrā. These two deities are represented in the present image under the lotus-seat. There is, however, some discrepancy about the symbols prescribed in the Sādhana in the cases of Jāṅgulī and Mahāmāyūrī in this image.

The Mantra of this deity is *Om Tārā tuttāre dhanam dade svāhā.* 1 In the Mantra, the Namaskāra and in the colophon of the Sādhana she is recognised as Tārā. But the pure forms of Tārā seem to be those to whom the Mantra *Om Tāre tuttāre ture svāhā* only is ascribed.

The Indian Museum image is the only image of this deity so far discovered, and this Sādhana is the only Sādhana which explains the figure. The manner in which the image corresponds with the Sādhana makes us confident as to the certainty of the identification.

In this connection it may be pointed out that at least in Buddhist branch of Indian Iconography it is extremely hazardous to offer an identification if the principal image deviates even a little from the Sādhana, and wherever there is any discrepancy of this kind we can never be certain as to the correctness of the identification.

---

1 It appears from the Mantra that Mahāśrī Tārā was worshipped for wealth. The most powerful Buddhist God of wealth is however Jambhola. His counterpart Vasudhārā has also the power to confer wealth on her devotees.

DIONYSUS IN MEGASTHENES: WHO WAS HE?

BY

MR. KSHETREŚACHANDARA CHAṬṬOPĀDHYĀYA, M.A.,

ALLAHABAD.

Megasthenes has, as is well known to Indologists, mentioned that Dionysus and Herakles received worship in India in his time. Mr. Mc Crindle [1] believed that by 'Herakles', Megasthenes meant the god Śiva. But all other scholars have understood Kṛṣṇa (identified with Viṣṇu) to be this 'Herakles' and this view probably admits of no doubt. But who was Dionysus? Professor Schwanbeck [2] identified him with Śiva and all subsequent scholars [3] have followed him in this identification. But an attempt will be made here to show that the identification though universally accepted is based on an original misconception.

Professor Schwanbeck says [4], "Śiva they were led to identify with Bacchus on their observing the unbridled license and somewhat Bacchic fashion of his worship, and because they traced some slight resemblances between the attributes of the two deities, and between the names belonging to the mythic conception of each." Now, what reason had Professor Schwanbeck for believing that there was unbridled license in the Śaiva cult and somewhat Bacchic character in the worship of Śiva? No Indian (unless he be a bigoted Vaiṣṇava) would admit that there is any license in the Śaiva cult. Such a charge—rightly or wrongly matters little for our purpose—can be levelled against Śāktas [5] (and possibly against some Vaiṣṇava sects) but never against Śaivas as such. We have *as yet* no data for assuming that the Tāntric worship of Śakti was prevalent in India in the fourth century B.C. There is in Megasthenes's description of the Indian Dionysus not a single indication suggesting the god Śiva. We must therefore look out for some other god.

Now, we learn from the fragments of Megasthenes that Dionysus taught the Indians the preparing of wine after he had invaded and

1. Ancient India, as described by Megasthenes and Arrian, Bombay 1877, p. 39.

2. Megasthenes Indica; fragmenta collegit, commentit et indices addidit. Bonn 1846, p. 43. My informations are derived from Rajanikānta Guha's Bengali Translation (from the original Greek and Latin) and the English rendering of McCrindle.

3. E.g. Bābu Rajanikānta Guha in his Bengali Translation and Macdonell in his History of Sanskrit Literature.

4. McCrindle, p. 111-112.

5. This statement is not due to sectarian prejudice for I am myself a Śākta.

conquered the Indians. We read in the first fragment of Professor Schwanbeck, " They relate that in the most primitive times, when the people of the country were still living in villages, Dionysus made his appearance coming from the regions lying to the west, and at the head of a considerable army. He overran the whole of India, as there was no great city capable of resisting his arms. The heat, however, having become oppressive, and the soldiers of Dionysus being afflicted with a pestilence, the leader, who was remarkable for his sagacity, carried his troops away from the plains up to the hills. There the army, recruited by the cool breezes and the waters that flowed fresh from the fountains, recovered from sickness. The place among the mountains where Dionysus restored his troops to health was called Mōros, from which circumstance, no doubt, the Greeks have transmitted to posterity the legend concerning the god, that Dionysus was bred in *his father's thigh* (Mēros). Having after this turned his attention to the artificial propagation of useful plants, he communicated the secret to the Indians, and taught them the way to make wine, as well as other arts conducive to human well-being. He was, besides, the founder of large cities, which he formed by removing the villages to convenient sites, while he also showed the people how to worship the deity, and introduced laws and Courts of justice. Having thus achieved altogether many great and noble works, he was regarded as a deity and gained immortal honours.' (Diodorus II, 38 [1]—McCrindle pp. 36—38). There is no god in the Hindu pantheon who is thus brought into immediate connection with the art of brewing. But if we assume that by the worship of Dionysus, the Soma-cult—the ordinary Vedic sacrificial cult—is meant matters become intelligible. The intoxication of Soma-juice can certainly lead a Greek to believe that Dionysus must be at the root of this worship. We further read in Diodorus III, 63 (Schwanbeck's Fragment I B, Mc.Crindle p. 36) " Now some, as I have already said, supposing that there were three individuals of this name, who lived in different ages, assign to each appropriate achievement. They say, then, that the most ancient of them was Indos, and that as the country, with its genial temperature, produced spontaneously the vine-tree in great abundance, he was the first who crushed grapes and discovered the use of the properties of wine." The name 'Indos' can be taken to mean 'Indian.' But would not इन्दुः suit better? The Soma was called इन्दु in the ancient language of the Vedas (c.f. R. V. I, 2-4. इन्दवो वामुशन्ति हि, R. V. IX, 112-1, इन्द्रायेन्दो परि स्रव &c.). Consequently we ought to understand the Soma-cult by the worship of Dionysus, Megasthenes mentions.

---

1. Compare also Fragments I B. and XLVI of Schwanbeck.

The words of Megasthenes seem to suggest that the Indians were divided between Dionysians and Heraklides. The description of Herakles, leaves no room for doubting that the worship of KrṣṇaVāsudeva as an incarnation of Viṣṇu is meant. Schwanbeck therefore assumes that the other cult is Śaivaism: two cults are mentioned, one is Vaiṣṇavism, the other must be its antagonistic creed Śaivaism. But we cannot proceed on purely *a-priori* grounds. I have already said that there is no Śaiva indication in the description of Dionysus. It is possible for us to believe that Vaiṣṇavism originally stood as a rival *against the Vedic creed* and not against Śaivaism. My own study of the Ṛgveda has led me to this very conclusion. I shall give my reasons elsewhere [1] and here possibility of the assumption is all that will serve my purpose.

Now, how to explain the conquest of India by Dionysus according to the Soma-cult theory? Not everything said (or reported to have been said) by Megasthenes can admit of explanation. But this conquest of India can be explained by me. I believe that we have here some vague tradition about the conquest of India by the—Soma-pressing Vedic Āryans. Consequently the Dionysus of Megasthenes may well stand for the leader of the Āryans of Soma-cult or Soma *totem*, who conquered India in Ṛgvedic days. Megasthenes says that Dionysus came to India from the west.[2] Of this, three explanations may be given, (1) that instead of an Indian tradition we have here a natural Greek assumption—Megasthenes would naturally assume that Dionysus came from Greece: (2) that we have here an Indian tradition of the earliest Āryan entrance into the Punjab from the west or north-west; or (3) that we have an Indian tradition of migration of the *post-Ṛgvedic* Āryans to the east of the Sarasvtī region—i.e., to India proper [3]. Which of these explanations is to be preferred, I cannot decide for the present.

It has been said about this Dionysus [4] "that after reigning over the whole of India for two and fifty years he died of old age, while his sons, succeeding to the government, transmitted the sceptre in unbroken succession to their posterity. At last after many generations had come and gone, the sovereignty, it is said, was dissolved, and democratic governments were set up in the cities." These words seem to suggest that the later kings of India (at least in one line) were mostly descended from Dionysus. Now, according to the Purāṇas most of the North Indian royal families belonged to the Aila race [5]. These Ailas are derived from

1. In a paper on the meaning and importance of the Vṛṣākapi hymn that I have in hand.

2. Fragment I, Mc Crindle, p. 36.

3. Which may have been already occupied by the 'Mānavas' of Pargiter (Ancient Indian Historical Traditions, pp. 288—289).

4. Fragment I, Mc Crindle, p. 38.

5. See Map facing p. 294 in Pargiter's Ancient Indian Historical Traditions.

the Moon. But this seems to be due to a confusion of the original meaning of the words सोम and इन्दु; by the time of the Purāṇas these words had come to mean the Moon; consequently instead of saying that these families were descended from the Soma (plant) the writers of the Purāṇas said that they were descended from the Moon (चन्द्र). A confusion probably gave rise to the name "Lunar Race" and the other important race is called "Solar" simply, I believe, by way of contrast. Zimmer's view, [2] that the Five Tribes of the Ṛgveda are the Yadus, Anus, Druhyus, Turvaśas and Pūrus, is generally accepted and seems very likely. These Yadus, Anus, Druhyus, Turvaśas and Pūrus are according to the Purāṇas the five original branches of the "Lunar" Race. We can therefore have little hesitation in assuming that the "Lunar" Race is the race of the Soma-worshipping Vedic Āryans.

According to the Purāṇas, the Five Tribes are thus descended:—

Candra
|
Budha m. Ilā daughter of Manu
|
Purūravas
|
Āyu
|
Nahuṣa
|
Yayāti
|
Yadu | Turvaśa | Druhyu | Anu | Pūru

For Candra we may now substitute Soma. The genealogy begins from Candra = Soma. The best explanation for this would be that we have in Candra or Soma, the first of the race, the first Āryan coloniser of India. I have already identified Megasthenes's Dionysus with Soma. We can thus find some agreement between Megasthenes's statements and actual traditions in the Purāṇas. In Arrians' Indika (Ch. VIII), which is largely based on Megasthenes, we read, "But when he was leaving India, after having established the new order of things, he appointed, it is said, SPATEMBAS, one of his companions and the most conversant with Bakkhic matter, to be the king of the country. When SPATEMBAS died, his son BOUDYAS succeeded to the sovereignty, the father reigning over the Indians fifty-two years, and the son twenty; the son of the latter, whose name was KRADEUAS, duly inherited the kingdom......" [3]. The name of Boudyas at once suggests that of Budha in the Purāṇic lists. It may be objected here that Arrian makes Boudyas the son of a companion of

1. It would be natural here to assume that the ancient Āryans had the Soma as their *totem*. But if such a view cannot be accepted, we may substitute for "descended from the Soma," "descended from Soma-worshipping ancestors" simply,

2. Altindisches Leben, pp. 122-123.

3. McCrindle, p. 200.

Dionysus, whereas the Purāṇas make Budha the son of Candra (=Soma) himself. But we have seen that in Professor Schwanbeck's first fragment, quoted above, Megasthenes himself said that Dionysus reigned in India for 52 years (and died in this very land). Making an एकवाक्यता of Arrian's words with those of Megásthenes, we can confidently assume that Boudyas was the son of Dionysus himself. Spatembas, then, we have to identify with Dionysus. With what Indian name 'Spatembas' can be equated is difficult to decide. श्वेत must be the Sanskrit equivalent for the first part of the word. If a guess may be hazarded for the whole word, I can suggest *with some diffidence*, *श्वेताम्बु, a word which though found in no Purāṇic list would make at least a good adjective for the Soma-juice. 'Kradeuas' cannot be brought into connection with 'Purūravas' without setting at nought all principles of Etymology. I therefore refrain from suggesting any Purāṇic correspondent for it.

In support of the proposed equation, Boudyas son of Dionysus= Budha of the Soma-cult (or *totem*), I shall, now cite some Vedic evidence. In the Tāṇḍyamahābrāhmaṇa (XXIV-18), we find mention of one Budha Saumāyana, *Sthapati* of the Daiva Vrātyas. Sāyaṇa renders *Sthapati* by *yajamāna* but that is a guess based on the fact that Budha Saumāyana is there described as performing a sacrifice (the Sattra of 61 Nights). The guess is however not a happy one for all the Daiva Vrātyas are described as performing the sacrifice "with Budha the *Sthapati*." "*Sthapati*" can mean, according to the Etymology of the word and the present context, 'Chief', 'King', a meaning which is known to lexicographers and can be illustrated from extant literature. The Daiva Vrātyas are described as sacrificing to the *devas* (the gods); therefore they are not gods themselves but may be at the utmost semidivine beings. In Tāṇḍyamahābrāhmana, XVII, 1-1, "देवा वै स्वर्गं लोकमायंस्तेषां दैवा अहीयन्त व्रात्यां प्रवसन्तस्त आगच्छन् यतो देवाः स्वर्गं लोकमायन् &c.", दैवाः necessarily means 'connected with gods', 'demigods' or as Sāyaṇa explains 'देवानामनुचराः, अत एव देवसम्बन्धाद्दैवा जनाः'. "व्रात्यां प्रवसन्तः" means according to Sāyaṇa व्रात्यताम् आचारहीनतां प्राप्य प्रवसन्तः प्रवासं कुर्वन्तः' But I derive the word व्रात्य, with European scholars [1] from व्रात meaning 'troop,' 'horde' [2] and I take it to mean 'persons going in hordes' a nomadic band. The Vrātyas, or more precisely the Hīna Vrātyas, mentioned in T.M.B, XVII-1, I consider to be recent [3] Āryan emigrants

1. MacDonell and Keith, Vedic Index, Vol. II, p. 344, note 12.

2. Sāyaṇa is aware of this derivation for he renders व्रात्यानाम् in T.M.B. XXIV. 18.1 by सङ्घात्मकानां वस्त्रादीनाम्.

3. In the Brāhmaṇa period.

into India not following the Vedic creed and the Vedic way of life [1]. The earlier pre-Ṛgvedic Āryan conquerers of India may easily have been called Daiva (semidivine) Vrātyas—this investing of the ancestors with a divine character is just what we would expect among these people.

Let me now quote in full the passage in the Tāṇḍyamahābrāhmaṇa that refers to Budha Saumāvana:—

अतिरात्रश्चतुर्विंशं प्रायणीयमहस्त्रयोऽभिप्लवाः षडहाः पृष्ठ्यः षडहोऽभिजित् त्रयः स्वरसामानो दिवाकीर्त्यमहस्त्रयः स्वरसामानो विश्वजित् पृष्ठ्यः षडहस्त्रयस्त्रिंशारम्भण एकोऽभिप्लवः षडह आयुश्च गौश्च द्वे अहनी द्वादशाहस्य दशाहानि महाव्रतश्चातिरात्रश्च तदेतदेकषष्टिरात्रं दैवानां व्रात्यानाम् ॥ १ ॥ दैवा वै व्रात्याः सत्रमासत बुधेन स्थपतिना ते ह वा अनिर्य्याच्य वरुणं राजानं देवयजनं दिदीक्षुः तान् ह वरुणो राजाऽनुव्याजहारान्तरेमि वो यज्ञियाद्भागधेयान्न देवयानं पन्थानं प्रज्ञास्यथेति तस्मात्तेभ्यो न हविर्गृह्णन्ति न ग्रहम् ॥ २ ॥ अथ ह वै तर्हि नौषधीषु पय आसीत, नक्षीरे सर्पिः, न मांसे मेदो, न त्वचि लोमानि, न वनस्पतिषु पलाशानि ; तद्यत एकषष्टिरात्रं दैवा व्रात्या उपायंस्ततो वै तानि तान्येतैर्वीर्य्यैः समसृज्यन्त तेजस्वन्त्येवासन् पयस्वन्ति ॥ ३ ॥ तदेष श्लोकोऽभ्यनूच्यत ॥ ४ ॥ "किमकर्त्तेति यत्पुत्रान् मुहुर्दैवाँ अपृच्छत । मही बुधस्यासीद्दीक्षा स क्षीरे सर्पिराहरत्" ॥ ५ ॥ "महीं दीक्षां सौमायनो बुधो यदुदयच्छत् (०च्छत ?) अनन्दत्सर्वमाप्रोन्मन्मांसे मेदो अधा इति" ॥ ६ ॥ "दरिद्रा आसन् पशवः कृशा स्सन्तो व्यस्थकाः । सौमायनस्य दीक्षायां समसृज्यन्त मेदसा" इति ॥ ७ ॥ तद्य एकषष्टिरात्रमुपेयुस्ते देवयजनमध्यवसाय गार्हपत्य आहुतिं जुहुयुः 'देव वरुण देवयजनं नो देहि स्वाहेति' ते दत्ते देवयजनेन यजन्ते ॥ ८ ॥ ते सर्वामृद्धिमाध्नुवन् सर्वामृद्धिमृध्नुवन्ति य एतदुपयन्ति ॥ ९ ॥" T.M.B. XXIV 18-1-9.

We do not find here any mention of Soma as the father of Budha. Sāyaṇa explains सौमायनः in ६ as सोमपुत्रः but the meaning that the formation of the word would suggest is simply 'descendant of Soma' (सोमस्य गोत्रापत्यम्). Instead of Soma, we get here Varuṇa as the father of Budha but *also of the other Daiva Vrātyas*; c.f. ५—the subject of अपृच्छत in ५ must be Varuṇa, the subject of अनुव्याजहार in २; the context precludes any other supposition. This god Varuṇa is not Soma

1. See Calcutta Review for May 1924, pp. 288—291. Professor Keith has objected that the Vedic texts do not suggest the Vrātyas to be emigrants. But I believe they do. I shall write again about the Vrātyas and I shall then discuss all the Vedic texts on the point and show their bearing.

the exhilarating juice, but may have been identical with the Moon [1]. We thus find in the Brāhmaṇa passage Budha brought into connection with both the Soma of the Sacrifice and with Moon (the father of Budha according to the Purāṇas). The Daiva Vrātyas to whom Pṛthu Vainya puts several questions in the Jaiminīya Samhitopaniṣad Brāhmaṇa may be the same people as the Daiva Vrātyas of the Tāṇḍyamahābrāhmaṇa, *viz.*, the first Āryan colonisers of India.

It is evident now that the identification I have proposed for Magesthenes's Dionysus is supported by Purāṇic traditions and to a certain extent by Vedic traditions too. But I must not be understood to mean that the Indian traditions about the first Āryan migrations were always the same or that Megasthenes correctly understood the tradition current in his time. In the light of what I have tried to establish above, the following quotations from Megasthenes acquire a new meaning:—

(1) Pliny Historia Naturalis, VI-XXI, 4-5. "From the days of Father Bacchus to Alexander the Great their kings are reckoned at 154, whose reigns extend over 6451 years and three months.") Mc. Crindle, p. 115).

(2) Solinus 525, "From him (Father Bacchus) to Alexander the great 6451 years are reckoned with 3 months additional, the calculation being made by counting the kings who reigned in the intermediate period to the number of 153." (Mc Crindle, p. 115).

Compare also—

(3) Arrian's Indika IX "From the time of Dionysus to Sandrakottas the Indians counted 153 kings and a period of 6042 years, but among these a republic was thrice established. * * * another to 300 years, and another to 120 years." (Mc Crindle, p. 203).

The two Roman versions, particularly the one of Solinus, are certainly less reliable than the words of Arrian who based his history on the most trustworthy accounts of the contemporaries of Alexander. The period of over six thousand years that is said to have elapsed between Dionysus

---

1. See MacDonell's Vedic Mythology, pp. 25, 28 and 29 and Oldenberg's Die Religion des Veda, 3, 4 Aufl. p. 189.

The first fragment of Megasthenes (Diodorus II 38), quoted above, connects Dionysus with *Meros* and for this we have an exact parallel in the Bhaviṣya Purāṇa (Veṅkateśvar edition) I ch. 2, vv. 40—43: "इन्द्रेण प्रेषितो भूमौ चन्द्रमा रोहिणीपतिः । प्रयागनगरे रम्ये भूमिराज्यमचीकरत् । विष्णुभक्तश्चन्द्रमाश्च शिवपूजनतत्परः । मायादेवीप्रसन्नार्थे शतं यज्ञमचीकरत् । अष्टादशसहस्राणि राज्यं कृत्वा दिवं गतः । तस्य पुत्रो बुधो नाम मेरुदेवस्य वै सुतः । इलामुद्वाह्य धर्मेण तस्माज्जातः पुरूरवाः ॥, where Candra's son Budha is called '*son of God Meru*'.

and Candragupta must have known not simply the reigns of 153 kings but several periods of republican government [1]. We may then believe, that *according to traditions current in India in Megasthenes's days*, the first Āryan entrance into India occurred a little over six thousand years before the invasion of Alexander. I have said 'according to traditions current at the time' and I must not be taken to suggest that the first Āryan migrations into India *really* took place about 7000 B. C. I do not believe that we have any data at the present day for accepting such an early date for the first incoming of the Āryans. I have simply recorded the tradition as I have understood it, which has value, if for nothing else, for showing at least the transition to the vast figures of more recent times.

---

1. Compare the statement in Diodorus II 38, "At last, after many generations had come and gone, the sovereignty, it is said, was dissolved, and democratic governments were set up in the cities." (Mc Crindle, p. 38) which is certainly a genuine fragment from Megasthenes's Indika.

SOME SOUTH INDIAN GOLD COINS.

BY

MR. R. SRINIVASARAGHAVA IYENGAR.

A treasure consisting of six gold coins was discovered by certain men while ploughing the site of the abandoned Fort in the village of Mēḍur in the Guḍivāḍa Taluk of the Kistna District, on the 19th October, 1922.

It may be sorted as follows :—

(1) Coin with the legend [Rā] ya gaja Kēśa	...	1
(2) Coins with the legend Dēśapaṭa	...	4
(3) Coin with the legend [E] rava palla [va] rā [ju] la	...	1

Another find was discovered in a field in the village of Prabalavēḍu, Badvel taluk, Cuddapah district on or about 30th November, 1916.

It contained the following :—

(1) Coin with the legend [Rā] ya gajakesa [ri]	...	1
(2) Coin with the legend Dēśapaṭa	...	1
(3) Coins with the legend Dānavamurāri Bāṇṭara	...	2

The coins Nos. 1 and 2 of the first find are identical with those of 1 and 2 of the second find.

All these coins may therefore be taken as four kinds as follows :—

(1)	Coins with the legend	"Rāya gaja kēśa"	...	2
(2)	Do.	"Deśapaṭa"	...	5
(3)	Do.	"Erava pallava rājula"	...	1
(4)	Do.	"Dānavamurāri Banṭara"	...	2

They are described as follows :—

No. 1. *Coins with the legend "[Rā] ya gaja Keśa."*

They are more or less circular. Diameter ·6 of an inch. Weight 53·75 grains. They are slightly cupshaped owing to the punch marks on them. Legend Rāya gaja and kēśa in Telugu—Kannada script are found at the top and bottom of the vertical diameter. The two auspicious symbols "Śrī" are punched at the extremities of the horizontal diameter. A boar is found in the centre. In the interspaces between the four punch marks around the boar are found four lotuses or Padmas. The reverse is blank.

The legend [Rā] ya gaja Kēśa stands for Rāya gaja kesari, *i.e.*, a lion to the elephant kings. This title is not traceable from the Epigraphical records that are known till now, but it is learnt from Vāsiṣtha Rāmāyaṇa a Telugu translation of the famous Sanskrit Jñāna Vāsiṣṭham by Maḍiki Singana, that Kūnaya Mūppa Bhūpati of Rāmagiri, had this title. Kūnaya Mūppa was a king of Rāmagiri, but nothing is known of this king in the Epigraphical records that have been published till now.

No. 2. *Coins with the legend " Dēśapaṭa."*

Diameter varies from '62 to '75 of an inch. Weight 53'5 grs. They are all circular. Some are thin and longer while others are thicker and smaller. All have the figure of a boar punched in the centre. Two Śrīs are found at the ends of the horizontal diameter. Two Padmas or lotuses are found at the ends of vertical diameter. In the spaces between these punch marks are found the following legends shown below. The legends are all in Telugu-Kannada script.

Coin No. 1.—Four legends—Dēśapaṭa, [Era] va, Rā [ju] la, and portion of some letters.

Coin No. 2.—Three legends, Erava, [Rāju] la, [ ] Sa.

Coin No. 3.—Four legends, Deśapaṭa, Deśapaṭa [Raju] la, [ ] Sa.

Coin No. 4.—Three legends, Deśapaṭa, [Era] va, [ ] Sa.

Coin No. 5.—Four legends, Deśapaṭa, [Era]va, [Rāju] la, [ ] Sa.

" Eruva Dēśapaṭa" appears in almost all these coins. It should be the title of the king who issued these coins. " Eruva Deśapaṭa" should be " Eruva Diśāpaṭṭā" which means the scatterer in several directions of the Eruvarāja's army. We know of one* Malli Deva of the Eruva dynasty who was defeated and[1] killed by Ambadēva Mahārāja. It is also learnt that this Ambadēva Mahārāja had the title of " Erūva [2] Malli Deva Talagoṇḍa gaṇḍa." It may therefore be taken that these coins were issued by Ambadēva Mahārāja. He belonged to the Kāyasthā [3] family and was a feudatory of the Kākatīyas. He defeated several Telugu Chiefs and overthrew Śrīpati Gaṇapati. Having increased in power and influence he usurped the Kākatīya throne in the interval between the reigns of Rudrāmbā and Pratāpa Rudra Deva. As he was a feudatory of the Kākātīyas, it is but natural he had adopted the boar symbol of his master.

Though we are not able to say exactly the period of Ambadēva's rule, it is possible to say that [4] he ruled between Śaka 1194 and 1213 (*i.e.*) between A. D. 1272 and 1291. The coins may therefore be attributed to that period, *viz.*, 13th Century A. D.

No. 3. Coin with the legend. Eruva Palla [va] Rā [ju] la.

Diameter varies from '9 to' 95 of an inch. Weight 53'75 grs. It is circular and bears eight punch marks. It has the figure of the boar in the centre. Two " Śrī " and padmas are found at the extremities of the horizontal and vertical diameters respectively. Around the border and in the inter-spaces between these punch marks are found the legends in "[Telugu-Kannada script] E ruva Palla [va] Ra [ju] la. The reverse is blank.

1. Inscription Nos. 168 & 173 of 1905, Madras Epigraphy Report.
2. Inscription No. 173 of 1905, Madras Epigraphy Report.
3. Madras Epigraphy Report for 1912, pages 76 and 77.
4. Inscription Nos. 168 and 173 of 1905, Madras Epigraphy Report.

The legend may be taken to stand for Eruva Pallava Rājula. The term Eruva is mentioned as the name of a district in an inscription [1] which records the repairs made to a temple by Ambadēva Mahārāja who was ruling at Vallūripaṭṭaṇa.

Eruvanāḍu[2] was another name of Kōcerla Kōṭa and it was known as a Sīma in which the Mahārājya of Koṇḍavīḍu was situated. Kōcerla Kōṭa[3] was situated in Pālnāḍ. Kōcerla Kōṭa exists even now and is a village in the Dārsi taluk of the Nellore District. Eruvanāḍu might have comprised that part of the country now known as the northern portion of the Nellore and a portion of the Guntur districts. The chiefs who were ruling there might have been called Eruvas. From inscriptions already published we know the existence of only three chiefs who belonged to the Eruva dynasty.

(1) The first was Malli [4] Deva who was defeated and killed by Ambadeva the subordinate chief of the Kākatīya King.

(2) The second was Eruva [5] Manumili Deva who styled himself the Lord of Orayur, the Cola capital. He is stated to belong to the family of Karikāla and did not recognise the authority of Rudramma.

(3) The third was Eruva [6] Toṇḍaya Rāja as may be seen from the inscriptions in the temple at Drākṣārāma where the queen of this Rājā gave a lamp to the temple in the Calūkya Vikrama year 46, in the reign of the Western Cālukyan king, Tribhuvana Malla Deva (Vikramāditya VI).

No other chief appears to have existed. Apparently the coin in question gives a new name, as may be evident from the legend Eruva Pallava Rajula. A chief by name Pallava Rāja should have lived. This coin is therefore very important inasmuch as it adds a new name to the dynasty of Eruva chiefs.

No. 4. Coins with the legend "Dānava Murāri Baṇṭara."

Weight of 1 coin is 52¼ grs. and the other is 52½ grs. The coins are nearly circular and resemble the Varāhas of the Vijayanagara dynasty and the Gajapati pagodas. They are thick and are made of gold 18 carats fine and have impressions on both sides.

Observe. Legend. Dānava / Murāri / Baṇṭara } in Telugu-Kannada Script.

Reverse—Kneeling Garuḍa.

1. Inscription No. 406 of 1911, Madras Epigraphy Report.
2. Copper plate inscription No. 10 of Nellore inscriptions by Butterworth and Venugopala Chetty. page 70.
3. Inscription No. 173 of 1913, Madras Epigraphy Report and No. 541-A. of Kurnool in the list of inscriptions.
4. Inscription Nos. 168 and 173 of 1905, Madras Epigraphy Report.
5. Inscription No. 190 of 1905, Madras Epigraphy Report.
6. Inscription No. 159 of 1905, Madras Epigraphy Report.

Elliot Smith has figured a similar coin No. 87 in plate III in his Coins of South India and attributed it to the Second Prince of the Kālouris of Kalyāṇ. J. R. Henderson attributed this coin to Irungōla Deva, who was ruling in Nīḍu, the modern Niḍugal in the Pāvagāḍa taluk of the Mysore province, as the title of Dānava Murāri [1] was assumed by him. He was a Cola chief ruling in that part of the North-east of Mysore province comprising Niḍugal and its neighbouring parts. He was a subordinate of the Western Cāḷukyan kings. He assisted the general of Sevuṇa king Rāma Deva and fought the battle of Belavāḍi. He and his successors bore the title of the Lords of Orayūr and added the title of Cōla Mahārāja to their names. This Irungōḷa was not so powerful as his grandson who extented his territory far and wide by conquest. It is not likely that he would have had a chieftain under him who had as much status as to issue co'ns in his own name. The coins would not have been issued either by Irungola Deva or his subordinates.

In inscription[2] No. 7 of the Ātmakūr taluk in the district of Nellore it is recorded that on a particular day in Śaka 1168, Śrīmān Mahāmaṇḍalōśvara Allu Tirukkālatti Deva Mahārāja while ruling in the city of Kāñcī consecrated Dānava Murāri Permāṇḍi Deva at Śrī Ātukūr (Ātmakūr) for the religious merit of his father-in-law and for the increase of his own health and prosperity and made gifts for the conduct of worship and other things in the temple as long as the sun and moon existed. There was also an arrangement with one Rāmā Reḍḍi that he should pay 150 māḍās every year.

This Tirukkālaṭṭi Deva was a very powerful chief and a feudatory of the Cōla king Kulōttuṅga III. He has issued several grants. The Cōla kingdom was very weak at that time and was invaded by King Sōmēśvara of Karnāṭa, Pallava king Koperunjiṅga Deva and by the Pāṇḍyan king Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya Deva. This Tirkkālatti Deva defended the country and drove all the enemies away. He therefore got the title of Cōlasthāpanācārya (Establisher of the Cola kingdom). He was also a great patron of letters and patronised learned men. In the early part of his reign he killed one Pṛthvīśa, a Telugu Cola of Velanāṇḍu. He has been much praised by the Telugu scholar Tikkaṇa in his Nirvacana Uttara Rāmāyaṇa. He was also named Madhurāntaka Pottapi Cōḷa or Gaṇḍa Gōpāla.[3] Though his name indicates that he might be a Śaivite in religion, he was in fact a devotee of Viṣṇu. In an inscription[4] found in the Arulālanatha Perumal temple at Conjīvaram it is stated that he would consider that man who

1. Inscription No. 837 of Hiriyūr in Epigraphia Carnatica.
2. Nellore Inscriptions by Butterworth and Venugopal Chetty, page 206.
3. Inscription No. 212 of Nellore District. List of inscriptions.
4. Āndhrulacaritramu by Vīrabhadra Rao, page 64.

worships with devotion the feet of Viṣṇu as his father, mother, ācārya and everything. Being a great devotee of Arulalanātha Perumāl he calls himself at the end of some records [1] "*Sri Arulalanātha padalāñchanasya*" (the servant who bears the stamp of the feet of the blessed Arulalanātha), in place of his usual signature Rāja gaṇḍa Gopāla Deva. It is, therefore, clear that he was a devotee of Viṣṇu. From the fact that he constructed a special big temple for Dānava Murāri Perumāṇḍi Deva it is clear that Dānava Murāri was his favourite God. It is likely that he might have called himself as Dānava Murāri Dāsa or Baṇṭara as it is the custom among Śrī Vaiṣṇavas to name themselves as the servant or Dāsa of their favourite deity.

It is also known that this Tirukkāḷātti Deva surnamed Gaṇḍa Gopāla issued two kinds of gold coins known by the name of *māḍai* and *pudumāḍai*. Mention is made of Gaṇḍa Gōpālanmāḍai and Gaṇḍa Gopālan Pudumāḍai.[2] These coins should have been very popular in that part of the country now comprising the districts of Chingleput, Nellore &c. This is evident from the gifts made for lamps to the Viṣṇu temple at Tirunīrmalai near Pallāvaram which have been recorded to have been given in terms of Gaṇḍa Gopālan Māḍai and Gaṇḍa Gopālan Pudumāḍai. A king who had issued coins in one form should have had a fitting opportunity to revise his coinage. It is very likely that this Tirukkāḷātti Deva or Gaṇḍa Gopāla would have thought of changing the dye of his coinage after the consecration ceremony of the temple constructed for Dānava Murāri Perumāṇḍi Deva. Most probably the coins in question may be the Gaṇḍa Gopālan Pudumāḍai.

A māḍai is half a *varāha* in weight and the weight of these coins is more or less the weight of a *varāha*. These may be said to be double māḍai.

This Tirukkāḷātti Deva was also named [3] Yādavarāya. Being a Vaiṣṇava in religion perhaps he had this name also. The Yādava king had the figure of Garuḍa on their banner. It is quite consistent for Tirukkāḷātti Deva who had named himself as Yādavarāya to have a kneeling Garuḍa on the reverse of his coin.

In the circumstances it is not right to attribute these coins either to the Kālcuris of Kalyāṇ or to Irungōla Deva. It may therefore be safely said that these coins might have been issued by Allu Tirukkāḷātti Deva after Śaka 1168 (A.D. 1246) the year in which the consecration of the temple of Dānavamurāri Perumāṇḍi Deva took place.

---

1. Inscription Nos. 556, 607 and 609 of 1919, Madras Epigraphy Report.

2. Inscription No. 933, 934 of Chingleput in the list of inscriptions or 560 and 561 of 1912, Madras Epigraphy Report.

3. Inscription No. 16 of 1897, Madras Epigraphy Report.

THE EARLIEST MONUMENTS OF THE PĀṆḌYA COUNTRY AND THEIR INSCRIPTIONS.

BY

Mr. K. V. SUBRAHMANYA AYYAR, B.A., M.R.A.S.

Discoveries of note are not of daily occurrence. Nor is the importance of such cognizable at first sight. In the field of research, where one has almost literally to grope in darkness feeling every step he takes, one cannot hit at the true worth of the finds before bestowing sufficient time, labour and thought, which they necessarily demand, not only of one, but of many heads. The mountain caverns known as Pañcapāṇḍavamalai, containing stone couches and Brāhmī inscriptions, which form the earliest of the monuments that have been brought to light by the Archæological Department in the extreme south of India, may be said, in a way, to be noteworthy discoveries. Some of these are located in almost inaccessible heights of mountain slopes, others are found in out of the way places least frequented by the men of the neighbourhood, and still others are situated far in the interior of woods, resorted to by wild animals and reptiles. As such, they escaped the notice of men for years past. But when a stray one of the class—situated in a rather easily accessible place—had been discovered for the first time, its nature thoroughly studied, and its importance duly recognised, a vigorous attempt was made by men interested in unfolding the mystery of the past, to trace out others of its kind, for it was found indispensable to have more of such finds to come to a definite understanding regarding their origin and use. As a result of this endeavour, we have to-day quite a good number of them with inscriptions incised in clear Brāhmī characters of the pre-Christian age. These monuments, in spite of their large number, have successfully baffled the attempts of scholars at knowing the secrets encased in their inscriptions—the letters of which could, with a few exceptions, be read correctly, while the inscriptions as a whole could not be made out satisfactorily. The object of this paper is, to furnish a short description of these earliest monuments in the first place, and then to read and interpret the epigraphs, ascertaining the values of certain odd symbols employed in them and the language used and in so doing to suggest their character and early use.

In the year 1906 Mr. D. T. Chadwick, I.C.S., Settlement Officer of Tinnevelly, reported the discovery of a cavern with Brāhmī inscriptions by Mr. L. A. Cammiade at Marugāltalai, ten miles from the District Head-quarters. This was examined by the late Mr. Veṅkayya and myself, and

the Brāhmī inscription engraved on the brow of the boulder was copied. The cave is formed by two huge boulders, one overhanging the other on which it rests. Seven beds are cut on the bottom rock. In the month of August of the same year, I discovered 5 caverns with Brāhmī inscriptions, one on the Ānaimalai hill near Madura, and four in the range of hills known as Kaḷugumalai, lying between Māṅguḷam and Arittapaṭṭi. The Ānaimalai cave is almost inaccessible, being not far from the very summit. It is naturally so formed as to afford shelter from rain and sun. In the interior of this cavern there are three double beds and one single bed, the last being somewhat in a lower level. Four more beds were also found covered with earth. Outside the cavern, exposed to sun and rain are eight beds. All of them are chiselled smooth and provided with raised portions on one side meant to serve as pillows for the persons lying on them. Above the entrance into the cave is a well-preserved inscription in Brāhmī characters engraved just below a small cutting meant to prevent the rain-water from trickling into the cave. A little off from the cave is a fine perennial spring of water, one of the necessary accompaniments of all caverns. Of the four caverns discovered in the Kaḷugumalai hill, three contain smoothly chiselled beds cut on the bottom rocks. In some, the beds are quite numerous and run in different directions. All the four bear Brāhmī inscriptions. I may note here the remarks made by the late Mr. Veṅkayya regarding these inscriptions as they will have a bearing on what we may have to say in the sequel. He writes "If the inscriptions and the beds are synchronous, we have in them the earliest lithic records of the Tamil country and the most ancient lithic monuments of the Tamil race. The inscriptions are also important as they may throw valuable light on the origin and development of the Tamil and Vaṭṭeḻuttu alphabets. The fact that the language employed in them is Pāli may be taken to show that it was understood in the Pāṇḍya country even at that early period."

On the analogy of similar monuments found elsewere, Mr. Veṅkayya believed these monuments to be Buddhist.

The next year brought to light two more monuments in the Madura district—one at Varicciyūr by Mr. Vibert and the other at Mōṭṭuppaṭṭi, also called Siddharmalai by Mr. Veṅkayya—and one at Vīraśikhāmaṇi in the Tinnevelly district, by Mr. Cammiade.

The cavern at Vīraśikhāmaṇi contains a row of five damaged beds in north-south direction, four others lying east-west and one in front of the second group, north-south. One of the beds contains 64 small squares cut on it, perhaps for playing the game, called in Ceylon Arasadi Keliya, described on page 624 of Parker's Ceylon. Outside the cave and in front of it are a number of holes bored into the rock, meant probably for the insertion of wooden pillars, necessary for putting up temporary structures

to keep off sun and rain. There are no Brāhmī inscriptions in this cave. The Variccivūr cave is the biggest known so far. It is formed by the projection of two sides of a huge rock and is spacious enough to shelter quite a large number of persons under it. On the bottom rock are cut numerous beds. The overhanging boulder contains a damaged Brāhmī inscription on its brow just below the *katarah*. The situation of the Mōṭṭuppaṭṭi cavern is most picturesque. It is on the top of a hill lying close to the bank of the Vaigai river which here winds its course to the Pūraṇai dam. The beds in this cavern are five. Though they are not so well preserved as those found in other caverns, they are of great importance in that they contain Brāhmī inscriptions engraved on the pillow portions of the beds themselves establishing beyond doubt the synchronism of the beds and the formation of the cave.

In 1908, I found again three more caverns in the Madura district, two at Tirupparangunṛam and one at Aḻagarmalai, and my colleague Mr. Veṅkoba Rao discovered one at Kunnakkuḍi in the same district. The cavern in the Tirupparangunṛam hill is situated at an inconvenient height up the steep side on the western slope of the hill behind the railway station and village *cāvaḍi*, and is reached by crude foot-holds cut into the rock. Within the cavern are found six beds. A cutting of the rock on the pillow side of the beds contains a clearly incised inscription in Brāhmī characters. This cavern can afford shelter to a large number of people from wind and rain. As at Ānaimalai, Kaḻugumalai and Variccivūr, the brow of the hill is cut to a small depth to prevent the rain water from gliding into the cavern and in front of the vault are bored some holes evidently meant for fixing poles and rails. Not far off is a spring of cool water, as in the case of Ānaimalai, already noticed and of Aḻagarmalai to be noted shortly. The northern side of the hill has a small cave with two beds and no inscriptions. At the foot of the Aḻagarmalai range, 12 miles from Madura, near the village of Kiḍārippaṭṭi is a big cavern very difficult of approach, but having in it a good number of beds of varying sizes and provided with a clear rock-spring of ice-cold water. It has a spacious front of 50 yards and more in breadth on which are made holes and a drain to carry off the rain water falling from the drip-ledge. A single line inscription in Brāhmī is found on the floor and another on the brow of the hill. The Kunnakkuḍi cavern is reported to contain a Brāhmī record and some beds. The existence of a rock-cut well in it is a peculiarity. This water source takes the place of the natural springs of other caverns.

It was by accident that the Ammaṇāmalai cave was discovered. Having obtained information from private sources that there was a fine natural cavern with beds at Kongarpuḷiyanguḷam, a village 12 miles from Madura on the Uśilampaṭṭi road, I set out one afternoon to examine if it contained Brāhmī inscriptions like the others of

its kind. As it was raining badly the unwilling cartman, sympathising more with his suffering horse than with an antiquarian's eagerness, stopped at a place nearly two miles from Kongarpuḷiyanguḷam and made me believe that it was the village I wished to see. A close examination of the hill, strangely enough brought to light a cavern with beds and no inscriptions. Further search resulted in the discovery of an excellent ancient Jaina hermitage with huge Jaina images and well preserved Vaṭṭeḷuttu inscriptions, registering the names of the Jaina preceptors and disciples who presided over the hermitage in the 8th century A.D., and who are stated to have come from the village of Kuraṇḍi, which I have recently identified with a place of that name in the Travancore State. Kongarpuḷiyanguḷam itself was visited by Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri during the next year's field season and its caverns examined. He found in one of them some Brāhmī inscriptions and a few beds. On the ground floor of three others, six sets of beds were cut, most of them being without pillow lofts. The number of beds in all in these caverns amounts to as many as 33. Mr. Krishna Sastri discovered another cavern at Muttuppaṭṭi with no less than 30 beds, a Brāhmī inscription on a bed and two others on the sheltering rock. A detached boulder in the same locality contains a bed and Brāhmī inscriptions. If we add to the above mentioned monuments one discovered by me at Āykkuḍi near Courtallam, with beds and no Brāhmī inscriptions: and three others of which one at Karungālakkuḍi was reported by the Collector of Madura ; another at Śittaṇṇavāśal in the Pudukkottai State brought to light by the late Mr. S. Rādhākrishna Ayyar ; and still another at Uṇḍānkal which I recently found in the Nāgamalai range near Śōlavandān, all of them containing the usual beds and Brāhmī inscriptions, the list of the earliest monuments would have been brought up to date. Long before the existence of these caverns was known, one was found at Kiḷavaḷavu in the Melur Taluk by Mr. Veṅkoba Rao, but this had not been noticed anywhere. It is not unlikely that more still remain to be found out.

Though caves had been resorted to by Brahmin ascetics, Buddhist monks and Jain priests alike in ancient times and the literature of the country affords little information respecting (1) the origin of caves like the ones we have been enumerating, (2) their first occupants, (3) the length of time they were held by them, (4) the date of their abandonment and (5) the reasons which led to their being brought to the condition in which we see them to-day, there are strong circumstantial evidences to show that they were the abodes of Buddhist monks to the exclusion of the other sects and these will be pointed out in what follows.

These monuments are popularly known as Pañcapāṇḍavamalai, a name which strongly reminds us of the Pāṇḍava-pabbata at whose foot the Buddha after his renunciation took his first meal which he had obtained

by begging; and this fact suggests that these caves might have been the favourite resorts of Bauddha *bhikṣus* who probably had their meals in them, as the name Uṇḍānkal "the rock of one who took meals" applied to one of them indicates, and should have been called Pāṇḍavamalai after the name of the monument where the Great One, whom they followed in every way, first resided. In this connection, it is also worthy of note that some of these hills are termed Kalugumalai, a Tamil rendering of the Sanskrit Gṛdhrakūṭa, the hill occupied by the Buddha during his ascetic life. That this practice of naming monasteries after those of the Great One was in vogue in Ceylon may be gathered from the Jētavanārāma, given to one of the monasteries of Anūrādhāpura, evidently after the one built for the Buddha by the rich merchant Anādapiṇḍika at Śrāvasti and in which the Buddha passed several years of his life.

The general formation of these caverns, namely one or more boulders overhanging another, a flat one, on which they rest at one extremity, in the cutting of the projecting rock to a certain depth in order to prevent the rain-water from trickling into the cavern, in the existence on the bottom boulder (1) of smoothly chiselled beds with a slightly raised portion for the head just sufficient for a man to lie down, (2) of the groove immediately in the outer fringe of the cave quite below the *katarah* for carrying off the dripling of the rain-water to a distance (3) of big holes cut on the open yard, intended perhaps for fixing poles or railings and (4) of a number of smaller holes for other works of protection,—in all these details the caverns of the Pandya country resemble each other and agree in the main with the numerous monuments found in Ceylon which are assuredly Buddhistic. As regards the situation of all of them, it may be said that Mr. Griffith's excellent note that seclusion from the world and the active business of life was obviously the first essential of the saintly life of Buddhism as of all ascetic forms of religion, and that the originators of the caves seem to have been influenced not only in the choice of the site, but also by a keen appreciation of natural beauty and that all the caves were superbly placed with an obvious selection of a noble outlook and perfect seclusion from the world,—is well applicable. That during the time of the Chinese pilgrim Fa Hian, caves were resorted to in India by Buddhist monks is evident from his statement that "Three *li* before you reach the top of Mount Gṛdhrakūṭa, there is a cavern in the rocks facing the south in which Buddha sat in meditation; thirty paces to the north-west there is another where Ānanda was sitting in meditation when the Deva, Mārapiśuna, having assumed the form of a vulture took his place in front of the cavern and frightened the disciple; going on still to the west they found the cavern called Śritapara, the place where after the *Nirvāṇa* of Buddha, 500 arhats collected the Sūtras" (Ajanta Paintings by Mr. Griffiths, introduction). The Buddhist priests of later years than the time of the great founder appear to have followed the same

practice and the hands of the devotees (*upāsakas*) developed the rude natural caves into habitable dwellings befitting their residents. Whether they were primarily designed as a provision for the annual retreat initiated by the Buddha when it was ordained that the monks were to keep *Vassa* and refrain from peregrination during the rains or were intended to give a cool resort during the hot season, cannot now be easily determined. Besides being water-tight, convenient for human habitation and far above any possible accident from the rains and floods of the monsoon, to this day they are agreeably cool even in the hottest weather. The doubt raised in the first part of the passage quoted here, whether the caverns were designed for the annual retreat or were intended to give a cool resort can be cleared from the reply which Mahinda gave to Tissa when the latter requested the saint to halt in the beautiful garden adjoining his capital on a certain night. The statement of the Tera given in the Mahāvaṁśa (see Wijesinha's translation page 54), shows that the Buddhist monks were prohibited by the rules of their order from staying even in the nearest proximity of cities or villages : in a way it also accounts for the necessity for the caverns.

The characters employed in the inscriptions of these caves with the single exception of the Śittannavāśal epigraph indicates that they must be ascribed to the third century B.C. We shall note hear what evidences we have to prove that in that remote past Buddhist apostles introduced the Bauddha religion in this particular locality where we find these monuments. This was the time of rule of the great Buddhist emperor Aśoka, whose missionaries had gone so far south as Mysore and the Nizam's dominions where they were instrumental in incising the edicts brought to light at Siddhapura, Brahmagiri and Maski. It is not improbable that their influence extended further south into the Tamil country, which was well known during those days, and is found mentioned in the great emperor's edicts. This was also the time when Ceylon was subjected to the rule of Tissa and this king is credited with having introduced Buddhism into Ceylon. On account of his piety, he appears to have been known by the name of Dēvānāmpiya Tissa, just as his contemporary Aśoka was known in the north. At the request of Tissa, his maternal uncle, Mahā-Ariṭṭa, one of the greatest statesmen of the day, as the Mahāvaṁśa puts it, went on a mission to the court of the Maurya emperor for fetching a branch of the Bodhi tree and Māhinda and Sanghamittā, both of which objects he successfully performed in the 18th year of the reign of Aśoka. As Tissa had previously promised to allow Ariṭṭa to become a Buddhist monk, the latter assumed the yellow robes soon after his return from Pāṭaliputra. If Aśoka and Tissa stand forth prominently as the royal propagators of Gautama's creed, Māhinda and Ariṭṭa were the chief priests with whose aid they seem to have effected much to spread the faith in the extreme south of the peninsula. The hills dedicated to Māhinda and Ariṭṭa in Ceylon bear ample testimony

to the exalted position held by the two saints. Sūra-Tissa (247-237 B.C.), one of the brothers of Dēvānampiya Tissa, is said to have built superb vihāras at many places of which the one called Laṅkā-Vihāra was at the foot of the Ariṭṭa mountains. Besides the missionary work done in Ceylon, the two saints are expressly stated to have gone abroad to make fresh converts. We may with advantage quote the passage under reference. It runs thus:—

"The five principal *Teras* who had accompanied Māhinda from Jambūdīpa as well as those of whom Ariṭṭa was the principal, and in like manner the thousands of sanctified priests, all natives of Laṅkā, and inclusive of Sanghamitta, the twelve *Teris* who came from Jambūdīpa and the many thousands of pious priestesses all natives of Laṅkā, all these profoundly learned and infinitely wise personages having spread abroad the light of the Vinaya and other branches of the faith, in due course of nature, at subsequent periods, submitted to the lot of mortality."

There is nothing to doubt the truth of the statement here quoted. The first country that the missionaries from Ceylon could have visited is the Pāṇḍya territory with which they were well acquainted ever since the time of Vijaya.

Now to the inscriptions. In spite of the large number of Brāhmī inscriptions thus brought to light, their contents remain a sealed book and scholars to whom copies of the records were sent have not furnished any solution as yet. Rao Bahadur Krishna Sastri even thought it worth drawing public attention to these mystic records by giving plates of them in his Annual Report for 1912. He hoped that scholars interested in the subject might lend the benefit of their studies and render help in arriving at the right explanation and significance of these epigraphs. Having waited for years, he wrote in 1918:—

"The Brāhmi cave inscriptions of South India which were brought to the notice of scholars about 10 years ago and which were also submitted to some for critical study, still remain uninterpreted. I published a facsimile plate of a large number of them in my Reports for 1912 and 1915. Scholars engaged in the study of South Indian history of the first centuries of the Christian era and earlier have not paid to these ancient records the attention they deserve. In order to stimulate fresh inquiry in this connection, I induced Mr. Chanda to take up these Brāhmi documents of South India for study and make at attempt however slight it may be, to interpret them. Careful readings directly from stone and from estampages were prepared on the spot of almost all such records as had been collected by the department. A facsimile plate of those that had not been published is appended hereto." Supplementing the plates he gave his readings of these epigraphs in a paper contributed to the first Oriental Conference which he concluded with the request that these inscriptions might be taken up for earnest study and interpretation. Besides, quite

recently, he also desired me to study these epigraphs. I base my interpretation mostly on the three plates given by Mr. Krishna Sastri, and I must say that his preliminary study had been useful in drawing my attention directly to the source of difficulties to be overcome.

The first question to settle in these inscriptions is to determine the language in which they are written. The very script in which these are found incised may be said to be a powerful misguiding factor suggesting strongly, as they do, that the language employed must be Pāli or Sanskrit with which it is inseparably associated in our minds. Added to this, the assignment of a wrong value to one of the symbols which occurs very frequently in these epigraphs and the difficulty of ascertaining the significance of certain other symbols which are peculiar to these, in some degree went far to confirm the above suggestion and to lead us astray As will be shown presently, there is some slight spade work to be done of which the foremost is a careful examination of the alphabet.

The script of these inscriptions resembles, in many respects, the character of the Ceylon cave records of the same period on the one hand, and the Bhaṭṭiprōlu alphabet on the other. Judging from the general appearance of the letters of the latter, Dr. Bühler has made the shrewd remark that they are only a few decades later than the Aśokan edicts, that they are much more closely allied to the epigraphs of the third century B.C. than to those of the second and that they cannot be placed later than B.C. 200 but may even be a little older. From their study he came to the conclusion that during the third century B.C. several well marked varieties of the Southern Maurya alphabet must have existed with a perfectly-worked-out-system which in some respects, is radically different from, and which may be reasonably supposed to be coeval with, that of the Aśokan edicts. This, he thought, could not have sprung up in a short time, but must have had a long history. This conclusion of his, seems to receive strong support from the epigraphs of the Pāṇḍya country.

The formation of some of the letters deserves to be noted as they present some special features. The first point to observe in this direction is the use of the five symbols [illegible] which do not occur in the Aśokan and about which more will be said in the sequel. Though other letters resemble the Aśokan, the shaping of *ya* in some of the epigraphs is somewhat peculiar. While in the Aśokan, the middle arm of the letter is much longer than the side arms and forms something like a double hook turned upwards, we have in the southern epigraphs clearly formed double tubes, the middle arm being shortened and in some cases, equal to those of the sides.

The case of *ma* is still more striking. It differs markedly both from the Aśokan and the Bhaṭṭiprōlu types, and consists of a broad tube opening upwards with a horizontal (cross) bar inserted almost in the

middle of the tube. This formation of the letter leaves on one the impression that it must be the original form from which the Bhaṭṭiprōlu and Aśokan *ma's* were developed, and that these inscriptions of the Pāṇḍya country might be much older. Though, such a view would be quite legitimate, I am rather inclined to think that the southerns had retained the original form, while it changed almost into a semi-circle with two short strokes in the Mauryan and the Bhaṭṭiprōlu types, the difference in the two latter being that one is topsy-turvy to the other. Judging from the Bhaṭṭiprōlu form of this letter, Dr. Bühler was inclined to the belief that the southern *ma* should have originally consisted of a circle or semi-circle with two strokes below and that the Mauryan form must have been obtained by turning it upside down. A careful comparison of the three forms would rather indicate that the earliest form should have been a tube with a cross bar in the middle as seen in the Pañcapāṇḍavamalai epigraphs and the developments of this are the ones found in the Mauryan and the Bhaṭṭiprōlu inscriptions.

Dr. Bühler also observes that the medial short *a* is indicated in the Southern Mauryan script by the addition of a horizontal stroke to the top of the consonant which denotes long *ā* in the Mauryan. Since the addition of the horizontal stroke without any further change represents the long *ā* in the Pāṇḍyan inscriptions it is extremely doubtful, if we could apply this view to these epigraphs. But it has to be noted, however, that the vowels *i* and *ī* stand one for the other in these epigraphs and there is also the unnecessary lengthening of penultimate short consonants in some words, which would lend support to the Doctor's view.

The lingual *l* and the unique *ḻ* have not got corresponding symbols in the Mauryan.

An analysis of the letters used reveals the following facts :—

(1) The *varga-prathamas* have been generally used,

(2) The soft consonants *i.e.*, the *varga-tṛtīyas* are conspicuous by their absence,

(3) *Śa* and *ṣa* are not met with, though *sa* is occasionally found,

(4) The lingual *ḷa* occurs frequently,

(5) Almost all the vowels with the exception of *ai*, *au*, *ṛ*, *lṛ*, *aṁ*, *aḥ* are represented.

(6) In the case of combined consonants the occurrence of short *e* and short *o* deserve special attention, the two being the special characteristics of the Dravidian alphabets.

(7) The aspirates are seldom used : the only two letters that are met with are *ṭha* and *dha*.

(8) Some symbols which never find use in the contemporary Aśokan edicts are here employed and the sounds which they represent remain to be determined. This is a factor which at once points out that the language employed in the inscriptions contains in it sounds that could not be represented by the symbols extant in the Aśokan code.

The above tabulated results strongly suggest that the language of the inscriptions may be Tamiḻ. Before taking cognizance of further indications in the same line furnished by a consideration of the etymological peculiarities occurring in these epigraphs, we have to notice here certain special features of the alphabet used and determine the values of the new symbols that are introduced in these epigraphs some of which are distinctly foreign to the Aśokan alphabetical code.

1. The symbol ⸸ is quite akin to the Tamil long *ī* and might have been its original. It occurs ten times in these inscriptions. Mr. Krishna Sastri has noted that it has been found in Kṣatrapa and Āndhra inscriptions of the 1st century A. D. and that it also occurs in the Brāhmī inscriptions of Ceylon and has been read as short *i*. I find that in our inscriptions also, it admits of this same value and not that of long *ī*. It is curious that the symbol for short *i* on the other hand, gets the value of long *ī* in our epigraphs.

2. The next symbol is ſ "the inverted J." It occurs sparingly in the Bhaṭṭiprōlu inscriptions and has been taken by Dr. Bühler to represent long *nā*. It is the most common letter in our inscriptions. It occurs about 60 times. I find that the value assigned by the learned Doctor for this odd symbol does not suit our epigraphs; but there is no doubt that the sound it represents is *nā*, with whose symbol it closely resembles. The only difference is that the top bends a little to the right. At first, I thought that it might stand for the basic *n*, *i.e.*, the letter with the *puḷḷi* mark. Though it suited almost all cases, it did not answer in a single instance where it occurred before *ma* and had to be given up. Fortunately, among these inscriptions there is a single instance in which the inverted J symbol is used along with the ordinary form of long *nā*. This use of it shows at once that the engraver, being acquainted with the correct mode of forming long *nā*, could not have used a different symbol, under ordinary circumstances, for denoting the same. The only letter that it can represent is the Tamil *ṉ* (ன) which is mostly used at the end of words and has the same sound as *n*. In this connection it is worthy of note that this symbol is met with generally in southern inscriptions. And with this value it satisfies all the places without a single exception: in some cases it has to be treated as a basic consonant and in others as *ṉa*, just like other letters.

3. The third new symbol is ℚ. It occurs but once in all these inscriptions. About it Mr. Krishna Sastri has aptly noted :—"The

formation of this letter is very peculiar. The similarity with Khalsi Aśokan *ja* given on Bühler's Tafel II-15, 2 is very slight. One can venture to say that it is somewhat like the modern Tamil *ḷa*." I take it to be *ḷa* and I note that this value of it satisfactorily suits the place of its occurrence and that no other sound could be substituted for it. But for the association of this letter with the Brāhmī symbols, its significance would not have been missed.

4. The fourth symbol is a very curious one. It resembles a badly shaped *ṭu*. It occurs several times in these epigraphs,—once in the Ānaimalai inscription, four times in the first Arittāpaṭṭi epigraph, twice in another Arittāpaṭṭi record and once in the Śittaṇṇavāśal inscription. On them Mr. Krishna Sastri pertinently remarks. "These are letters the formation of which is not found elsewhere. I have suggested the readings *ḍu* and *ḍai* on the strength of the remarks on the letter *ḍu* made by Dr. Bühler on the palaeography of the Bhaṭṭiprōlu inscriptions, Ep. Ind. Vol. II, pp. 323 ff. Still, the letters read *ḍu* and *ḍai* are not certain. They may be conjunct-consonants as well".

The very formation of the letter shows that it is allied in form—and I take it also in sound—to *ṭa*. From its shape, in which the upper part very closely resembles the symbol for *ṭa*, it can naturally be suspected that it is a conjunct-consonant; and if it were a conjunct the second element must also be *ṭa* for which there is no likelihood. The addition of *ā* and *ai* signs which we find in certain cases suggests that in spite of its complicated nature, it might be a simple consonant. The only letter that is allied in sound to *ṭa* which has no equivalent in Sanskrit and for which a new symbol had to be devised in the Aśokan code is the Dravidian *ṟa*. The difficulty of pronunciation of this letter and its kinship with *ṭa*, *ḍa* and sometimes with *ta* by which letters it is often substituted not only in speech forms but in allied languages will be evident to any observer. (cf. Tamil *kuṉṟu*, Telugu *Koṇḍa* : Tamil *nāṉṟu*, Tel. *nāṇḍu*). In the earlier Telugu inscriptions we meet with forms like *tuṉṟu* etc., which in later records is substituted by *tuṇḍu* etc. This likeness in sound has to account for the devised form given to it in our records. I may note that even in the Vaṭṭeḻuttu script, its formation is such as to be mistaken for *ta* (with but a slight difference). What proves conclusively the correctness of the value suggested here is the occurrence of it after *ṉ* in the Ānaimalai record in the word *kuṉṟa*. I note that this very record uses the correct form of *ṭu* which at once makes it unlikely that this symbol could stand for *ṭu*.

Thus the orthographical peculiarities of these records show that they have all the characteristic features which are regarded as special to Tamiḻ. According to the Tamil grammarian Pavaṇandi, the letters *ṟ*, *ṉ*, *ḻ*, *e* short and *o* short, which we find in these records, are enumerated as being special to Tamiḻ. We may overlook the grammarian's partiality for

Tamiḻ which shares these letters in common with its sister languages Kannaḍa and Telugu. It is enough for our purpose to note that these letters are peculiar to the Dravidians and we find them in these Brāhmī inscriptions amply represented. Besides, the marked preference given to the *varga prathamas* and *pañcamas*, the entire absence firstly of *śa*, *ṣa*, *ha*, *aṁ*, and *aḥ* and secondly of softs and aspirates with the stray exception of *ṭha* and *dha*, the frequent occurrence of the lingual *ḷa* also favour their being regarded as Tamiḻ inscriptions. It is quite consistent that in a Tamiḻ country, the inscriptions, meant to be understood by the race, which is not known to have spoken any other language, must be Tamil.

As I propose to make my observations on the words occurring in these epigraphs, somewhat fully in interpreting each record, I shall content myself here by noting the following few facts only :—

(i) The Tamil masculine terminations *aṉ*. *āṉ*, *oṉ*, and *ōr* occur sometimes without the final as in the spoken form. These earliest inscriptions afford clear and unmistakable proof of the fact that verbal nouns are formed by adding the pronouns to the roots (see Ind. Ant. Vol. XXXII, p. 451) and that these pronouns have been shortened into terminations indicative of gender and number. Vaṭṭeluttu inscriptions of even later times preserved these earlier forms. For instance, we meet with the Madras Ep. Report. forms *vēṇḍu-adu*, *aḍu-avaṉ* and *eḍukka-avagaḷukku* (No. 296 of 1895).

(ii) The neuter suffix *m* is given to words of Sanskrit origin.

(iii) The genitive suffix *a* which is preserved to this day in some of the Dravidian languages and the dative *ku* are also found used.

A large number of Sanskrit words in their Prākṛt forms occur in these records, such as *kāñcana*, *kuḍumbika*, *upāsaka*, *putra*, *vatsa*, *dharma*, *caitya*, *adhiṣṭhāna*, *vaṇik*, *karaṇi*, *nigama*, *kula*, *yakṣa*, *syālaka* and *kārita*.

The object of most of these short epigraphs is to register the names of the persons who caused the monuments to be made. In this respect, though they resemble the Ceylon epigraphs of the same period, it is to be noted that they omit the usual words *agata*, *anagata*, *catudisa*, *sagasa*, which we invariably find in the latter. Our inscriptions do not furnish direct evidence to indicate that these monuments were assuredly Buddhistic though the nature of the monuments and the import of certain words are highly suggestive of this fact. They are of very great value to us in affording—in the absence of any definitely dated Tamiḻ works carrying us to that early period, *i.e.*, the latter half of the 3rd century B.C.—certain examples of words which are the result of the process of transformation of Sanskrit words directly or through the medium of Pāli into Tamiḻ. It may not be an easy task to formulate definite and exhaustive rules from the mass of examples now accumulated in the

Tamiḻ language, how the speech forms of Sanskrit were adopted in Tamiḻ with its alphabetical code which is at once deficient, redundant and has certain peculiarities of its own. Need it be pointed out that we have only five letters to represent the 23 varying sounds of the first five *vargas* of Sanskrit consonants including *sa*, *śa*, and *ha* and excluding the nasals: and that we have two *ra's*, two *na's* and *ḷ* and *ḻ*. To such as would be engaged in the study of words, these Brāhmī inscriptions would furnish the earliest examples. They would give them a clue as to the mode of adoption or the form of assimilation of words of foreign origin as dependant on the speech capacity, habit, and genius of the Tamiḻ race. The few rules given in the grammars fail to satisfactorily answer the various problems that present themselves in tracing the formation of words. In short, our epigraphs will be highly interesting from a philological point of view. We shall now address ourselves to the inscriptions.

I

For many reasons, the Marugāltalai inscription may be considered first. It is one of the best preserved in the whole collection and easy of interpretation. The palaeography of the inscription shows, as had been pronounced by the late Mr. Veṅkayya, that it belongs to the 3rd century B.C. The letters are a little over one foot. I read the inscription as under treating the letters *ṉa* in *vēṉā*, *ña* in *pāna*, *ña* in *kāñaca* and *ma* at the end, as basic consonants :—

Vēṉ Kōsipāṉ kuṭupitā kāḷa-kāñcaṇam.

Ña occurring before *ca* leaves no doubt that it is a basic consonant. The fact that it is engraved without a *puḷḷi* mark suggests that as in most Tamiḻ inscriptions and palm-leaf manuscripts, it has to be supplied by the reader. Our text has four words of which *Vēṉ* may be taken to be the name of a territorial division. It is now represented by the Travancore State. That in ancient times it was a stronghold of Buddhism is seen from the several images of Buddha found all over that tract (Trav. Arch. Series. Vol. II, Part II). In this region a place called Mūlavāsa had a celebrated Buddha temple which is referred to in the Mūṣaka-vaṁśa, in a Gāndhāran sculpture epigraph as *dakṣiṇāpatha Mūlavāsa Lōkanātha* and in a copper-plate grant of the Āy king Vikramāditya-Varaguṇa who was himself a Buddhist paying homage to the Buddha, Dharma and Saṅga and made grants to it. It is not precluded that *Vēṉ* may stand for *vēl*, 'a chief' of which there were many in the Tamiḻ country in the *Śaṅgam* and later historic times.

Kōsipāṉ is the proper name of a person. Its equivalent in Pāli is Kassapa (Kāśyapa in Skt. and Kāśipan in Tamil).

Kuṭupitā is the verb : the final *ṉ* is omitted. The full form of it is *kuṭupitāṉ*. It occurs as such in other inscriptions ; it comes from the root *koṭu* or *kuṭu* 'to cut' : *p* is the causal particle. Its modern form will be

koṭṭuvittāṉ: and means 'caused to be cut'. A Tamil inscription of the time of Pallavamalla uses this word in this sense (Pañcapāṇḍavamalai in the North Arcot district Ep. Ind. Vol. IV p. 137). It is possible to take this word without the final *ṉ* as a participial adjective qualifying the next; but this is not preferable as it is not in consonance with the use made of it in other epigraphs in the collection. From the spelling given to this word in this epigraph and several others which we shall notice later on it will be evident that doubling of consonants came into use later in the Tamil language. This is a telling feature of our records. We may at once point out here that there is not a single instance of a conjunct letter in any of these records. *Koṭṭu* or *kuṭṭu* is the noun from the same root and it is to be noted that it is still applied in the name Pañcapāṇḍavarkuṭṭu given to these monuments in some places.

The next word *kāḷa-kāñcaṉam* is the most important one. It is a compound of two words of which the first part *kāḷa* may be taken to be derived from *kālya* which has also the alternate from *kalya*·('auspicious') or may be connected with the Tamil word *kal* (Singhalese *galā*,) 'a hill, a stone' cf. Uṇḍāṉkal, Nelliyagalā). *Kāñcanam* generally means 'gold , a tree variety,' but its use here is peculiar. Coming after the verb *koṭṭuvittāṉ* it must have reference to the monument itself and can mean nothing but an 'abode, monastery or temple.' Monier Williams points out that Hemādri uses this word to denote 'a particular form of building in the *Caturvargacintāmaṇi.*'

Thus the inscription purports to convey that this " auspicious (or stone) monastery [1] was caused to be cut by Kāśyapa of the Vōṉ country (or the Vēḷir chief Kāśyapa).

II

The next inscription that we take up for consideration comes from Tirupparanguṉṟam. This is also in good preservation. The letters are very neatly incised and can be assigned to the third century B.C. The 31 letters which make up this record are written in two parts in a single line separated by a long vertical stroke. The letters in the first part are slightly bigger than those in the second, though written in the same hand. Treating as basic consonants all the final *ṉ's* and the *ra* of *tura*, the *ma* occurring before *pika*, the *ya's* of *ceya* and *aya*, and the *ca* of *caya*, the inscription reads as follows :—

Erukōṭūr Iḷa-kuṭumpikaṉ.

Ceytāa Āycyaṉ Neḍu-Cātaṉ.

---

1. Monier Williams says that Kāla and Kāñcana are the names of future Buddhas. It is very doubtful if our inscription, early as it is, could have any reference to these.

The first part consists of three words of which Ērukōṭūr [1] is the name of a village as clearly indicated by the place-ending *ūr*. The next word is the compound Īḻa-kuṭumpikan̤ of which the first element *Iḻa* (with the short *i* for long) shows the place of origin of the person to be Ceylon: It is the Tamil adaptation of the word Sihmaḷa, passing through the intermediary forms *Sihaḷa* and *Īḻa*. *Kuṭumpikan̤* is the Sanskrit word *kuṭumbi* which often occurs in Pāli and Prākṛt inscriptions in the form *kuṭumbika*, [2] 'a husbandman.' The spelling of the word with the hard *p* in place of the soft *b* and the Tamil masculine ending *an̤* or *n̤* is worthy of note. *Pōlālaiyan̤* is the proper name of the person who probably caused the cave to be made. The omission of the verb finds a parallel in No. 18 of the inscriptions of Ceylon given by Mr. Parker. The second part commences with the verb *ceytā*, with the final *n̤* omitted as usually pronounced (cf. *kuṭupitā* in No. 1) and then gives the name of the person *viz.*, *Āycyan̤ Nēḍu-Cātan̤*. The omission of *ñ* at the end of Neḍu and the use of single *ta* instead of double *tta* of later records are characteristic of the times. Modern pronunciation would require the name to be written *Āccan̤ Neḍuñ-Cāttan̤*. It may be noted that Āycyan̤ or Āccan̤ is the Tamil form of the Sanskrit word Āditya and it so occurs in a bi-lingual inscription found at Tirumālpuram in the Chingleput district (*Vide* No. 306 of the Epigraphical collection for 1906), where, the name is given as Āditya in the Sanskrit portion and Āccan̤ in the Tamil portion. Ādicya, Āyicya, Āycya, Āca are all variants of Āditya. Śāttan̤ is the equivalent of Śāsta.

The inscription means "Pōlālaiyan̤, a husbandman of Ceylon (and a resident) of Ērukōṭṭūr (caused to be cut) and Āycyan̤ Neḍuñ-Cāttan̤ made (it)."

III

The next inscription that we take up for consideration comes from the high range of hills near Ariṭṭāpaṭṭi, known by the name Kaḻugumalai. I must note that this incription is engraved on the open face of a bare rock at an accessible height in bold and clear characters. In front of the rock is a spacious court-yard without any bed and without the least sheltering place as in the case of all other caverns. By

1. This village name reminds us of Erukkoṭṭūr the native place of the poet Tāyankaṇṇanār, the author of a number of pieces (149, 319 and 357) in the Aganānūṟu collection. Noting on the Nāsik cave inscription, M. Senart says:—

"The adjective expressing origin or the name of a person is here and in subsequent epigraphs invariably placed before the man's name, not after, as in Sanskrit inscriptions."

2. Vālmiki uses this word in the following verse:—

नाल्पसंनिचयः कश्चिदासीत्तस्मिन्पुरोत्तमे ।

कुटुम्बी यो ह्यसिद्धार्थोऽगवाश्वधनधान्यवान् ॥ Bāla. VI. 7.

these features this place is singled out from others. When I discovered this 18 years ago, I remember to have noticed the ruins of some buildings at some distance, not far from this rock. It is not unlikely that some building made of perishable materials existed in front of the rock and that this building has now vanished and to it the inscription refers. This inscription is the longest of the collection containing as many as 50 letters, and in it the Tamil ṟ occurs thrice.

Treating as basic consonants all the ṉ's, the ña's that occur before ca's, the second ma in *dhamāma*, the na and ya of *tānataiya* and the ultimate letter ya, the inscription reads as follows:—

Kāṉiyaṉ Natā Siri Yakuaṉ dhamām itā Naṭiñ-Cāṟiyaṉ Sālākāṉ Iḷāñ-Cāṟikāṉ tāntaiy Cāṟikāṉ Ceīya Pāḷiy.

It is to be noted that the commencing words of this inscription *viz.*, '*Kāṉiyaṉ Natā Siri-Yakuaṉ* occurs in a slightly altered form as '*Karaṉira Nōtā Siri Yakaru*' in the next inscription which is found in another cavern in the same hill, and may be considered as representing the same person. In *Kāṉiyan*, *kā* takes the place of *kara*. We may or may not suppose that the engraver has omitted to incise *ra*. And *ya* is substituted for the final *ra*. The latter change is noteworthy as it explains the allied nature of a number of words in Tamil and Sanskrit [cf. *vāy* from *dvār* and *kāya* from *kāra* (*kṣāra*), *māy* from *mār* (*mṛ*)]. These words indicate one and the same term i.e., '*karaṉi*' which originally meant 'one born of a Śūdra mother by a Vaiśya father or one born of a Vaiśya woman by a Kṣatriya father'. The occurrence of the word in a the 3rd century B.C. in the extreme south of India and as an attribute of one who bore the name Yakṣa is interesting. It has much to inform us. We shall be content with noting that persons belonging to this class took up the occupation of scribes and accountants. This is perhaps the earliest use of the word in inscriptions. *Natā* and *Nōtā* are variants of *nātha* 'a chief'. There is nothing peculiar in the word *Siri* which we find so used in almost al Prākṛt and Pāli inscriptions (See Nasik, Sāñci and Ceylon Inscriptions) for the Sanskrit word Śrī. In Tamil, it takes the form *tiru*. Yakuaṉ, which occurs in the next record in the form *Yakaru* is the Sanskrit 'Yakṣa' Prākṛt Yakkha—with the Tamil masculine suffix *aṉ*, which suffix, as our inscriptions will show further on, is nothing but the third personal pronoun *avaṉ*. The suffix *ru* given to Yakkha may be considered as an equivalent of the honorific *ar* in Tamil and *ru* in Kannaḍa. As in the previous two inscriptions, the non-doubling of *ka* is noteworthy. This person Siri-Yakuan seems to have been an individual of some importance as indicated by the use of *Siri* and *Natā*.

Dhamām is a variant of *dharmma* with the Tamil neuter suffix *m* as in *Kāñcanam* and *adiṭṭānam* occuring later on. Here we note the

lengthening of the penultimate *ma* : it is also a peculiarity of the age and we shall see more instances of the kind in the words *tāntai* for *tantai* and *mākan* for *makan*, *itā* for *ida* which stands for the modern Tamil word *idu*, third person neuter pronoun. It is connected with the Sanskrit *idam*. Malayāḷam retains still the form *ida* in place of *idu*. This word may either be taken with what precedes or what follows.

In the passage coming after *itā*, Cārikaṉ and Cāriyaṉ are proper names, one being a variant of the other : thus exemplifying the common rule that *ya* takes the place of *ka*, passing through the form *a* invariably as in Prākṛt. We shall also have instances of the retention of the Prākṛt *a* in the inscriptions that follow. Neḍuñ and Iḷañ prefixed to Cāriyaṉ or Cārikaṉ means 'the elder and the younger.'

Sālākāṉ. Two ways of taking this word suggest themselves to me. It may be considered as a diminutive of *Śālā* which occurs in the form *Śālia* (*Śālika*) in Rājaśēkhara's *Karpūramañjarī* in the sense of 'an apartment, room'. A second way, which is more likely, is to treat it as a Tamil form of the Sanskrit word *Syālaka* 'a brother-in-law' with the masculine termination *ṉ* added. That like the word *tāntai*, which stands for *tantai* 'a father' coming after Iḷañ-Cārikāṉ, this word *sālākāṉ* coming after Neḍuñ-Cāriyaṉ must express some kind of relationship, is clear from the context.

The word *Ceīya* seems to be the Prakṛt form of *caitya* which adopts to itself the other alternative forms *cētiya*, and *sāiya* and which are actually so used to indicate a relic-chamber in Ceylon (See Parker's Ceylon, p. 261). We have already noticed that there is a possibility of there having existed some ancient building in the neighbourhood of this inscription which unlike others does not provide any sheltering place or beds.

Pāḷiy is a Tamil word meaning an excavation in stone set apart for the residence of monks. [1] It is not unlikely that it is connected with *palyā* as suggested by Mr. H. Krishna Śastri.

The expletive use of *y* in *pāḷiy* and *tāntaiy* is in accord with the spoken dialect. This inscription thus means :—

"This is the charity of the glorious chief Śrī-Yakṣa, a *Karaṇi* (by caste). This stone excavation for a relic-chamber was made by Cārikaṉ the father of Iḷañ-Cārikāṉ and the brother-in-law of Neḍuñ-Cāriyaṉ.

The fact that a chief named Yakka caused this monument to be made, is interesting. Numerous individuals, some of whom were rulers of small principalities, *e.g.*, Yakkaṉ Kōdai, Yakkaṉ Śrīkaṇḍaṉ etc., figure in the

1. பாழி தாபதங் காண்டை பள்ளியே முனிவர் வாசம்—பிங்கண்டு இடப், 56. and புகலுங் கற்பாழி காண்டை—*ibid* 14.

early inscriptions of Malabar and Travancore. Besides, there exists in that tract a number of dieties called Yakṣiṇīs. These facts show that among the original inhabitants of South India, principally in the districts adjoining the Western Ghats, the Yakṣa element predominated and that they had at the time of our inscriptions, *i.e.*, in the third century B C. and probably earlier also, had come into the Hindu fold of castes as the term *Karaṇi* indicates[1]. Among the Sāñci inscriptions of about the same period as ours, there are several donative records of which the following :—

यखदासिया दानं भिखुनिया (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 377.)

यखिय भिखुनिया वाळिवहनिकाया दानम् (*ibid.*)

यखदिनस भिखुनो दानम् (*ibid*, p. 372.)

prove that in that remote period there were several persons bearing the name Yakṣa and Yakṣi who were of Buddhist leaning. Similarly also the Nasik cave inscriptions of a somewhat later age testify to the same fact. (Ep. Ind. Vol. VIII, p. 93). The Rāmāyaṇa would make us believe that the original inhabitants of the island of Ceylon were Yakṣas, for it is stated that Rāvaṇa obtained possession of it by driving away Kubera. The Mahāvaṁśa does only support this when it distinctly states that the Yakṣas were ruling the island and Vijaya strategically managed to get it out of them. Mr. Parker gives a long account of this original population of Ceylon in his book. In the Sanskrit literature, the Yakṣas are generally treated as somewhat of a milder character than the Rākṣasas and there is a disquisition on the root meaning of the words Rākṣasa and Yakṣa in the opening chapters of the *Uttarakāṇḍa.* In the first six *kāṇḍas*, Rāma is not stated to have met with opposition from the Yakṣas except in the single instance of Tāṭakā, a pure Yakṣiṇī by birth and it is worth noting that her son Mārīca was cursed by Agastya to become a Rākṣasa, which distinguishes the two classes.

IV

The second cave inscription of Ariṭṭāpaṭṭi may now be taken up. It is in two parts and relates probably to two different compartments in the cave in which this epigraph has been found. The text runs as follows :—

A *Karaṇira nōtā Siri Yakaru Cānatāritāṉ Koṭupitōṉ.*

B *Veḷ-aḍai nikāmatōr koṭiōr.*

C *Veḷ-aḍaiy nikāmatāko potir Yakāsīti Kāaritāva Sātāṉ Piṇāka koṭupitōṉ.*

1. A number of words are derived from *Karaṇa* :—Karaṇattāṉ, Karaṇan Kanakkan all meaning accountant: Kaṇakkan is also a caste in the Chingelput district. The word 'karaṇam' occurs in Malayālam and in the early Vaṭṭeluttu epigraphs in the sense of 'a document, a written deed'.

In A, we have treated as basic consonants only two letters *i.e.*, the *ṉ*'s in *tāṉ* and *tōṉ*; in B the *ḷa* of *Veḷa*, and the *ra*'s; and in C the expletive *ya* in *aḍaiya* and the final *ṉa*'s in *Sātāṉ* and *pitōṉ*. A and B go together to form one inscription. It means "Caused to be excavated by the glorious Chief Yakaṉ Cāṉatāritāṉ, a *Karaṇi* (by caste). "The citizens (or merchants) of Veḷḷaḍai cut it"

As our inscriptions do not use conjuncts, single *ḷa* is used in place of double in Veḷḷaḍai and if this *ḷa* is treated as basic consonant and read, the sound of double *ḷḷa* will be obtained. This is a preferential use of the time. The same is noticed further on several times in this epigraph *e.g.* *Yakaru* for yakkaru, *koṭupitōṉ* (twice) and *koṭiōr* for *koṭṭuvittēṉ* and *koṭṭinōr*, *nikāmatār*(twice) for *nikāmattār* and *Sātāṉ* for *sāttaṉ*.

Veḷḷaḍai is probably the name of a place. *Nikāma* may either be connected with *nigama* (*naigama*) 'merchants' which occurs in the Nasik inscription in the form *nekhama* (Ep. Ind. Vol. VIII, p. 90) and in the Bhaṭṭiprōlu epigraph in the form, *negama*, (Ep. Ind. Vol. II, pp. 328-29) or treated as a place-ending like *sthāna*, *nagara* or *pura*, being connected with Veḷḷaḍai. In this case, it would correspond to *nagarattār* or *ūrār*, which occur largely in somewhat later Tamil epigraphs. If this is correct, we would have here the earliest example of the existence of the assembly system in South India, which all through history we find constituting the administrative machinery in India. In Pāli, the word *nekkama* occurs in the sense of 'renunciation from the world' and is one of the *pārami's* 'supreme virtues.' Though this sense is not possible in our epigraph, yet in the sense 'one coming from' a place, it will well suit: *at* is only a euphonic particle. In *koṭior*, we have the direct application of the termination without the addition of euphonic particles as in early Tamil works. The lengthening of *ma* and *ka* in *nigāmātāko* and of *ṉa* in *Piṉāka* is the result of compensation due to the dropping of *k* and *t* in *nekkamattā* and of *k* in *Piṉakka*. In Tamil sonant aspirates are absent and when such letters originally formed part of a word, the aspiration is generally dropped and as a compensation the previous letter, if short, is lengthened. It is to be observed that in these epigraphs, not only in the case of the aspirates but in the case of other consonants as well, the lengthening takes place. It is seen also that the lengthening is made even if the basic consonant that follows is retained. In many instances the penultimate long has to be shortened and the consonant that follows doubled to get the modern Tamil equivalents of the words.

In C *potir* probably means 'daughter'; *nikāmatāko* has to be regarded as a dative singular (with the final masculine termination *ṉ* omitted as in previous instances and in Piṉaka) and means 'of a citizen;' Yakāśiti is the proper name of the individual and *kāarita* means 'caused to be made.' We note that it is in the feminine form. It is observed that the word *kāritē* is used in some of the Brāhmī inscriptions of the same age

found at Dambulla and Bawata in Ceylon (see Nos. 56, 80, 81, noticed on pages 433 and 442 of Parker's Ceylon). Sātāṉ Piṉāka is another proper name: its modern equivalent is Śāttaṉ Piṉakkaṉ. The ending *oṉ* and *ōr* in place of *āṉ* *ār* may be noted and the use of *ko* the later *ku* denoting the relational dative. The meaning of the two sentences in C is :—

" Yakṣāsiti the daughter of a citizen of Veḷḷaḍai caused to be made (this cave) and Śāttaṉ Piṉakkaṉ had it cut."

V

The next inscription comes from a hill lying between Kilūr and Kiḷavaḷavu. Mr. Krishna Sastri who examined it says that the letters are written upside down which shows that the engraver had better convenience to work from the upper part of the cave than from the front. It is not an instance of *paraeli-Bāsa* current in Ceylon which requires an interchange of letters in words. The inscription reads :—

" *Upācāa*ʳ*pōta Netula-Vōccō koṭu paḷiī.*"

Here, the first word *Upācāa* my be regarded as the Tamil form of *upāsaka* through Prākṛt; it occurs several times in the Ceylon inscriptions (Nos. 13, 37 and 44). The second word *pōta* is no doubt the equivalent of *putra*. *Neṭula-Vōccō* is the proper name of a person: in this, the second element is the Prākṛt for *vatsa*, It occurs in the form *vacco* in the Bhaṭṭiprōlu casket inscription (Ep. Ind. Vol. II, p. 329). *I*, at the end of the inscription is the pronoun 'this'. If its use at the end of a sentence is objectionable and unlikely, it may form part of *pāḷi*. This inscription furnishes the second use of the word *pāḷi* in the sense of 'a cave'. The record means :—

" This is the cave cut by Neṭula-Vōccaṉ, the son of a lay devotee".

VI

The Ānaimalai inscription is also in somewhat good preservation and is important in that it affords a clue to the correct interpretation of the symbols for *ṟ* and *ṉ*. In it *ṟ* occurs twice, *ṭa* and *ṭha* once and *ṉ* several times. In the reading of this inscription, I differ widely from the previous reading and this is mainly due to the difference in value which I have assigned to the symbols for *ṟ* and *ṉ*. The transcription of the record is as under :—

Iva Kuṉṟatū uṟai yuḷnātaṉ-a tāṉa
Eri Arıtan Attuvāyi Araṭṭha Kāyipāṉ

I would here emphasise what I have already noted *viz.*, that in the word *kuṉṟa* the complicated *ṟ* symbol following that of *ṉ* suggests clearly that it is none other than *ṉ*; and secondly in the word *uṟaiy*, this very letter—which on account of its lower addition is liable to be mistaken for *ṭu*—by getting the *ai* symbol proves conclusively that in spite of its complicated nature, is but a simple consonant, the simultaneous *ai* and *u*

additions being inconsistent; and thirdly it is happy to note that this inscription affords example of *ṭa* which is a mere concave curve without a tail below. This one record would have been quite sufficient in furnishing all the clue necessary to fix the values of *ṟ* and *ṉ* had it introduced a *ṭu*, which however, is furnished in others as we shall see later on. The first part of the inscription means "These are the gifts of Yuḷnātaṉ residing at Kuṉṟattūr". Note the use of the plural *iva*, the elision of the final *r* in *Kuṉṟattūr* and of final *m* in *tāṉam*. The latter part only gives the names of the persons who probably occupied the cave in the first instance and as such, needs no comment.

VII

The short Karuṅgālakkuḍi inscription contains only three words if we treat *ṉa* as a basic consonant. It reads :—

"*Eṭhuyarūra Aritin Pāḷi*".

The first word has perhaps to be supplied with the masculine ending *ṉ*. Its modern equivalent is perhaps Eṭṭiyūraṉ. The meaning is :—

"This is the cave of Āriti of Eṭṭiyūr".

VIII

The next three inscriptions come from Koṅgarpuḷiyaṅguḷam and relate to the excavation of three caves or three compartments in one cave They read :—

A. *Kuṭu koṭupitāvāṉ Upācāaṉ Upāṟuvāṉ*

B. *Pākāṉūr-pōtātāṉ Piṭāṉ Itātāve lēṉ*

C. *Kuṭu Koṭālaku Itātāviṉ Ceṭuatāṉ lēṉ*

On the connotation of the first three words of A we have already remarked. Upāṟuvāṉ seems to be the proper name of a person. The inscription means :—

"The lay devotee Upāṟuvāṉ caused the cave to be cut".

In B, the penultimate letter of the last word is damaged. I prefer to take it as *le* with the right arm much worn out. Pākāṉūr is no doubt the name of a village as the ending *ūr* clearly shows. Shortening the penultimate *a* in Pākāṉ, we get its modern equivalent to be Pākaṉūr, a village after which Pāgaṉūr-kūṟṟam, one of the principal divisions of the Pāṇḍya country was known in ancient times. It was in this division that Śōlavandan, Tenkarai and the villages in their vicinity were situated. The meaning of Pōtātāṉ is not clear. Like *atāṉ*, which we find sometimes added to village names, this word may mean 'one belonging to'. The words Piṭāṉ Itātāveṉ—with the final *ṉ* supplied—may be taken as a proper name. Piḍāṉ is a shortened form of Bhaṭāra which comes in Tamiḷ as Paḍāraṉ, Piḍāraṉ and Piḍāṉ. *Lēṉ* means a cave. Often this

word is used with the lingual *ṇ* in place of *ṉ* (See Hathigumpha and Uṇḍavalli Cave Inscriptions). The meaning of the inscription is

"This is the cave of Piḍāṉ Itātāveṉ, a resident of Pākanūr."

At the end of this inscription, and the next there are two symbols of which the first has in its centre a small circle to which is attached both at the top and bottom, the straight arm of a hook bent at the right-side: it may be taken to represent *Om*. The second symbol is a rectangle enclosing an upright cross and is quite similar to the ones found in the caverns of Ceylon and noticed by Mr. Parker on pages 446 and 659 of his account of Ceylon. It represents the *Svastika* mark usually found in Buddhist inscriptions and tablets. This is again a striking similarity to the Buddhist monuments of Ceylon and their inscriptions.

In C, Koṭu-koṭālaku may be taken to mean 'the excavator of caves'; Itātāveṉ Cēṭuatāṉ is the proper name of a person of which the first element occurs in B; Cēṭuataṉ is perhaps connected with *Śreṣṭhi* 'a merchant', *atāṉ* being a personal ending with the euphonic particle *at* The meaning is :—

"This is the cave of Itātāvin Cēṭuatāṉ, the excavator of caves".

In these three epigraphs we meet with the word *lēṉ* (twice), and *upāsaka* with the masculine ending *ṉ*: this ending was absent in the two cases noticed in previous epigraphs. We note again, the use of a single *ṭ* instead of a double one in the word *kuṭu*.

IX

The next inscription that we take up for consideration comes from Śittaṉṉavāśal in the Pudukkottai state. This is also in a good state of preservation and is engraved on the left side of one of the 17 beds chiselled in the cavern. If we treat as basic consonants the *ra* of *ūra*, the *na* of *itcna*, the *la* of *pocila*, the *ra* of *iḷayara*, the *ya* of *ceyata*, the *ṭa* and *na* and *ma* of *atiṭaanama*, we get the following reading :—

Eōmi-nāṭu Kumaṭhūr piṟāntā Kāvuḍi Iteṉku Ciṭupōcil iḷāyar ceytā atiṭhanam.

Here Eōmināṭu is the name of a territorial division and Kumaṭūr that of a village as clearly indicated by the endings *nāḍu* and *ūr*. *Piṟāntā* has to be supplied as usual with the final *ṉ* and the penultimate length shortened: it becomes *pirantāṉ* which means "one who was born." Kāvuḍi Īteṉku is a proper name in the dative case. Ciṭupocil may be the name of a village. As in Piṟāntā the penultimate of *Iḷāyar* has to be shortened, its modern equivalent being *iḷāiyar*. To *ceytā*, we have to supply *r*. The meaning is clearly the following :—

"Ciṭupocil Iḷayar made this *adhiṣṭhānam* for Kāvuḍi Īteṉ who was born at Kumuṭṭūr, a village in Eōmināḍu".

In this inscription, the long *nā* is clearly indicated by a straight horizontal stroke marked on the right side of *na*. It uses also the inverted 'J' symbol. Penultimates are lengthened and finals omitted—all of which we have pointed out as characteristics of the age. It also uses the *ṟ* with the length symbol, another noteworthy feature.

The use of the word *adiṭṭānam* is of importance. It may mean a capital city or it may be taken to be a synonym of *vāsa* 'a dwelling place, abode'; but as a place of residence it is not generally met with. It seems to indicate the place where one spends his life in fulfilment of a vow or resolution once taken. Thus a Brahmacāri's dwelling in the *āśrama* of his preceptor after the initiation ceremony for completing his course of studies may be called an *adhiṭṭhāna* and it is so used in the anonymous Svapna-nāṭaka.

यौग—भोः कुत आगम्यते क गन्तव्यं काधिष्ठानमार्यस्य ?

ब्रह्म—भोः श्रूयताम् । राजगृहतोस्मि । श्रुतिविशेषणार्थं वत्सभूमौ लावाणकं नाम ग्रामस्तत्रोषितवानास्मि ।

यौग—अथ परिसमाप्ता विद्या ?

But this word has a special significance also and it occurs often in Buddhist works. In Pāli, *adhiṭṭhāna* means "the vow of resolution" and is counted as one of the ten *pāramis* or perfect virtues peculiar to a Bodhisattva who is endowed with eminent moral qualities, and this the Bauddha-bhikṣus are enjoined to follow. The vow of resolution has to be carried out even at the expense of one's life and with the firmness of a mountain as can be seen from the following two extracts from the *Dūrenidāna*:—

सुमेधपण्डित त्वं इतो पट्ठाय अधिट्ठान पारमिं पि पूरय्यासि, यं अधिट्ठासि तस्मिं अधिट्ठाने निच्चलो भरेयासि यथाहि पब्बतोनाम सब्बादिसासु पि वाते पहरन्ते पि न कंपति न चलति अत्तनो ठाने एव तिट्ठति एवं एत्नं बुद्धो भविस्सदि त्ति अट्ठमं अधिट्ठानपारमिं दुव्वहं कत्वा अधिट्ठासि ।

तथेव त्वं पि अधिट्ठाने सब्बदा अचलो भव ।
अधिट्ठानपारमिं गन्त्वा संबोधिं पापणुस्सदि ॥
माता पिता न मे देस्स न पि मे देस्सं महायसम् ।
सब्बञ्ञुतं पियं मह्यं तस्मा वतं अधिट्ठहिन्ति ॥

एवं जीवितं पि चजित्वा वतं अधिट्ठहन्तस्स अधिट्ठानपारमी परमत्थपारमी नाम जाता ।

Some substitute *praṇidhāna* for *adhiṭṭhāna* of which it is only a synonym. It is clear that in our inscription *adiṭṭhāna* must refer to the monastery where Bauddha-bhikṣus practised the vows pertaining to their order.

X

The Muttuppaṭṭi inscription consists of only three words *viz.*

Caiyaḷaṉ Vinataiūṟa Kāviy.

We may take these three words either as referring to the names of three persons who occupied the cave or regard Caiyaḷaṉ Vinataiūṟa as the occupant's name and Kāvi, *gavi* 'a cave' with the penultimate lengthened. It is also likely that the word *kavi* is connected with the Singhalese root *kap* 'to cut' and refers to the cutting of the cave. In this case, we may translate it thus "This is the cave of Caiyalaṉ Vinataiūraṉ."

XI

The short inscriptions of Siddharmalai and their meanings are given below:—

1.	*Potiṉūra-a-tāṉa*	...	"The gift of one belonging to Podiṉūr."
2.	*Kuvīra antai Vey-a tāṉa...*		"This is the bed of Kuvīra and the gift of Vēy."
3.	*Tiṭayil-a tāṉa*	...	"The gift of one belonging to Tiṭṭai."
4.	*Antai Ariati*	...	"The bed of Ariati,"
5.	*Antai Iravātāṉ*	...	"This is the bed of Iravātāṉ."
6.	*Matira antai*	...	"This is the bed of one belonging to Madirai."
7.	*Visuvāṉ Cānatā antai*	...	"This is the bed of Visuvāṉ Cānatāṉ."
8.	*Cānatāṉ antai*	...	"This is the bed of Cānatāṉ."
9.	*Vēnatā-a tāṉa*	...	"This is the gift of Vēnatāṉ."

In these inscriptions, we note the use of the genetive suffix *a* after the names of the persons; that *tāṉa* has the same sense as *dāna* 'a gift, which often occurs in the Ceylon inscriptions and elsewhere and that final *ṉ* is in some cases omitted. What has been taken as *anaṭai* has been read here as *antai*, treating *na* as a basic consonant. We may take it that it is used in the sense of 'a bed'; it is purely a Singhalese word still used in the same sense, and pronounced as *yenda*. What makes this interpretation likely is that these inscriptions are found on the beds themselves. *Antai* or *Āntai* may also be treated as part of proper names as in Eyiṉ Antai, Pisir Āntai, Anjil Āntai, etc., who figure as Agam composers. Similarly also *taṉ* and *tāṉ* may be treated as part of names Cf. Kīrattaṉ, Viṉṉattāṉ.

XII

The inscriptions in the cave known as Uṇḍāṅkal were discovered by me last year and are engraved on the pillow lofts of beds. They read as under :—

I. *Antai Pikāṉ mākaṉ Vēṉ tāṉa* "This bed is the gift of Vēṉ, the son of Pikāṉ."

It is not improbable that *Antai* is a part of the name Pikāṉ; In this case, we have to suppose that the inscription only gives the name of the occupant of the bed.

2. *Potilai Kuvīraṉ: Vēn Kuvīra koṭupitān.*

The first is the name of the occupant of the cave. "Vēn Kuvīraṉ had it out."

XIII

The order of the Aḷagarmalai inscriptions have to be studied on the spot. As much of it as could be read in a line is transcribed and interpreted here. It reads :—

Vāṇikaṉ Neḍumalāṉ [symbol] ⊞ *Vāṇikaṉ Yuḷnātan* [symbol] ⊞ *Cikaṛamāṛaṉ tāṉa* [symbol] ⊞ *Tāraaṇi kuṭupitaavaṉ aṉkaṉam.*

The first two have to be taken as the names of the persons that occupied the cave. "This is the gift of Cikaṛamāṛaṉ" is what the next part means. As a common noun Cikaṛamāṛaṉ means "the glorious carpenter." What follows may be taken to mean "Tārakaṇi caused the cave and the drain to be made. In the previous portion which has not been transcribed here. Mattirai (Madirai) occurs several times and also the names of two persons who were *poṉkulavāṉ* and *kūlavāṇikaṉ* 'dealers in gold and grains.'

In this short paper we have enumerated all the earliest monuments of the Pāṇḍya country, almost in the order of their discovery ; we have noted that some of them are situated on hills known as Kaḷugumalai which is the exact Tamiḷ rendering of Gridhrakūṭa, wherein the Buddha passed several years of his saintly life along with his chief disciple Ānanda, as reported by Fa Hian ; that all these monuments are curiously enough called Pāṇḍavamalai, though they have been provided with accommodation for many times the number of Pāṇḍavas, and that one in particular is called Uṇḍāṅkal, in addition to the name Pāṇḍavamalai; that these circumstances make us discredit the popular view that they were the abodes of Pāṇḍavas that on the other hand the name Pāṇḍavamalai reminds us of Pāṇḍavapabbata at whose foot Gautama had his first meal after his renunciation We have observed the close resemblance which these monuments bear to the earliest monuments of Ceylon and have shown how one would be impressed with the fact that they must have all come into existence at the

same time, shaped by the same hands and for the same purpose. It has been pointed out how in the first instance this view finds support from the express statement of the Mahāvaṁśa giving out the fact that Mahinda and the five principal *tēras* who accompanied him to Ceylon as well as those of whom Ariṭṭa was the principal one together with thousands of sanctified priests and priestesses, all natives of Laṅkā, profoundly learned and wise, *spread abroad* the creed of Gautama Buddha ; secondly by one of the inscriptions proclaiming the fact that a native of Ceylon had the cavern shaped out ; thirdly by the fact revealed in another epigraph that it was a *Ceyta Pāḷi*, *i.e.*, 'a Caitya cave' which add to our belief that these monuments are Buddhist ; and a fourthly by a record pointing to the end that Buddhist monks practised in these cavern resorts the vows pertaining to their order. In trying to understand the import of these mystic records, our analysis of the alphabet has shown that it has a few characteristic features which the Tamiḻ grammarians claim as being special to their language. We have shown in them ample examples of Tamil suffixes and have been able to interpret them as Tamiḻ records. In these inscriptions we have also noticed several words of Sanskrit origin adopted through Pāli and Prākṛt.

VII.—History, Geography and Chronology.

NEW LIGHT ON THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE PARAMĀRA RULERS OF MALVA.

BY

MR. D. B. DISKALKAR, M.A., RAJKOT.

Three copperplate grants have been recently discovered, two in the village Harasola in the Prāntej Taluq of the Ahmedabad District in Gujarat and one in Ahmedabad city. They are invested with considerable historical importance and add considerably to our knowledge of the history of the Paramāras of Malva.[1]

The Harasola grants may be thus summarised.[2]

After the opening portion containing an invocation to God Viṣṇu in his fourth *i.e.* Narasiṁha incarnation two kings Amoghavarṣa and Akālavarṣa are described with the epithets *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja* and *Parameśvara* The latter king, who is mentioned as meditating on the feet of the former has the two additional epithets *Pṛthvīvallabha* and *Narendradeva.* Then follows the enumeration of a king named Bappaparāja whose son was Vairisiṁha. From the latter Sīyaka was born who bears the epithets *Mahāmaṇḍalikacūḍāmaṇi* and *Mahārājādhirājapati.* The grants are mentioned as having been made at the instance of the ruler of Kheṭaka Maṇḍala, by Sīyaka on his return from a successful expedition against Yogarāja and when he was encamped on the banks of the Mahī. The king after offering worship to Śivanātha gave away to Lallopādhyāya, son of Govardhana, a Nāgara of Gopāli gotra with three *pravaras* from Ānandapura and to his son Ninnā Dīkṣita, the villages Kumbhopāṭaka and Sīnakā respectively in the Modhavāsaka *viṣaya.* The dāpyka and writer of the grants were Ṭhakkura Śrī Viṣṇu and Kāyastha Guṇadhara respectively. The record is dated Saṁ. 1005 Māgha vadi 30 Wednesday, equivalent to 31st January 949 A.D.

---

1. They are being published in the *Epigraphia Indica.*

2. The important portion of the text runs as follows. Skt portion marked above.

परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीमदमोघवर्षदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीमदकालवर्षदेवपृथ्वीवल्लभश्रीवल्लभनरेन्द्रपादानाम् ।

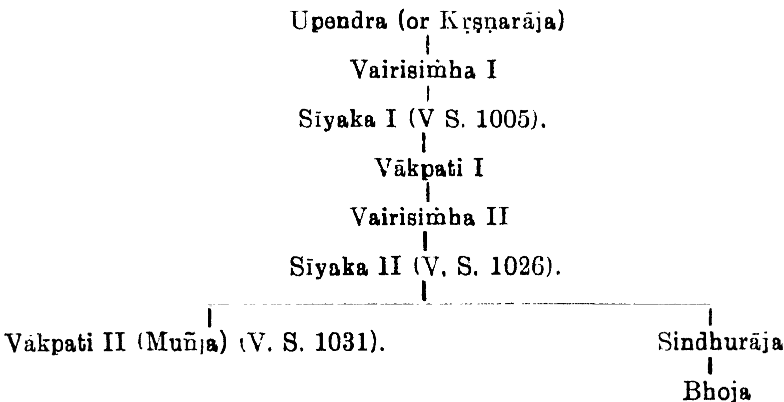
तस्मिन्कुले कल्मषमोषदक्षो जातः प्रतापाग्निहुतारिपक्षः ।
वप्पैपराजेति नृपः प्रसिद्धस्तस्मात्सुतोभूदनु वैरिसिंह्मः ॥
दुर्वाररिपुभूपालरणरागैकनायकः ।
नृपः श्रीसीयकस्तस्मात्कुलकल्पद्रुमोऽभवत् ॥

स एवंविधः....श्रीखेडकमंडलाधिपतिप्रांतपत्तिप्रतिवद्धभक्तिः महामंडलिकचूडामणिः महाराजाधिराजपतिः श्रीसीयकः...बोधयति यथा योगराजस्योपरि यात्रासमयसांसिद्धकार्यानन्तरं व्याघुटितैर्महीनदीतटनिवासिभिरस्माभिश्चंद्रार्कयोगपर्वणि शिवनाथं समभ्यर्च्य श्रीमदानंदपुरीयनागराय...स्वभुज्यमानमोहडवासकाविषयसंबद्धकुंभापाटकग्रामः प्रतिपादितः ।

The Ahmedabad grant, which consists of the second half only gives the date of the grant as Saṁ. 1026 Aśvina Vadi 15, the name of the *dūpaka* as Kaṇhapaika and the sign manual of Śrī Sīyaka.

It will be seen that these grants were issued by a king named Sīyaka. Nothing, however, is known from either of them about the family to which he belonged. Owing to the incomplete condition of the second grant the name of the family, if at all it was given in the missing portion, is lost to us. But we have reason to suppose that the grantor king Sīyaka of both the grants belonged to the famous Paramāra line of Mālva. Both the grants contain the *Garuḍa* symbol exactly in the same form as is usually found in Paramāra inscriptions. The characters used in them are also similar. There cannot be the least doubt that the king Sīyaka of the Ahmedabad grant was the Paramāra ruler of the same name, who was father of Vākpati Muñja as the name Kaṇhapaika of the *dūpaka* of this grant is also found in the grant of V. S. 1031 of the Paramāra king Vākpati Muñja. [1]

The names of the father and grand-father of Sīyaka given in the Harasola grant are Vairisiṁha and Bappaiparāja. The geneology of the Paramāra rulers of Malva from the founder king Upendra to the well-known king Bhoja is usually given thus.—



Now if we suppose that Bappaiparāja in the Harasola grant is the engraver's mistake for Bappauparāja-(Bappa Uparāja) Uparāja being an equivalent of Upendra, the Sīyaka there can be said to be the third ruler in the geneology. For it is difficult to suppose that Iparāja (Bappa Iparāja) was the name of a king. The reading Bappauparāja again does not violate the metre.

If this supposition is correct a very important point in the geneology of the Paramāras of Malva presents itself before us. We have shown above that the Sīyaka of the Ahmedabad grant of V.S. 1026 is unquestionably the father of Vākpati Muñja, and we have now supposed that

1. *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI, p. 51.

Sīyaka of the grant of V.S. 1005 was the grandson of the founder of the line. If the usually given geneology is thought to be correct we have to accommodate in the short space of 21 years between the dates of the two Sīyakas viz. V.S. 1005 and 1026, the reigns of at least two rulers Vākpati and Vairisiṁha, who succeeded their predecessors as direct descendants, which is obviously impossible. We are, therefore, forced to conclude that the two Sīyakas of the two grants are identical and that the names of the three rulers Sīyaka, Vākpati and Vairisiṁha are wrongly repeated in certain later records perhaps to give an ancient nature to the geneology. In fact the Nāgpur *praśasti* [1] and even the poem Navasāhasāṅkacarita [2] of Parimala do not repeat these names in the geneology given by them. The description, moreover, given of these rulers *e g.* in the Udayapūr *praśasti* [3] is so formal as to create a strong suspicion about their existence.

The earliest date for Sīyaka obtained by one of these grants is V.S. 1005 and the latest one is V.S. 1029 as known from Dhanapāla's Pāiyalacchi Kośa wherein in V. 276 it is stated that Dhanapāla prepared the work in V.S. 1029 when Mānyakheṭa was looted by the king of Malva. We know from the 12th verse of the Udaypūr *praśasti* that this king of Malva was no other than Sīyaka as it is stated there that Sīyaka took away the wealth of king Khoṭṭiga of Mānyakheṭa, The earliest known date of Sīyaka's successor Vākpati is V.S. 1031. Sīyaka therefore, must have ruled from about V.S. 1000 to V.S. 1030. Hence Upendra or Kṛṣṇarāja, the first king of the family and grandfather of Sīyaka, must have begun to rule from about V.S. 950.

The two sovereigns Amoghavarṣa and Akālavarṣa mentioned in the Harasola grant are most probably the powerful Rāṣṭrakūṭa sovereigns of Mānyakheṭa whose grants are known from 851 to 911 A.D. [4] Nothing is said in the record as to the relation they bore with the family of Sīyaka. It seems that the words immediately following the genitive case ending in the word *Narendrapādānāṁ* in 1 5 and expressive of that relation were again through mistake left to be engraved. It seems that the founder of the Paramāra family drew his authority from the Rāṣṭrakūṭa sovereign Akālavarṣa. The name of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa sovereign to whom Sīyaka himself owed his allegiance is not given. But seeing the disorderly condition of the Mānyakheṭa court after the reign of Indra III he seems to have almost given up his subordinate position as is seen from his two epithets Mahāmaṇḍalikacūḍāmaṇi and Mahārājādhirājapati.

No details are given in the Harasola grants about the king Yogarāja who was defeated by Sīyaka immediately before the month Māgha of V.S.

1. *Epi. Ind.* Vol. II p. 182.
2. *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXXVI,
3. *Epi. Ind.* Vol. I p. 233.
4. Bombay Gazetteer, History of Gujarat p. 121.

1005. The record says that Sīyaka had encamped on the banks of the Mahī on his return from a successful expedition against Yogarāja. This leads us to infer that Yogarāja's kingdom was to the west of the river Mahī since Sīyaka must have been going back in the eastern direction towards his kingdom in Malva. Yogarāja's kingdom may probably have been that of the Cāvḍās of Aṇahilvāḍ. There was a king named Yogarāja [1] who succeeded Vanarāja in that family but he reigned in about 806 to 841 A.D. Our Yogarāja, therefore, cannot be identified with him. It is just possible that the last ruler of the Cāvḍā family who was the son of Ghāghaḍa [2] but whose name we do not know and who is supposed to have been reigning in about 937-961 A.D. was the Yogarāja in question. If he was a king, hitherto unknown, of the Cāvḍā family of Aṇahilapāṭana, which according to tradition was subordinate to the kings of Kanauj—most probably the Pratihāras—it is but natural that Sīyaka, a feudatory of the Deccan Rāṣṭrakuṭas, who, it is well known, were constantly at war with the Pratihāras, had invaded his territory and defeated him.

There was a Caulukya king named Avanivarman, [3] also called Yoga, who was reigning in Unā in the south of Kathiawar in V.S. 956, as a feudatory of Mahendrapāla, the Pratihāra sovereign of Kanaujā. Yogarāja of the Harasola grant can be suggested to be this king but his date is rather early for our Yogarāja.

A king of Khetaka Maṇḍala is mentioned in the Harasola grant. But unfortunately neither his name nor that of the family which he belonged to is given. He seems to be a subordinate chief of Sīyaka. From the Kapadvañj [4] grant of Ś, 832 (A.D, 910) we know that Pracaṇḍa of the Brahmavāk family had gained the principality of Kheṭaka Maṇḍala by the favour of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa sovereign Akālavarṣa and was ruling at Harṣapura, modern Harasola, where one of our grants was discovered. The ruler of Kheṭaka Maṇḍala, who was contemporary of Sīyaka was probably the successor of this Pracaṇḍa. From our Harasola grant and this Kapadvañj grant it seems that the Rāṣṭrakūṭa sovereign Akālavarṣa had allotted certain portions of his territories in Gujarat to his nobles who would check the attacks of the Pratihāra enemies. The Brahmavāk family and the Paramāra family first equally owed allegiance to the Rāṣṭrakūṭa sovereign. But the Paramāra family seems to have slowly acquired greatness and Sīyaka seems to have made the family of Pracaṇḍa directly subordinate to him though he himself acknowledged nominally the power of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. After the rise of the power of the Caulukya king Mūlarāja of Aṇahilapāṭaṇa, who must have driven

1. *ibid*, p. 153.
2. *ibid*, p. 154.
3. Epi. Ind. Vol. IX, p. 166.
4. History of Gujarat p, 129.

the Paramāras towards Mālva this family of Khetaka Maṇḍala lost its existence.

No records of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas were found in Gujarat bearing dates later than A. D. 914. Our Harasola grant, though it does not give the name of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king contemporary of Sīyaka shows that they had continued to hold a nominal sway at least over the province and the following remarks of the author of the Bombay Gazetteer Vol. I, Part I, p. 131 seem to be correct. " Though no materials remain for fixing how long after A.D. 914 Gujarat belonged to the Mānyakheṭa Rāṣṭrakūṭas, they probably continued to hold it till their destruction in Śaka, 894, (A.D. 972) by the western Cālukya King Tailapa ".

The new items of information furnished by these two grants can now be thus enumerated.

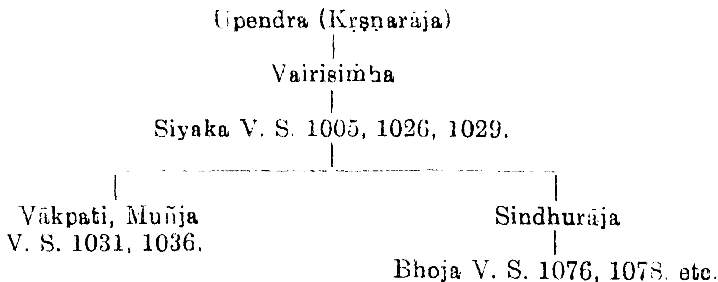
(1) They are the earliest grants so for discovered of the Paramāra family of Malva.

(2) They show that at least a part of Gujarat was under the power of the Paramāras before the Caulukyas of Aṇahilapaṭaṇa established their power throughout the province.

(3) The Paramāras were originally the feudatories of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of the Deccan.

(4) The Harasola grant shows that the Rāṣṭrakūṭas continued to hold some sway over Gujarat.

(5) The revised geneology of the Paramāras from the first member to Bhoja is thus. [1]



(6) Sīyaka ruled from about V. S. 1,000 to V. S. 1030. The founder of the family, Upendra, therefore, began his rule from about V.S. 950.

(7) Kheṭaka Maṇḍala (modern Kaira District) was a separate principality ruled over by a king of the Brahmavāka family who acknowledged the power of Sīyaka.

1. I find that Mr. C. V. Vaidya arrives independently at the same conclusion in his History of mediaeval Hindu India Vol. II, Chapter on the Paramāras of Malva.

(8) Yogarāja who was defeated by Sīyaka was probably a Cāvḍā king of Aṇahilapāṭaṇa.

(9) The grant of V. S. 1005 contains the earliest mention of the Nāgara Brāhmaṇas.

(10) From the expression Māgha Vadi 30 in the first grant we find that the month was Amānta even then as now in Gujarat.

"EMPIRE OF DELHI IN EARLY MIDDLE AGES: ORGANISATION OF THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT."

BY

PROF. MOHAMMED HABIB, B.A., (OXON), M.R.A.S., ALIGARH.

[*The few scholars who have written with a first hand knowledge of the original authorities on mediaeval India have confined their attention almost exclusively to the administrative system of the Moghuls. The present article, so far as I am aware, is the first attempt to describe the governmental organisation of the first Empire (1206—1398). It is based on an analysis of the Persian texts surviving to us from the period, specially the 'Tabaqat-i-Nasari' of Minhajus Siraj. Jurjani, the 'Tarikh-i-Feroz Shahi' of Ziaudd in Burni, the later history of the same name by Shams Siraj Afif, and the 'Khazainul Futuh', 'Aijaz-i Khusrawi' and the 'Masnawis' of Amir Khusrau. I have been content to state my conclusions, without troubling the reader with the process of reasoning by which those conclusions have been reached; nor have I considered it necessary to refer to the authorities at every step*].

The Emperor.

I. The working of an autocratic system depends on the personality of the autocrat and the administration of the First Empire was no exception to the general law. Nevertheless the position of the Emperor-Sultans of Delhi was unique in the history of our land. It was a position of many weaknesses and great strength.

No immemorial tradition hallowed the prestige of the Imperial family. Baber and his descendants could point back to a line of crowned heads that receded and disappeared in the poetic fables of a pre-historic age. But such pride was not possible for our pre-Moghul Emperors. They had sprung from the people who threatened to absorb them back again. Some of them were men of humble origin; others were middle class men who had risen to the top through sheer force of genius, like Alauddin Khilji, or through the slow gradations of office, like Ghiazuddin Tughlak and his son, and their sole claim to the crown lay in their power to defend it against all pretenders. Contemporary historians are significantly silent about the earlier history of the Khiljis and the Tughlaks. This need not surprise us. The truth would have been too unpalatable to their royal patrons. The Imperial throne was a competitive post; every one could aspire for it, at the risk of his neck if he failed; it had not become the monopoly of a particular dynasty. Public opinion regarded monarchy as a desirable institution, but had not yet been deceived into thinking it an inevitable part of the cosmic order.

Monarchy and the *Shariat*; no law of succession.

Though Muslim kings have been ruling in various countries for the last thirteen-hundred years, to the *shariat* monarchy has always remained a non-legal institution. The result was curious. In the first place all distinction between the king *de facto* and the king *de jure* was lost. The Emperor for the time being could claim against his opponents all the powers that the *shariat* allows an elected governor against rebels; but a successful rebel, even if he ascended the throne over the body of his murdered predecessor, like the great Alauddin, could claim the same privileges against his enemies. Monarchy *de facto* was all that mattered; strictly speaking Muslim law knew as little of rebels as it knew of kings and in the eyes of the *shariat* the position of the king was more precarious than the job of the humblest government employee. Secondly, no definite law could be evolved for the devolution of the crown. Primogeniture is a principle unknown to Muslim law, and the Emperor's eldest son had no more right to his office than the youngest. The law of private succession which divides the property of the deceased father equally among his living sons could not be applied. The state was not recognised as the property of the king; and in any case the programme of dividing and subdividing the empire in each generation was too impracticable to be thought of. The consequence was the interminable wars of succession with which students of Indian history are only too painfully familiar. The warrior's sword was called upon to solve the problem which the jurist's pen had left in perplexity and doubt.

Rules of Custom.

Monarchy as an institution was still in its cartilage and such rules as regulated it were the result of newly established customs and public opinion. The Crown, it was expected, would be confined to the members of the royal family as had been the custom of the Persian House of Sassan. But in mediaeval India the principle had an unexpected result. Instead of helping a particular dynasty to monopolise the empire, it incited rebels to exterminate the royal family root and branch. When Alauddin came to the throne, he suppressed the family of Balban, and, later on, Malik Kafur and Khusrau Khan between themselves managed to ex-terminate the extremely prolific house of the Khiljis. The ceremony of vowing allegiance (*baiyat*) had survived from the Ommayyad Caliphs; but when a royal dynasty altogether disappeared, the nobles were expected to elect its successor from amongst themselves through a formal or informal election, and the new family occupied the same position as the old. Public opinion did not expect that the laws of private morality would be respected by the members of the royal family in their dealings with each other. The

" **Affections dear and all the charities**
" **Of father, son and brother** "

were considered sentiments highly dangerous for kings, who often proved themselves even worse than the public wished them to be. The absence of a definite law of succession could lead to no other result.

The Position of the Emperor

The Imperial throne was no sinecure. Dangers beset it on every side. The Emperor had to live in an atmosphere of perpetual suspicion and distrust. He had to beware of his own sons and brothers, of his most loyal officers and his most favoured wife. The assassin's dagger, an unending series of palace intrigues, the constant necessity of keeping his sword sharp and his reputation green and the ever-present fear that the nobles may be hatching a disloyal plot, kept his energies on the alert. Nevertheless his position, if he happened to be a man of talents, was impregnable. The ordinary citizen regarded the occupant of the throne as the "Shadow of God" on earth. After several centuries of disorder and internecine strife a unified administration had been established over the country. The Emperor appeared, and in fact was, the great bulwark of the people against civil war; in time of danger all men of sober sense rallied to his side; it was not to their advantage to have the crown put into commission among rebels whose personal ambition was as obvious as their lack of principles. An autocrat of unbounded energies was needed to keep the forces of anarchy in check; the one great virtue the subjects admired in their ruler was strength; the one fault they could never forgive him was weakness. It was not a time for *le roi faineant*. Weak-kneed princes were kicked off the throne with surprising facility. In the two centuries between the conquest of Delhi by Kutubuddin and the death of Feroz Shah Tughlak, less than a score of years fell to the lot of inefficient kings. But the power of the strong monarch knew of no limits except the patience of his not over-suffering people. The *shariat* having left him an out-law could not step in to put a legal check to his authority. After the Khilji revolution the nobles were terrorised, and they bowed to the throne in abject submission. In all political matters the will of the Emperor-Sultan was supreme; it over-rode the principles of Muslim law as well as the ancient administrative traditions of the country. And these enormous powers he was expected to use for his own personal benefit and for the welfare of the generality of his subjects (*Khalq-i-Khuda.*)

Administrative duties of the Emperor.

The administrative duties of the Emperor were as multifarious as the necessities of the state. He was the supreme legislator as well as the highest court of appeal. He led all military campaigns in person or else directed them from the capital. He supervised the workin of a far-flung but tolerably efficient spy-system that kept him informed of the 'good and bad doings of the people'. He controlled the markets and attempted to regulate the prices of the necessaries

of life. He kept a jealous eye on the governors and the higher nobility and heard the complaints of his subjects against the officers of the government. He was expected to combat famines with all the resources at his disposal and to distribute the income of his state with an unstinted bounty among the poor. Duties of quite a different kind were also thrown on his shoulders. Men of science and letters expected him to act as their patron and presiding genius and to grant them 'governorships and offices' in recognition of their work. Poets brought *qasidas* written in his honour and travellers expected a hospitable reception at his hands in return for their information and their tales. Curious as it may seem, the fact is, nevertheless, true, that mediaeval governments interfered more with the life of the people than any government is likely to do to day. Inquiries were made into the income and expenditure of all persons who were unfortunate enough to attract the attention of the administration; 'spies and reporters' poked their noses into every one's private affairs, and a futile attempt was made to keep people on the path of righteousness through a system of 'warnings and punishments'. Over this extensive machinery the Emperor presided with watchful care; his eye was everywhere; nothing important could be done without his orders; and the fear that the system of autocracy may fall into other people's hands kept him perpetually awake.

The Imperial Council.

II. There is a strong family likeness in the administrative machinery of all autocratic states, and a detailed examination will reveal many resemblances between the government of the Roman Emperors and the Sultans of Delhi. But the immediate model for the Indo-Muslim system were the monarchies of Persia, which in their turn had been very deeply influenced by Roman conceptions of government and law. Ziauddin Burni remarks that Balban organised his court after the manner of Kings of Ajam, and this is certainly true so far as the structure of the central government is concerned. The Imperial Council and the Imperial Court, the Four Ministries, the details of business procedure and almost all technical terms were imported bodily from Persia, though the necessities of the new state soon invested them with different functions and different meanings.

The Emperor-Sultan was the final executive authority for all state-affairs. But the time-honoured custom was to call a Council (*Majlis-i-Am*) of the highest officers for discussing the more important problems. The Council was consultative merely; it had no constitutional or legal powers; its meetings were secret; the Emperor could call whomsoever he liked and could overrule the most decided opinions of the Council. Nevertheless it was a thing of reality and not a sham. There is wisdom in discussion, and the Emperor saw the obvious necessity of consulting officers grown grey in the service of the government. On them he depended for the actual carrying out of his

orders; their silent and negative votes would turn his *firman* into a dead letter. Their unanimous agreement strengthened his position and their unanimous opposition was sure to make him pause. The officers insisted on being consulted and it was difficult and dangerous to deny their request. A monarch who did not care to explain his policy was naturally regarded with suspicion. The proceedings of Imperial Council have survived to us in detail and make a very interesting study. Discussions were carried on in a high-flown and courteous language. First the Emperor explained the question in a brief speech, and after giving his own views, if he had any, asked for the opinion of the Council. Every one addressed the Emperor. Both parties made repeated professions of their good faith and threw extremely vague and indirect hints at the deplorable folly, if not the treason, of their opponents. The Emperor ended by announcing his decision and the reasons that had led him to it, and praised all his officers for their devoted loyality.[1]

III.—The Imperial Court (*Majlisi-Am, Bar-i-Am*) was an institution radically different from the Council. It was a public assembly and not a confidential or consultative meeting. The Emperor sat on the throne, a large high-backed chair with a red canopy[2] above it. Behind him was stationed a body guard of slaves with drawn swords, and in front of him the noble stood stood respectfully in a semicircle with folded hands. The privilege of sitting in the Emperor's presence was rarely granted to even the highest officers. A number of chamberlains (*hajibs*) maintained law and order within the assembly, while the Mayor of the Palace (*Naib Amir-i-hajib*), one of the greatest imperial officers, stood near the Emperor amongst the ministers. Every attempt was made to impress the public with the Emperor's greatness and magnificence. The ceremonies of the Court were humiliating and servile. Prostration (*sijdah*) was necessary for every one presenting himself before the throne. Nevertheless, except on special occasions, the Court was a business assembly. Access to the Emperor was a matter of right—a right freely accorded to even the humblest and the meanest subject; and a great part of the Imperial prestige was due to the fact that every one could, with more or less trouble, lay his complaints before the monarch in person. The

1. What is calleled *Majlis-i Aish* (Pleasure-Party or sometimes simply the Sultan's *majlis* must not be confused with Imperial Council (*Majlis-i-Khas*). The former was a social gathering of the Emperor's courtiers for drinking, dancing and music, to which his ministers may, or may not, be invited. It had no political significance.

2. The red canopy was regarded as the most important of all royal symbols. Highly favoured subjects or feudatory rājas were permitted to use a canopy, but of a different colour, as an extraordinary privilege. Thus Rāja Rāma Deo of Deogir was given the title of *Rai Ray-an.* (Rāja of the Rājas, and invested with a green canopy by Alauddin Khilji in recognition of his position as the second highest dignitary of the Empire.

programme of the day's work was drawn up beforehand and people desiring an audience had to apply in time. No one was allowed to come to the Emperor empty-handed; nobles were expected to bring presents of value, but for ordinary folk anything—an old prayer carpet, a plate of mangoes, a *qasida* in the emperor's praise—was enough "! *Bismillah*! *Bismillah*!" (In the name of God) the *hajibs* cried when the petitioner entered the main door and bowed to the ground; but if he was a non-Muslim, they varied their cry and said '*Hadakallah*' (May God lead thee aright.) The petitioner offered his present to the emperor who received it with mechnical praise. Then a quick inquiry was made into his business; *qazies*, *pandits*, ministers and clerks were all present to give the information necessary and to take down the imperial order. The petitioner on being dismissed came out of another door and was paid the value of his present in cash. Every species of public business was transacted in the Imperial Court. People with a grievance came there to have their petitions heard. Appeals from the *qazi's* court were brought before the Emperor, who, whenever necessary, personally examined the witnesses. In criminal cases the judgment he delivered was enforced then and there by a number of *jallads* (executioners and torturers) always present in the precinct. Our ancestors, rightly or wrongly, preferred the law's miscarriage to its delays. Here also came the governors and other provincial officers to present themselves formally before the emperor, though detailed inquiries into provincial administration and accounts were relegated to the various ministers concerned. The sittings of the court were long and tiresome. and must have been as taxing to the emperor as to his officers.

The four Ministries.

IV. Under the supervising and directing eye of the emperor, the business of the state was divided among the four traditional ministries—Revenue (*Divan-i-Wizarat*), War (*Divan-i-Arz*), Local Government (*Divan-i-Insha*), and Markets (*Divan-i-Riyasat*). The division was not quite logical, but Persian custom permitted four ministries only and the number was adhered to. The Minister of Revenue, generally known as the *Wazir*, took precedence over his colleagues. But they were not his subordinates; there was no corporate responsibility and every minister took his orders from the emperor direct. The relation of the ministers with each other and to the emperor is well summoned up in the advice given by Bughra Khan of Lakhnauti to his son Kai Kubad. "Select four wise and experienced men from amongst your officers and consider them the four pillars of your government. Place all public affairs in their hands. Entrust one of them with the *Divan-i-Wizarat* (Revenue) and raise his status above others. Give the *Divan-i-Riyasat* to the second and believe in his words and advice. To the third assignee the *Divan-i-Arz* and ask him to look after the management of the army. Give the *Divan-i-Insha* to the fourth and leave him to reply to the petitions of the

provincial governors and officers according to his best knowledge and judgment. Keep all the four equally near to yourself and make them your advisers in all political affairs, of which they know the difficulties and dangers. Do not throw the business of the government into disorder by entrusting every thing to one man. Do not let any one of your ministers or your courtiers have too much influence over yourself or the administration. Further, every scheme you may have thought of, and every order you pass concerning the business of any of the ministries, and all confidential secrets of the state must be (discussed) in the presence of all the four ministers. Though the position of the *Wazir* is higher than the position of other ministers, it will not be prudent for you to favour any of the four pillars of your kingdom to such an extent as to wound the feelings of others and alienate their hearts." The personal relation of the emperor with his ministers were not as a rule very intimate. Generations before Nizamuddin Tusi drew attention to the fact in his *Siyasat Namah*, a strict line had been drawn between the king's courtiers and favourites (*nadim*) and his ministers (*naibs*). The minister was not in Oriental monarchies expected to play the 'fool' or to go out of his way to please the king. This was the courtier's look out, and courtiers were not allowed to meddle in state-affairs. The minister was essentially a servant of the state; his relation with his master was primarily a business relation.

The Ministry of Revenue.

The Minister of Revenue (*Naib-i-Divani-Wizarat*), in addition to his duties as the Emperor's first adviser, supervised the working the *Divan* or Revenue Office. Though Oriental empires were never the merely 'tax-collecting institutions' that Sir Henry Maine imagined them to be, yet the collection of revenue was the most delicate as well as the most important function of government. On that everything else depended. The work had to be undertaken under conditions of extraordinary difficulty and the *Wazir* had to be a man of first rate business talents. It was his duty, somehow or other, to provide the money required for the expenses of the administration. He kept an eye on the local governors and their accounts. He checked the figures sent by various officers and got out from them every *jital* they had received from the people. He had to be cautious and stern, a master of general principles as well as details, in order to keep the servants of the Revenue Office in check.

The land tax was, of course, the principal source of revenue. At first no machinery existed for its collection. The government of the Slave Kings was too weak to establish anything like a regular local government over the country; and for want of any officer of its own the Revenue Office had to arrange with the *rājas*, *rawats*, *caudharies* and *muqaddams* (headman), or whatever pre-existing authority a locality may have had, for the collection of the revenue due. A deed (*Khat*) was taken from them and they were expected to collect the tax for the state and deduct from it

a commission for their work. The plan did not succeed. The rājas and head-men considered themselves lords of the soil. They kept armed detainers, made war on each other and ignored and insulted the revenue officers. The military arm of the state was too weak to enforce the contract made, and if we are to believe the evidence of Alauddin Khilji, non-payment of taxes was the general rule.

The power of the village head-men was overthrown by Alauddin Khilji and the work of collecting the land-tax was entrusted to *amils* (tax-collectors) appointed and dismissed by the Revenue Office. The Home Provinces of the Empire—Oudh, the Doab, Eastern Punjab, Northern Rajputana, and Gujarat—were measured under the direction of Yusuf Qa-ani and the records were kept for permanent reference. During the reigns of the Khiljis and the Tughlaks the procedure seems to have been as follows. A record of the arable land in every village was kept by the village *paṭwarı* who sent direct to the Central Revenue Office an account of the tax in cash or kind paid for every plot of land. The Revenue Office also received from the *amīls* an account of the revenue they had collected and from the governors of the *Maqṭa* (province) a statement of his gross receipts and expenditure. The three accounts were then compared and any money embezzled by the revenue officers was realised by 'kicks and blows,' and the excruciating torture of the 'pincers and the rack'. All tax collected (*mahsue*) went first to the local treasury which deducted the expenses of administration and sent the remainder (*fawazīl*) to the Imperial treasury. Alauddin and Yusuf Qa-ani did not care to classify arable lands as Todar Mall did afterwards, and were content to take a fixed proportion of whatever the land produced every year. The state-share demanded from the farmers of the Doab is stated by Ziauddin Burni to have been one-half—whether of the gross or the net produce, he does not say. The inevitable result of such a procedure was the impossibility of a budget. The state could not estimate before-hand what it was going to get; its expenses were fixed but its income kept fluctuating; every thing depended on the harvest. The Emperor-Sultans relied on their hoarded gold to make up the deficit in unfortunate years.

The Ministry of War.

The Minister of War (*Naīb-ī-Arz-ī-Mumalīk, Arīz-ī-Mumalīk* [1]) is not to be confused with the Commander-in-Chief. There was no Commander-in-Chief in mediaeval India; the office would have been too dangerous for the monarchy. The commander of every campaign was appointed for the

1. Translated by Elliot as Muster-Master General. He is the predecessor of the 'Bakhsi' of the Moghul Empire. The translation of 'Mir-Arz'as Minister of Petitions by Blochman and Dr. V. A. Smith is one of the oddities of modern scholarship. Arz' here means review, not petition. Later on the Emperors themselves undertook, some of the duties of the Minister of War.

occasion. The Minister of War was generally an officer of distinction, but he was not necessarily the most eminent soldier of the day. Organising capacity was required of him rather than generalship, though he had to be fairly well acquainted with military affairs. Once a year the Minister reviewed every horseman and foot in the army. The horse and arms were carefully examined and the payment of the salary was conditional on their being passed as fit; failure to come out successful meant dismissal. The price of the horse, and probably of the arms also, was paid by the state. The time-honoured fraud was to bring horses employed for private or business purposes to the review and obtain their price from the state. The practice of branding [1] did not wholly remove the evil. In mediaeval warfare infantry counted for very little; it could not withstand a cavalry attack and was not sufficiently mobile. An efficient horseman usually had two horses; a cavalier with one horse only was looked upon as a lame man. If the horse was killed or died without any negligence on the part of the man, a new horse was supplied at the cost of the state. All salaries were paid by the Ministry in cash. Revenues and lands were rarely assigned for military service till the reign of Firoz Shah. The whole army, whether stationed at the Capital or the provinces, was directly under the command of the central power.

In time of peace the Minister of War reviewed the men once a year, for which they had to come to Delhi, and looked after the general business of the army. In time of war two further duties also usually devolved on him—the organisation of the commissariat and the collection of spoils. The first must have been extremely difficult considering the extent of the country, the far-flung military schemes of the Emperor and the general custom of not permitting the army to live on the country-side. As a rule the price of food-stuffs and other necessaries was fixed by the Ministry, and *mahājanas* and *sahukars* were directed to provide all requisites before hand on the route of the campaign. The question of spoils was a perplexing one. The *shariat* had allotted four-fifths of the spoils to the army and one-fifth to the state; but adherence to such a rule would have meant the distribution of the gold of the temples plundered from the time of Mahmud to Alauddin among the men, leaving the Emperor precious little for his pains. It was consequently ignored, inspite of the protests of the *qazis*. But it must be remembered that the earliest armies of Islam received no pay; they fought for the faith and the spoils of war was all that they got. The *shariat* rule regarding *their* rights was essentially inapplicable to men who were paid for fighting and drew their salaries in time of peace.

1 Branding (*daagh*) is popularly believed to have been an invention of Sher Shah. This is incorrect. It is mentioned by Burni in his account of Alauddin's reforms, but was probably an old custom even then. We find a reference to it in *qasidas* of the time of Mahmud of Ghaznin. All branded horses belonged to the state though they were n the possession of the horsemen;

Ministry of Local Government.

The duties of the Minister of Local Government (*Naib-i-Divan-i Insha*) were of an extremely delicate nature. Tact was the one great quality he needed. He had to convey the wishes of the Emperor to the governors and local officers, and place their petitions before the Emperor. He had to be the master of a pliable and courtly style; plain speech was not the fashion of the day, and the officers had to be kept in hand by vague threats, assumed indifference, illusory promises of reward or whatever political move the occasion required. He was the usual channel for all correspondence between the central and local government, though questions referring the particular ministries were sent to them direct. There was plenty of red tape; everything was docketted and classified; and all legal forms, bewildering to the uninitiated, had to be carefully kept in view. All government appointments were matters of contract and negotiation; after an agreement had been reached, a deed was drawn up specifying the duties of both parties; it was signed and sealed by the Emperor and the officer concerned, and then deposited among the state documents for future reference. Most Ministers of Local Government are said to have been 'men of letters' and so were many of their secretaries and clerks; but what they really required and possessed was literature as applied to diplomatic life.

Ministry of Markets.

Our mediaeval ancestors had a great horror of shop-keepers, who were accused of profiteering and it was the business of the Minister of the Markets (*Naib-i Divan-i Riyasat*) to keep them in check. When Alauddin promulgated his economic regulations, the Minister of the Market had to supervise the work; and Yakub Nazir, whom he selected for the post, possession all the virtues required of him to perfection. He was rough, harsh, hard-hearted, strict, incorruptible and well-versed in the ways and methods of the Delhi under-world. 'A scolding tongue and an itching palm must not go together',[1] says a mediaeval proverb, and the minister had certainly great opportunities of dishonest gains if he was unconscientious enough to connive at infractions of the law and leave his duties unperformed. Apart from the land-revenue, most of the other taxes were collected by him. All tavern-keepers were registered and taxed by the Ministry of the Markets; it levied the octroi duties from commodities brought to the towns and supervised the weights and measures kept by the shop-keepers. All special licenses were under its supervision, and it had to see that the inhabitants of the town were duly supplied with all the requirements of life. 'Fair' and not 'competitive' prices were the ideal of the day, and in time of famine or panic the minister intervened without hesitation and fixed the price of corn and eatables. All the business of the cities was under the control of the ministry, and the happiness of the citizens very

1. **Bazaban-i daraz dast ra kotah bayad kard'.**

largely depended on the efficiency with which the minister performed his work.

The Regent.

An extraordinary office, the Regency (*Niabat-i Mulk*) was sometimes created, either owing to the minority of the monarch or to show the confidence of the Emperor in the person entrusted with the office. The Regent stood in the Emperor's place; he was above the ministers and was not a minister himself. Considering the circumstances of the time, the office was a danger both to the holder of it as well as to the state. The high position of the regent provoked the envy of the other officers and incited the regent to aspire for the Crown that seemed to be within the reach of his arms.

Such, broadly, was the plan on which the ministries were organised. But much depended on the executive orders of the emperor and character of the ministers. The confidence of the emperor may entrust an able *Wazir* with the powers of a Regent as happened with the elder Khan-i-Jahan Maqbul in the reign of Feroz Tughlak, while an active and energetic emperor like Mohammad-bin-Tughlak was apt to treat his ministers as head-clerks or as executive officers whose only business was to carry out the orders given. The procedure also kept changing from age to age and duties were taken from one ministry and assigned to another.

Departments.

V. In addition to the ministries were a number of 'departments' (*masnad, imarat*), which were, or ought to have been, non-political, and occupied a lower status than the ministries. The chief of these was the Department of Justice presided over by the Head *Qazi* (*Sadrus Sudur*) of Delhi. Every large city had its separate *qazi* and most of the smaller towns also. Special *qazis* were appointed for the army under the direct control of the *Qazi-i-Lashkar*. The first duty of the *qazis* was to settle disputes between the Musalmans according to the rules of the *shariat*, but other functions were also assigned to them. They were expected to act as 'justices of the peace' and to settle petty quarrels in which both Hindus and Musalmans may be concerned. Appeals lay from the local *qazi* to the Head *Qazi* of Delhi and from him to the Emperor. But making an appeal was an extraordinary procedure, and was not allowed except in cases where there was an obvious miscarriage of justice. The *qazi* heard both parties and their witnesses and gave his decision then and there. No lawyers appeared to argue points of law before him. Unlike other officers the *qazis* were generally appointed for life.

Much bitterness was aroused by some controversies connected with the administration of the law. The *qazis* naturaly tried to make themselves independent of the government, and as interpreters of the *shariat* they could make out a good *prima facie* case for themselves. The autonomy

of the modern high courts has led to much that is good and to nothing that is harmful. But mediaeval conditions were different. Muslim law was regarded as a code unchanging and unchangeable; and unlike modern states, which are professedly law-making institutions, the government of mediaeval India could only control the law by controlling its interpretation. So the *qazis* have to be subdued. Here, as elsewhere, the machinery of autocracy owed much to Alauddin Khilji. On the death of Sadruddin Arif, the Head Qazi of Delhi, he appointed one of his most devoted and unscruplous servants, Hamid of Multan, to the vacant post; and the Multani *bachah*, as his enemies used to call him, compelled his department to work in obedience to the Emperor's wishes. The precedent was followed by later emperors; the judicial office ceased to be a thing which 'men of piety and learning' could claim as a right; it was a government favour to be granted to those who were sufficiently pliable and subservient. Unfortunately the position taken up by the *qazis* more than justified their fate. Faced with the problems of a new country which had never been contemplated by the commentators, they refused to be guilty of a rational interpretation and cried for an impracticable enforcement of the bare letter of the law in direct opposition to its intention and spirit. The state did not interfere in cases that involved private rights only; administrative questions did not come within the purview of the *qazis*: consequently the bone of contention was the criminal law promulgated by the state. Muslim law, like Roman Law, is very undeveloped on the criminal side. The *Quaran* gives a few rules but they were never elaborated or studied. The 'thief; for instance, is to have his (or her) hands cut off—but what is a 'thief'? There are series of allied crimes, petty larceny, embezzlement, peculation, house-breaking, dacoity and highway robbery--in which either forcible possession is taken of what belongs to another, or he is fraudulently denied the possession to which he is entitled. Are these crimes to be treated as 'theft' and all allotted the same punishment? The *qazis* had no answer. They protested against the meeting out of the maximum punishment to crimes not really serious; but they had nothing positive to put forward and none the less claimed that the law of the state had no business to interfere. The Emperor had no alternative but to ride rough-shod over the scruples of the *qazis*. And he did so.

The law of crime was secular and common to both the communities, but our authorities cast little or no light on the decision of cases in which Hindu law was involved. They certainly did not come up before the *qazis*; while Muslim law has been often overriden by customs adopted from the Hindus, Hindu law nowhere shows any evidence of that modification it certainly would have undergone, if its enforcement had been entrusted to Musalmans. Probably the machinery of the village *pañcāyat* was still retained for judicial purposes. An appeal, from its decision lay to the provincial governor. For Hindus as well as Musalmans,

the Emperor was the final court of appeal and Hindu Paṇḍits were always present to advise him on questions of Hindu law.

Departments of Admirality and Agriculture.

The two smaller departments that may be mentioned here are the Admiralty (*Amir-ul-Bahr*) and agriculture (*Amir-i-Kho*). The Empire came into touch with the sea but there was no navy. The duties of the Admiral were prosaic and safe. He supervised the boats on the Jamna, Ganges and other rivers, regulated the fares of ferries and the transit of merchandise up and down the stream. The department of Agriculture dealt with the schemes of agricultural improvement which the government had almost always in hand. The main effort was concentrated on rendering many barren tracts, that lay in the various parts of the country, fertile through better manuring and the excavation of canals. Experiments were made to discover if a better system for the rotation of crops could be devised ; many forests were cleared and much money was spent in subsidising farmers and contractors who promised to initiate better methods of cultivating the land It is obvious that a government drawing the larger part of its revenue from the land could not ignore improvement, that promised to be so beneficial to the treasury.

The Imperial Bureaucracy.

VI.—Mediaeval India is sometimes spoken of as 'feudal'. This is an absurd blunder and arises from a misconception of the meaning of feudalism and an ignorance of the true character of the government of the first Empire. Pastoral tribes, when they settle down and take to agriculture, normally organise themselves on a feudal plan. The great leader of the horde becomes the king of the land ; the chiefs of the tribes become his feudataries or fiefholders ; and in subordination to them the heads of the families or clans assume the position of landlords from whom the tenant or farmer gets his land. Now the great feature of such a society is its divided allegiance ; the head of the government never comes into direct contact with the tiller of the soil but can only command him through a series of intermidiaries, each of whom is in a position of semi-independence. A, a farmer, holds his land from B, who holds it from C, who holds it from D and so on to Z, the king, and it is inevitable that A, B, C and D would be more inclined to follow the chief immediately above them rather than the distant and unknown king. Add to it, military service became an incidence of land-tenure. A, who held so much land, was bound to bring so many men to the army of B, who in turn led them to the army of C and so on through the intermediate links to the king. The system was ruinous to the agricultural progress of the country as well as to the discipline of the army ; persons good at fighting were not likely to prove good farmers and vice-versa. while the military orders of the king were not considered binding by the men if their immediate officer, whose tenants they were for all times, took it into his head to command them

otherwise. All offices were hereditary; from the king to the lowest farmer every one was succeeded by his eldest son and every thing depended on birth. Status, not contract, was the basis of the society. Such in general outline was the feudalism of mediaeval Europe, and such also was the system of mediaeval Rajputs. The Rāna of Cittor was the over-lord of all Rājput clans. All chiefs were in theory subordinates to him—but in theory only. For practical purposes they were independent and fought and intrigued according to their own sweet will. The orders of the Rāna were not obeyed beyond his own territory.

The territorial state of Delhi.

The Empire of Delhi was in sharp contrast with the 'organised anarchy' of the Rājputs. It was a territorial state of modern type. The sovereign was supreme over all causes. The governors were not heads of feudal tribes and clans but servants of the Emperor appointed and dismissed at his pleasure, and their offices, far from being hereditary, were not even for life. The army was not 'feaudalised.' The men were enlisted directly by the Emperor and paid by him. They vowed him their allegience and knew no other master. All land was owned by the state. There were no intermediaries between it and the tenant, who obtained his farm and paid its rent to the government direct. It is obvious that while the feudalism of the Rajputs frittered away their energies by a system of divided allegiance, the Empire of Delhi concentrated all its resources under the direction of a single monarch, who controlled every thing through servants dependent on himself.

Bureaucratic grade.

This hightly developed bureaucracy was duly graded and classified according to the decimal system. Ten men were placed in charge of a *sar-lashkar* or *sar-khail*, ten *sar-khails* were commanded by one *amir*, ten *amirs*, by one *malik* ten *maliks* by one *khan*, and it was desired that there should be at least ten *khans* in the kingdom. Thus a *khan*=*amir-i-tuman*=commander of a *tuman* or a body of 10, 000; *a malik*=*amir-i-Hazarah*=commander of 1,000; an *amir* or *amir-i-sadah*=commander of 100; a *sar khail*=*amiroi dah*=commander of 10. The term *amir* was often used to signify all officers commanding one hundred men or more, but the *sar-khail* though he was sometimes complimented with the title of *amir-i-dah* did not count as a person of any importance or standing.

Bureaucratic titles.

A few words may be added to explain the meaning of the titles and the origin of the system of classification. In the history of Muslim Asia most titles have been subject to a slow and gradual degradation; and, *sultan*, *khan*, *malik* and *amir* illustrate the unfortunate process. The term *amir* in modern Urdu means a rich man. In Arabic it signified a *ruler*, *commander*, *supreme governor*, the person from whom *amr* or order originated. The Second Caliph, finding the title of 'Successor to the Successor of the

Prophet' uncomfortably long, invented the designation of '*Amirul Mominin*' (Commander of the Faithful). The kings that rose in Ajam on the decline of the Abbaside Calliphate assumed the title of '*Amir*' [1] to indicate their curious position of legal subordination to, and practical independence of, the 'Amirul Mominin.' When the designation of '*sultan*' was invented for Mahmud of Ghaznin, the word was farther degraded to mean not a semi-independent ruler but one of his more important officers. The word *malik* is also Arabic and is used in the Quran as equivalent to *chief, ruler* and *king*. The pre-Muslim emperors of Persia called themselves *Milikul Muluk* (King of Kings) and the Parthians were designated *Mulukut Tawaif* (tribal kings). But unlike *amir*, *malik* did not come into popular use and constantly maintained a higher dignity. Nowadays a number of familes, both Hindus and Mussalmans, whose ancestors were *maliks* once, have come to use the word as a patronym in utter ignorance of its original significance: The word *khan* has had even a more troubled history. In India it means any Afghan; in Afghanistan it is applied exclusively to men of some standing and distinction; petty princes assume the title in Turkistan, while among the Ottoman Turks it was used an equivalent to Sultan, the head of the state. It was originally a Turko-Chinese word and meant the great overlord of all Turkish tribes. Kha-an and Qaan were both used, *kh* and *q* being interchangeable in Turkish. The title of *Khaqan* given by Firdausi to the Emperor of China seems a shortened form of *Khan-Qa-an* (Khan of Khans). Chengiz throughout his career was known by no other title but that of *Khan* and his successors also found it the highest designation they could assume. The semi-independent princes of Turkistan were known as *Khans* in the 9th and 10th centuries just as the minor princes of Persia were known as *amirs*. With the conquest of Turkestan by the Mussalmans, the title of *khan* came to be given to the highest officers of the state, and in that sense it was imported in to India. The premier *khan* was called *Ulugh* or *Alf* (First) Khan, a title which was later on changed into *Khan-i-Khanan*, while the premier *amir* was called *Amirul Umara*. *Khan*, *malik* and *amir* were all official titles given by the state; they were not indications of racial origin or family standing, and a private person assuming them would have been punished. Both Hindus and Mussalmans could become *maliks* and *amirs*; there are a few odd cases of Hindus being created *khans*, but the Hindu equivalent of *khan* was *Rai*, and of *Khan-i-Khanan*, *Rai Rayan*. But unlike the *khans*, the *Rais* of the empire were not government servants but mediatised princes, who inherited their principality as well as their title. The title of '*Sultan*' was first invented to indicate the unique position occupied by Mahmud of Ghaznin. He was the first person to establish a Muslim empire distinct from the Caliphate; the title of *amir* seemed too small for

1. This significance is still preserved in the title of the Amir of Afghanistan.

a ruler whose powers extended from the Punjab to the Caspian and from Samarkand to Ray, and a new word was brought into the official vocabulary to signify the advent of the first of the great Muslim Emperors. The minor kings of Ghazni and Ghor, whose pretentions far out-stripped their power, would have degraded the new title also, but the rise of the Seljuq dynasty in Persia and the Empire of Delhi in India contributed to keep its dignity intact. In India the Persian words '*Shah*' was also added to it and the combination '*Shah-us-Sultan*' (Emperor-Sultan) was not an inappropriate designation for the half-pagan, half-Muslim monarchical office.

Origin of the system of classification.

While the court and the central government of the Delhi Empire was organised according to Persian models, the administration of the army followed Turkish lines. Universal conscription for the army seems to have been an immemorial institution among the Turkish races and was the foundation of their military strength. It worked with surprising efficiency and ease and won the admiration of all foreign observers. Alauddin Ata Malik Juwaini has described the system as it existed in the time of Chengiz. All persons capable of bearing arms were called to the army whenever necessary. The male population of the country was divided into groups of ten each under an *amir-i-dah*; ten *amir-i-dah* were grouped under an *amir-i-sadah*, ten of the latter under a *amir-i-hazarah*, and ten *amir-i-hazarah* were grouped into a *tuman* which was the highest military unit. It was natural that the Turks, who came to preponderate in the armies of most Islamic countries, should popularise the system to which they had been accustomed in their homelands. The conquests of Chengiz Khan, at a later date, seemed to impress it with the hall-mark of success. Yet through slow changes and gradual adaptations it was divested of its most important features till there remained nothing but a series of suppositious calculations. Conscription was not worked in Persia, but the Turkish system seems to have been used for classifying and grading the officers of the army. A further change came with the Muslim settlement of Northern India after Shahabuddin Ghori. Military officers were burdened with civil duties, which, with the evolution of a regular government, came to take more and more of their time. In the end administrative work became the normal duty of most officers, while supervision of the army within the territory under their jurisdiction and occasional service on the battle-field became a mere accident. The decimal system of calculation also became a rough indication of their status and ceased to signify the men under their actual command. All *maliks* and *amirs* never commanded the same number; what made them important, or otherwise, was the land under their jurisdiction and the revenues they brought to the Imperial treasury. The decimal system was inconvenient for enlisted armies; it have too

great jumps and allowed no place for intermediate units. Very often two or four thousand men would be required to garrison a fort or go on an expedition and for these the system had no place. It was consequently cast aside ; *khan*, *malik* and *amir* simply served to show that an officer belonged to the first, second or third rank. Akbar's re-grading of the bureaucracy into *mansabdars* (officers) commanding from 500 to 10,000 men was a reform of the old decimal system on more up-to-date and useful lines.

Origin of the bureaucracy in slavery

But while the bureaucracy derived its classification from the decimal system of the Turks, its origin is to be traced to the slaves purchased, trained and promoted by the 'minor dynasties' of Persia, and to the end of its days it bore on its face the impression of its servile origin. An officer could not marry without the Emperor's permission. He could not hold pleasure-parties or go to visit his brother-officers without informing the government. When he died, he was inherited not by his sons but by the Emperor, who as a compensation undertook to look after the children of the deceased and very often enrolled them in his service. Every sphere of his life, public as well as private, was under the Emperor's control. He was subjected to a surveillance and autocracy from which all other citizens were free. Centuries later the observant Bernier was amazed at this strange phenomena of 'socialism' which so flagrantly flouted the rights of private property. Yet the solution of the puzzle is simple enough. Mediaeval India was not socialistic ; it recognised the right of property, but such a right could not be claimed by those who were themselves the property of others. The status of the government servant was that of a slave. A slave can have no property of his own ; he cannot marry where he likes ; he is inherited by his master when he dies and his sons are heirs to nothing but his slavery. In earlier days most officers were actually slaves, but the incidents of slavery kept adhering for centuries to the corps even when it was largely joined by free men.

A despotic system of government cannot exist without an efficient bureaucracy to support it, and it was soon discovered that the young and handsome Turks brought captive from the tribes of Turkestan and Mawaraun Nahr supplied excellent material for the recruitment of such a corps. The slave-merchants spared no effort in the education of the most promising boys in their hands, and they were well paid for their labour as the price of a really efficient slave was high. The best slaves were purchased by the kings and nobles and had prospects in life denied to free men. The great danger to the government of the day was the disloyalty of its officers ; provincial governors were only too prone to declare independence and their subordinate officers very often rebelled against them in their turn. A bureaucracy of slaves provided the best possible guarantee against this tendency to local independence. The slave was the property of

the master and anything he earned or embezzled would sooner or later came into his master's power. Rough hands had torn him away from his tribe and people, and starting life in a foreign country, he had no kindred or relations to interfere with his devotion to his master's person. While the property of his master at law, the slave was no less dependent on him in fact. He had no status except what his master allowed him. He was not sprung from the soil and there was no *a priori* reason why, in a case of antagonism between the ruler and his subjects, he should attach himself to the latter. These considerations had great weight with the kings as well as their higher nobles, and from the ninth century onwards the more important offices were monopolised by Turkish slaves, and even free men lost their freedom by entering the service of the government.

The bureaucracy of the Slave Kings.

We are here only concerned with the system as it worked in India, Shahabuddin Ghori had no sons and he consoled himself by collecting together a large body of Turkish slaves who formed the officers of his army and were entrusted with the Indian territories as they were conquered one after another. The extinction of Shahabuddin's dynasty left them without a master; the tie of 'salt and sonship' that might have kept them in obedience to House of Ghor seemed to demand that they should obey no one else. First a triangular duel commenced between Kutubuddin Aiybek of Delhi, Nasiruddin Kubacha of Sindh and Tejuddin Yilduz of Ghaznin; and when Tajuddin was deprived of his kingdom by the Mongols and Nasiruddin was conquered by Iltimish, the 'slave-officers' of Delhi took to intriguing against each other. Their object, as a class, was two-fold. First, they wished to prevent the Crown from becoming to powerful. The king was one of themselves and they saw no reason why a divinity should be allowed to hedge him. His power could only grow at their expense; it would put an end to their independence and prevent them from exploiting the newly won country. Secondly, a large number of Hindus, thanks to the propaganda of the Muslim mystics, had been converted to Islam. What was to be their status? The *shariat*, of course, treats all Mussalmans as equal, but the Turkish grandees made up their mind that the Indian Mussalmans must be suppressed and the offices of the government preserved as a monopoly of the Turkish race. Many of the new Muslims had been enrolled from the lower classes, and any amount of scorn and contempt was poured over their heads on the score of their low birth. It was laid down as a principle of profound political wisdom that no office should be given to a low caste man[1]; and the new aspirant to the Islamic privilege of social equality was contrasted to his discredit with the honoured families of the Indian *Rais* who had proved true to their ancient faith.

---

1. Thus according to a wretched verse which won the approval of Balban.—
"*Ba siflah ra madih khamah ki gardun ra majal uftad.*
"*Siyah sangay ki dar Kaba'st sasad sang-i-istinja.*

The Turkish officers were fairly successful at first. The crown was practically put into commission. Shamsuddin in Iltimish had with difficulty kept himself on his storm-tossed throne, but his sons were set up and pulled down with bewildering rapidity and the heroic Raziya lost her life in a vain attempt to subdue the spirit of aristocratic lawlessness. The Indian Mussalman was made to feel his insignificance in every sphere of life. Intermarriage was not a thing to be thought of; even talking to an ordinary Mussalman or meeting him on a social footing was considered something degrading. The Turks might have preserved their power indefinitely, if they had combined to defend the government against its enemies and cultivated a strong spirit of co-operation. But while striking both at the Crown and the people, they were themselves divided into bitter factions. Every one of them imagined himself to be a Khusrau or a Kai-Kubad and shouted, "I and none other" (*Ana wa la ghaire*). Blood-feuds arose and were handed down from father to son; bill co-operation even against the enemies of the aristocracy became impossible. The first below came from above. Ghiasuddin Balban after rising to the throne with the help of his brother officers, thought it his duty to remove the most important of them by a liberal use of poison and the assassin's dagger. But he was after all a Turk and desired the subjection, not the annihilation, of the aristocracy. After his death, the Turks again started their game of keeping puppets on the throne and dividing the country among themselves. But circumstances had changed. The opposition had been, slowly gathering in mass and volume; and while the aristocrats continued their death-dance over a ground that trembled and shook beneath their feet, the revolutionary forces, strengthened by an ever increasing number of converts, exploded and blew them into the air. Balban's grandson and successor, Kai Kubad, drank himself to death, and the officers after placing his son, a mere child, on the throne, drew up a list of persons doomed to death. At the head of the list was the name of the venerable minister of war, Jalaluddin Khilji. The sequel was a surprise to the Turks. Jalaluddin massed his forces against them and proved himself more than a match for his opponents. The Turks had to yield without a battle. The child-king was deposed and Jalaluddin mounted the throne at the advanced age of seventy. The moderations of the new emperor and his reluctance to shed the blood of even his most bitter opponents served to mask the change. The middle classes of the towns of Hindustan were solid for the new regime and the citizens of Delhi, 'who found the rule of the Khiljis intolerable', were let in quiet. A large number of the Turkish officers were reappointed to their offices. Still the aristocratic Turkish ring was broken; the Indian Mussalmans, and such Hindus as were willing to co-operate with them, had secured a place in the sun. Jalaluddin's nephew, Alauddin, drove the argument home. He first won the Turkish nobles from the party of his

uncle by false promises and bribes, and then as soon as his power was firmly established, exterminated them wholesale. Many of the Turkish officers were put to death, some were blinded and others were imprisoned in distant forts. Their property was confiscated, and their families and followers were over thrown. Only three members of the old aristocracy, one of them a Khilji, the second a converted Rājput and the third a non descript Mussalman—were incorporated in the new aristocracy which was entirely a creation of the Sultan. The revolution was complete. The government had passed from the foreign Turks to the Indian Mussalmans and their Hindu allies. India was henceforth to be governed by administrators sprung from the soil. It was a sectional government, no doubt, but so have been all governments in all countries that history knows of.

The new aristroracy was kept in a position of stern subjection. No emperor of India, not even Akbar, the Great, has been such a terror to his nobles as Alauddin Khilji. Spies and reporters were stationed at the gate of every officers and daily informed the sultan of all that happened. Nothing was over-looked, and punishment was swift and sure when proper explanations were not forthcoming. The nobles were ordered not to visit each other or to invite guests; they were even afraid of talking when brought together for business to the Imperial Court. None of them was allowed to marry without the Emperor's permission, lest family alliances should enable them to form strong and powerful cliques. The new officers had not been formed out of a body of slaves, but all the conditions of slavery were imposed on a service recruited from a free-born population.

THREE CONTEMPORARY LETTERS ON THE VIJAYANAGARA KING VEṄKAṬA II OF THE ĀRAVĪḌU DYNASTY.

BY

REV. H. HERAS, S.J., M.A., BOMBAY.

Mr. Robert Sewell in his *Forgotten Empire* speaking of the Portuguese attempts to eject the Dutch from Pulicat in the first half of the 17th century, writes as follows :—

" Senhor Lopes tells me that he has found in the National Archives in the Torre do Tombo, amongst the '*Livros das Moncoes*,' a number of papers bearing on this subject. The most interesting are those contained in Volume XXXIV. (Fol. 91-93). These were written by the Captain General of Meliaper (St. Thome), by Padre Pero Mexia of the Company of Jesus, and by the Bishop ; and among the other documents are to be seen translations of two palm-leaf letters written by the King of Vijayanagara, then at Velloro. It appears from these that the King was devoid of energy, and that one Timma Rāya had revolted against him [1]."

These two hints promise the letters referred to, to be very interesting historical documents about one of the latest known Emperors of Vijayanagara. They however have not yet been published, although Sewell's work first appeared in 1900. When I started to collect materials for the history of the Āravīḍu Dynasty of Vijayanagara a year ago, I wrote to the Archivist of the National Archives of the Torre do Tombo, Lisbon, asking for a photograph of these letters. But to my great disappointment several months passed without my receiving any reply to this request, and as a matter of fact no news has come up to the present, so I fancy it is a lost case.

But in the meanwhile I was going to be very much more fortunate within the boundaries of India. Because, searching after new information on the aforesaid Āravīḍu dynasty in the official Archives of Pangim, Goa (*Archivo da Secretaria Geral do Governo*), I unearthed from among huge heaps of documents the letters of the Captain-General of St. Thome, of Fr. Pero Mexia and of the Bishop of the place. Seldom did I return home as happy and satisfied during my stay at Pangim as that evening, the letters I had been hoping for vainly for several months, were carefully copied and filed in my collection of documents.

How can we explain the existence of these duplicates in the Archives at Pangim ? For these Pangim letters, are only copies of the originals, as I had supposed the Lisbon Manuscripts to be. Since the possession of the fort of

1. Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, p. 233.

Pulicat was always considered of great importance by the Portuguese, the Viceroy of Goa thought it advisable to send the letters received on these transactions to the King of Portugal himself, but not before being copied in Goa in order to be also kept in his own Archives. Such are the copies I found almost three centuries after. That they are simply copies is evident after a careful examination. Nowhere is this affirmed, indeed, as in other documents, for instance a letter of Philip III of Spain and Portugal to Veṅkaṭa I, as published in *The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society of Bangalore*, entitled : *Copia da Carta que va nestas Vias para el Rey de Bisnaga* [1]. But the size of the paper is not different from the rest of the volume, and the very hand-writing quite known to me as the one of a copyist of the government offices, give no ground for reasonable doubt.

Among all these letters, those written by Fr. Pero Mexia are the most important ; the ones written by the Captain-General and the Bishop of St. Thome, confirmed only the account sent by the Jesuit to the Viceroy, and the source of their knowledge was the same Fr. Mexia, who had written to them also an account of his journey. For this reason I shall publish here only Fr. Mexia's letters. They are contained in *Moncoes do Reino. No. 19. Ano de 1633, fol. 1154—1158* ; written on an ordinary strong 10" × 7½" paper. The ink has become quite yellow after almost three centuries and the paper is torn some times or eaten by white ants ; so that it is not an easy task to read them straight off. They bear this heading: "*tres Cartas do Pe. Pero mexia.*"

Fr. Pero Mexia, was a Portuguese Jesuit who had then spent many years in India. In the old catalogues of the Society of Jesus in India he appears in 1604 at Manapad, in 1610 and 1611 in the College of St. Thome as Minister and Procurator, from the end 1611 to 1613 at Devanapaṭṇam, a small Mission established there after the expulsion from the place of the Dutch traders by Kṛṣṇappa Nāyaka of Gingi at the request of Veṅkaṭa I [2]; in 1619—1620 he is military Chaplain in 'Manicavari'; from 1628 to 1634 he is Vice-Rector of the College of St. Thome and it was then that he was deputed by the Viceroy Dom Miguel de Noronha, Conde de Linhares, as his Ambassador to the court of Veṅkaṭa II. Then in 1634 he was appointed Rector at Kulam, in Travancore, where he died in 1639, being 70 years old.

The Mission entrusted to him by the Portuguese Viceroy was extremely delicate. Early in 1606 the Dutch attempted to settle at Pulicat to extend their trade throughout the East Coast of India, but King Veṅkaṭa I influenced at this time by the Jesuits, did not allow them to establish themselves in his dominions. But when the friendship between the King

1. July 1924, Vol XIV, p. 312.

2. See my article *The Jesuit Influence in the Court of Vijayanagara*. The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society of Bangalore, XIV, p. 138.

and those missionaries was broken, about 1609 or 1610 the Dutch succeeded finally and founded a factory at Pulicat and even established a mint by a special privilege granted by Veṅkaṭa. The Portuguese prepared themselves at once for capturing the Dutch fort, which became one of their greatest nightmares in India, and in 1613 the Viceroy was thinking of sending a fleet there to accomplish this object, but on being informed that the English traders, who were just then starting their fortunate series of voyages through the eastern seas, had been repulsed by the Dutch, the Portuguese realized that to attain their purpose was impossible unless in combination with the Vijayanagara Sovereign [1]. But just then old king Veṅkaṭa died and after his demise the tragic civil war narrated by Barradas and the *Rāmarājīyamu* ensued. This forbade any attempt on the part of the Portuguese to make an alliance with Vijayanagara to expel the Dutch from their quarters. So, after the short reign of Rāma, pourparleurs were opened between the Portuguese and his successor Veṅkaṭa II to carry out their purpose. It was on this occasion and with this aim that Fr. Pero Mexia was commissioned by the Viceroy as his special envoy to the court of Veṅkaṭa II.

The success of his deputation will be shown in his own letters to the viceroy written from the very court of Vellore. The Portuguese original will appear in the Appendix to the second volume of my history of the Āravīḍu Dynasty. I shall publish here only their English translation, that runs as follows :—

First Letter.

Sir,—I have written to you about my arrival and my immediate call by the king in the afternoon of the day consecrated to St. John the Baptist. I reached the place where the army was located only on Tuesday after a journey of two days and a half. However I could not see the king immediately as he had gone to Ginja to dismiss the army. The queen, or the king's concubine, invited me to stay. Only after midnight on Tuesday the king came back after spending the whole of Tuesday in taking leave of the army at Ginja. On Wednesday morning, 28th of the month the king sent me word that he had come back quite fatigued, consequently he would call upon me only after his lunch, as he did. I met the king quite alone and he received me with the utmost enthusiasm and addressed me in tender words. I handed over to the king your letters and present together with two other letters from the Bishop and captain-general. The interview lasted for nearly two hours. I also gave the king the mirror and the piece of cloth sent by your Excellency. The king asked me to

1. I gathered almost all this information from Manuscript document either of the Pangim Archives or the Archives of the Society of Jesus. They will be published in the first volume of my history of the Āravīḍu Dynasty.

come again on the night of the same day that he would at any cost furnish me with a reply. Seeing that the king was very busy on that night and on the three following days, I thought that he would not be able to give me a reply, so I declined to go on the night fixed. On Sunday, the day of the Visitation of Virgin Mary and St. Elizabeth at 10 o'clock at night he sent a secret message calling me. I met him alone with one of his favourites in one of the inner compartments of the house, very happy, with a crown of roses, and he addressed me thus :—In reference to the memorandum of the Viceroy, I have to tell you, firstly that I am prepared to expel the Dutch from Palleacate and other parts of my kingdom, with the firm determination not to allow them nor other thieves in the fortress of Tevanapaṭam. Chinana did not act with my permission nor with that of the Naique of Ginja ; it is true that he had asked permission to construct some houses, because his brother had robbed him; but in a couple of days I shall give orders to cut off his hands and extract his eyes, because many complaints of him have reached my ears, and the fortress will be taken.

As regards the delivery of horses, elephants and money over to me in Jafanapatam it is not just ; neither do I ask for them before the delivery of Paleacate, nor have I ships nor means to get them here ; it will be necessary that the same fleet which will take them there, would bring them to the fortress of St. Thome. And he repeated this several times, and that was reasonable that your Excellency would do so, etc. The third point that he touched on is that the money promised to Timma Rāya and Raṅgapa Rāya should not be given to them if they were to continue in the rebellious state in which they were, because they were in possession of a great part of the kingdom ; but in spite of their being destroyed by him and that they were no longer in the bonds of friendship with him (the king) nor were going to enter this league, he the king does not wish for the money at all, but since I have told him so much of your Excellency's generosity he leaves it entirely to your discretion hoping that your Excellency will think proper to add some more horses, elephants, etc., according to your Excellency's liberalities and grandeur. As regards the tribute and pension of the fortress says the king that the fortress shall continue to enjoy the same privileges of liberty and pension, which are also prevalent at St. Thome. The king had always at Paleacate and St. Thome his adigars (governors) and he has them still there and receives from these lands the income of 8 thousand patacces (Brazilian coin) which is expected to be increased at present ; hence the fortress will remain as it was when taken, with the same privileges, lands and pensions and if the Portuguese like to have it upon these condisions, says the king, he has no objection at all, but if they are unwilling to have them on these terms he, will continue to appoint his adigars as he has done till now.

In reference to the hostages, the king asked me to tell Your Excellency to recommend this to the captain-general and the inhabitants of St. Thome and everything will carefully be done ; because the king says that to avoid bribing the captains and other such treachery, he will witness personally everything. He added besides : I am taking this trouble on your behalf, Father, because you are my friend. In return I offered myself to be next to him on the occasion, for which he thanked me very much. The king to my mind does not make any unreasonable request ; anyhow your Excellency may act according to your views.

The king handed over to me an *olla* (letter) for your Excellency written on a golden plate, where he in brief refers to the aforesaid things. Consequently I see no need to send an extract of the letter written in Portuguese, where the same things are said, but in detail and more diffusely. The bearer takes the 'Golden letter' laid in a silver cover. This is what I did as regards the essentials of our business. Now I shall narrate some things observed by me here, but before this let me tell you that this business was carried on in the most complete secrecy : myself, my Cariacapule, the king and one of his servants alone being present. The day I reached the Royal Camp, one Dutchman and an ambassador from the king of Siam were just leaving the place after offering the king two elephants, one golden casket full of musk-seeds in the name of the king of Siam, and in name of the Dutch they offered one bag full of grain, one full of corn and another full of nutmeg; one cask of ordinary small size full of camphor, all presents being valued at four-thousand Xerafins (old coin) ; each bag contained 1 quintal (100 lbs). In spite of all these rich presents the king gave them only 100 pagodas (gold coin in India) for their expenses : sending a message through the ambassador of Siam that he would not have another interview with them. The ambassador came to complain to me that though I have taken no presents to the king as he did the king gave me more respect than to him and granted me a village. I told him that the king knew me many years ago and was familiar to me.

Your Excellency's letters to Raṅga Parāio and Timarāio are not yet handed over, but I have sent them word that I had the letters and if they wished could send for them ; in reply they asked me to come over to their place under pretext of a visit, which I declined in order to please the king for whose sake I refused to talk to them ; though I confess that I talked to Raṅga Parāio who came to this town when the king refused to talk to him; and he went back to Tanjore because the king took every thing from him even his own houses ; the king treated him so, on account of certain words he once pronounced against him. This Raṅga Parāio sent me a message and also told me personally that Manigno Ranho and Salavador Rezende have often written to him, that I have cheated him, the king and Timma Rāya, and that I was going to Goa for good; and that an ultimatum

to this business could only be given by them and Diogo de Mello. I also ask you to entrust to them the business and to exempt me from the same. They will carry it out with the same fidelity as their ancestors used with Christ and His Church.

I do not wish to be too long and trouble your Excellency, whose life may Our Lord prolong for many years.

Vellur today 13th July, 1634.

FR. PERE MEXIA,

Second Letter.

By the vessel Chique I have sent Your Excellency a letter giving you news of my arrival and in the same I also told you that the king had called me. I went by the vessel as far as the Royal camp where the king was, but before I could see him he had left the place. I suppose Your Excellency has not replied to my letter as the letter did not contain any other topic. After some days more another vessel by name Ranras set out, which took two letters, one from me and the other *olla* from the king addressed to Your Excellency, by which he renders his thanks for your presents, mention of which I do not like to make here in order not to tire you. The contents of the King's letter I have only told the Captain-general and the Bishop, because in so doing I thought I would please you. As the mail did not reach up to now and I have no reply from you as yet, I shall not deal with any business at present. The king as soon as he came back to Vellūr was seriously ill; after finding himself a little better he went for a change in a cool and healthy place called Ingenerao where he is quite all right and healthy. When the king was sick he sent the army to take certain fortresses and other places up country *i.e.*, only those places which disobeyed him, from which he get large amount of money. He is now holding a council with his captains; but they are divided among themselves : some were of opinion that the king should go to Peroonde (Penukoṇḍa), which is a very distant place, thirty days' distance from Vellūr to the north of this fortress, next to the Muhammadan frontier; it seems that these will be successful. Others are of opinion that he should go to Tanjaur or Negapatam with the intention of dethroning the Naique and replacing him by one of his own sons; as this is the best advice............(the three following lines are illegible in the Ms.)

....

I say that the best advice was to make his own son Naique of Negapatam or Tanjaur, because the Rāyas are unwilling to accept his son as the king for he is not the son of Rāyati but illegitimate son of a different caste. He has already appointed crown-prince to the kingdom his nephew, his brother's son a young man of great expectation. When I went to see the king I heard so twice..The

king has already placed in Paleacate, as I said to you before, one of his private men so that the Malaios are reduced to nothing else but merchants (*chatins*). We shall do nothing else but to ask God to give you successive victories over these enemies of his Holy Name and faith.

Today 5th September, 1634.

FR. PERO MEXIA.

Third Letter (an extract)

....

The king of Bisnaga after recovering from the sickness, became wiser he did not go personally to Peroonde (Penukoṇḍa) but sent the prince, his nephew and heir-apparent to the throne and with him Timma Rāya whose two wives are retained as hostages in the fortress of Vellūr in order to keep him faithful to his duty. Some other captains of great fame go along with the Prince. The king has already returned to Vellūr where I shall go to visit him and at the same time to congratulate him on his recovery. It is a general talk that he wishes to make his sons Naique of Tanjaur and Negapatam which is very likely because the king has kept under his protection some captains, enemies of the Naique of Tanjaur and in close relations with that of Ginjya (Gingi)..

....

Today 23 September, 1634.

FR. PERO MEXIA.

Such are the letters of Fr. Pere Mexia. They reveal the hitherto unknown transactions between the Portuguese and Vekṅaṭa II as regards the expulsion of the Dutch from Pulicat, which failed on account of the inconstancy of the king. The volatile character of the Sovereign is likewise shown in the document, as well as his lack of health. The relations between the Sovereign and the Nāyak of Tanjore were by no means satisfactory so much so that the former was thinking of installing in Tanjore one of his illegitimate sons; these are the first manifestations of the treason that burst out during the reign of his successor and caused the total ruin of the old Vijayanagara Empire. On the other hand his nephew and successor, the future Raṅga III, is presented as a young man of great qualities and of great expectation; so he was indeed, although he could not fight against his own fate. Finally one of the concubines of Veṅkaṭa, the mother of one of his sons, who belonged to a different cast, is twice mentioned in these letters, she must be the woman whose will so disastrously influenced the old Sovereign in his last years to such an extent that she is called the real ruler of the Empire. Being in secret intercourse with Tirumala Nāyaka of Madura she fostered in him ideas of independence, thus preparing the final downfall of the Empire, according to an unpublished contemporary document, in my possession.

INDIAN COLONISATION IN THE FAR EAST.

BY

PROF. R. C. MAJUMDAR, DACCA.

Although the study of ancient Indian history has made a great deal of progress in recent years, there is one aspect of the subject which has not yet received the attention it deserves. This is the expansion of the Āryans beyond Indian frontiers towards the east and south-east. The history of Indian Āryans usually begins with their settlement in the Punjab, and ends with their expansion over the whole of India as far as Assam in the east and cape Comorin in the south. This is, however, an arbitrary line of distinction for which there does not seem to be any great justification. For the Āryans never regarded the hills or the sea by which India proper is bounded as the natural limits of their advance, and boldly crossed them over to the other side. Their achievements in these regions are but vaguely known but the more one thinks on this subject the more is one forced to realise that the Indianisation of these countries to the further east was probably as complete in the ancient period as at present in the Dravidian countries within the frontiers of India. The study of Indian civilisation must therefore be regarded as imperfect unless we take into proper account the achievements of the Indians in these regions.

Half a century ago, there were nothing but vague legends and traditions to guide us in our study of this subject. But the archaeological investigations of the French and Dutch scholars have yielded most interesting results, and there is already a great deal of fruitful study in this direction. Unfortunately the results of this study are embodied in journals written in foreign languages and little is known in this country. Hence the indifference of Indian scholars to this most fascinating branch of study. It is time, however, to make a serious beginning, and in order to draw the attention of the scholars to this subject I am dealing with a few preliminary points in the present paper.

I propose to discuss, first, the routes by which the Indian colonists went; secondly, the antiquity of these colonies; and thirdly, the nature of civilisation that these colonies had established in these far off lands.

I. As to the routes, the Āryans proceeded both by land and sea. Regarding the sea route, there seems to have been emigration both from eastern as well as the western coast. From a very early period there was a regular trade intercourse between the coast of Bengal and the Far East. In the Mahājanaka Jātaka reference is made to a voyage between Campā and Suvaṇṇabhūmi. Similarly passengers from distant inland cities

The king had the title 'Mahārāja' and the people probably used an alphabet of Hindu origin. It was a great centre of Buddhism. According to local traditions Avalokiteśvara came directly from central India to convert it. There is a tradition that towards the close of the 8th century A.D. when the king of the country was inclined towards the Chinese civilisation he was abused by seven religious persons of India. Buddhism had a strong hold in this region and we find the Pippala cave, the Bodhi tree, the Gṛdhrakūṭa, the Kukkuṭapādagiri, the stone mansion of Upagupta and the stūpa containing the relics of Ānanda, all in the neighbourhood of Nan-Chao. In the first half of the 9th century A. D. a Hindu Bhikṣu of Magadha named Candragupta led a brilliant career of Thaumaturgist in Yunnan.

There were two other Hindu kingdoms between Nan-Chao and the Indian frontier. To the east of the mountain ranges that border Maṇipūr and Assam there was the Brāhman kingdom of Ta-tsin. About 150 miles further east beyond the Chindwin river was another Brāhman kingdom just to the north of the town of Ngan-si. Thus we find Hindu settlements all along the hilly tracts between the frontiers of India and China, in the Upper Valleys of the Chindween, Irawaddy, Salween, Mekong and Red River. That the Indians proceeded south along these rivers is also fairly certain. The kingdoms they established in Burma at Prome, Tagaung, Lower Pugan and other places is too well known to be described in detail. There are indications that similar Hindu kingdoms existed in the Laos country. It was formerly known as Mālavadeśa. Ptolemy refers to its eastern part (mod. Luang Phrah Bang) as 'Dasana' which, as Gerini thinks, is probably derived from the Indian name 'Daśārṇa. Gerini suggests that as the original 'Daśārṇa' in India denoted the eastern part of Mālava it was, by analogy, given in Further India to the corresponding portion of the Indo-Chinese Mālava *i.e.* Eastern Laos. Gerini has traced the Indian origin of many other place-names in Indo-China and has collected many traditions about the Indian colonists associated with those places. He has summed up his observations in the following sentence:

"From the Brahmaputra and Maṇipūr to the Tonkin gulf we can trace a continuous string of petty states ruled by those scions of the Kṣatriya race, using the Sanskrit or the Pāli languages in official documents and inscriptions, building temples and other monuments after the Hindu style, and employing Brāhman priests for the propitiatory ceremonies connected with the Court and State. Among such Hindu monarchies we may mention those of Tagong, Upper Pugan, Prome, and Sen-wī, in Burma; of Muang Hang, Chieng Rung, Muang Khwan, and Daśārṇa (Luang Phrah Bang) in the Lau country; and Agranagara (Hanoi) and Campā in Tonkin and Annam." [1]

1. Gerini, op. Cit., pp. 122-123.

Although some of the conclusions of Gerini are based on mere philological grounds which are not always very reliable, the facts stated above make it quite clear that there were a good many Hindu Kingdoms in the interior of Indo-China which was not easily accessible by sea, and which must therefore have been reached by the Indians by means of land-route On the whole, strong and conclusive evidence supports the hypothesis advanced long ago by Sir Arthur Phayre, and recently advocated by Gerini *viz.*, 'that a double stream of emigrants from India flowed into Indo-China at a very early period'—one, proceeding from the north advanced overland, through Bengal and Assam, along the valleys, of the Chindween, Irawady Salween and Mekong; the other reached Indo-China by sea.

Gerini and other scholars have, however, held that only the Indians of the Malabar and Coromandel coast colonised Indo-China by the sea-route. But there is nothing to support this view. As has been said above, Bengal also undoubtedly played a great part in this colonisation through its well-frequented harbour Tāmralipti. So far at least as the few historical evidences go, they prove a close association of Bengal with Indian colonies in the south and east throughout the Hindu period.

Reference has already been made to the Jaina and Buddhist stories about the voyage of merchants from Campā to Suvaṇṇabhūmi. We know from the Chinese records that the king of Fou-Nan (comprising Cambodia, and Cochin China) sent an ambassador to India about 240 245 A.D. and that the embassy reached the mouth of the Ganges at the end of a year. In the fifth century A.D. a king of Campā called Gaṅgārāja abdicated the throne and went over to India in order to spend his last days on the banks of the Ganges. About the same time inscriptions were engraved in Gupta character in Malay Peninsula. Four hundred years later we find an ambassador of one of the colonial states in the Court of Devapāla. The Tibetan annals tell us that during Nayapāla's reign Buddhist Bhikkhus proceeded to Suvarṇadvīpa for education. In the thirteenth century A.D. we find a queen of Campā called Gauḍendralakṣmī (probably a princess of Gauḍa). All these evidences certainly show a far more intimate connection between Bengal and Indian colonies than has yet been recognised.

Further, most of the traditions preserved in the different colonies refer to their original country as situated in northern India. It is true that the traditions have very little value as historical facts. But it is impossible to ignore altogether the general view-point of all these stories regarding the original home of the colonists and the methods of colonisation.

According to Burmese tradition, a Śākya chief of Kapilavāstu came with an army to the country of the middle Irawady, long before Buddha was born. The dynasty he founded ruled for 31 generations in Burma when they were overthrown by an invasion of an eastern tribe coming

apparently from China. About this time there came a second band of immigrant Kṣatriyas from Gangetic India. Their chief married the widowed queen of the last king of the previous dynasty, and established a new kingdom. This was the origin of the ruling dynasty of Upper Burma. [1]

According to the traditions of Arakan the first king of the province was the son of a king of Benares who settled at Rāmavatī, a name which still exists in a corrupted form Rambyi or Rāmri [2]. The Cambodian annals explain the origin of the kingdom of Cambodia in the following way.

" Ādityavaṁśa, king of Indraprastha, was displeased with one of his sons and banished him from the state. He came to the country of Kok Thlok and made himself master of it by defeating the native king. One evening he was walking on a sand bank when suddenly the tide arose and obliged him to pass the night there. A Nāgī of marvellous beauty came to play on the sand and the king overpowered by her charm agreed to marry her. Then, the Nāgarāja, the father of the betrothed girl, extended the dominions of his would-be son-in-law by drinking the water which covered the country, built a capital for him, and changed the name of the kingdom into that of Kāmboja.

The same tradition, in a changed form, occurs in an inscription of Campā dated 658 A.D. Speaking of the origin of Cambodge it says :

" It is there that Kauṇḍinya, the greatest among Brāhmaṇas, planted the javelin which he had received from Aśvatthāman son of Droṇa. Kauṇḍinya married the daughter of the Nāga king named Somā and from this union sprang up the royal race."

A still earlier version of the story, current as early as the first half of the third century A.D. occurs in a Chinese history complied at the beginning of the sixth century. Referring to Fou-Nan, a kingdom comprising modern Cochin-China and Cambodia, it says :

Formerly the country was ruled by a queen called Lieou-ye. Then there was a man of the country of Ki called Houen-t'ien who saw in a dream that a spirit gave him a bow and asked him to take to sea in a junk. Houen-t'ien went in the morning to the temple of the Deity and found the bow at the foot of a tree. Then he got into a junk and sailed to Fou Nan. The queen Lieou-ye saw the junk and collected her soldiers to resist him. But Houen-t'ien raised his bow and shot from afar an arrow which passed through the side of a ship and struck somebody in the interior. Lieou-ye was struck with terror and submitted and Houen-t'ien married her" [3].

Now Houen-t'ien is an exact Chinese transcription of Kauṇḍinya and we know from another Chinese version of the story that he practised the

1. Phayre—History of Burma, pp. 7 ff.
2. Ibid, p. 12.
3. Melanges-Sylvain Levi, p. 208.

Brāhmanic cult. This story is therefore the earliest of the different versions and it must be noticed that it is the most credible of them all. It explains, in a quite natural manner, the conquest of Fou-Nan by Indians by means of superior military power, and the social alliance between the new-comers and the old settlers. It may be added that the tradition of their origin was faithfully kept by the later kings who called themselves as "*Śrī Kauṇḍinya-Soma-duhitṛ-prabhavāḥ*" or as belonging to '*Somā-Kauṇḍinya-Vaṁsa*'. Somā, the female originator of the race being the daughter of Soma, the dynasty was also called 'Soma-Vaṁśa.' No doubt this appellation was to a great extent inspired by the Indian tradition of the great Somavaṁśa. As a proof of this we find an attempt on the part of the rival Cambodian kings to trace their descent from Sūryavaṁśa. According to legend they were descended from Maharṣi Kambu Svāyambhuva belonging to solar race, and the Apsara Merā. Thus Jayavarman II, a king in the 9th century A. D., is called in his inscription "*Śrī-Kambu-Bhūbhṛd-iṇa-vaṁśa-lalāma-goptā*' or guardian of the best solar race of king Śrī-Kambu". Sūryavarman I of the eleventh century is called *Sūryavaṁśajo* and Jayavarman II of the 12th century '*aṁśumāli-vaṁśodbhavo*'. But this tradition about Sūryavaṁśa apparently had no strong hold on the people, for, generally the kings of Cambodge adopted the tradition of Fou-Nan and called themselves descendants of Kauṇḍinya and Somā and as such belonging to Somavaṁśa [1].

II. The facts and legends quoted above unmistakably prove the Indian colonisation of the territories named at a very early date. If we now seek to find out more precisely the time when these colonies were established, we find ourselves in great difficulty in the absence of any definite evidence. The utmost that we can do is to lay down a time limit before which these colonies were accomplished facts. Three different lines of arguments point out the first two centuries of the Christian era as this limit.

In the first place Ptolemy writing about the middle of the second century A. D. has used quite a large number of geographical names of Sanskrit origin in Indo-China.

Secondly, when the Chams or the people of Annam appear in history towards the close of the second century A. D., they were already under a Hindu or Hinduised dynasty, and the inscription of Vo-can written in correct Sanskrit about the second or third century A. D., show them to have thoroughly imbibed the Indian civilisation.

Now the royal author of the Vo-can inscription at Campā calls himself the descendant of Śrī Māra. On the other hand the Chinese refer to the foundation of the kingdom of Campā at 192 A. D. by one

1. *Ibid*, pp. 205-212.

whose personal name was Lien, and family name Kiu. It is probable that Śrī Māra was the same person as Kiu-Lien, but whether this is true or not we know of the definite establishment of a Hindu kingdom in Annam about second century A. D.

Thirdly, the Chinese had intercourse with the Hindu kingdom of Fou-Nan in the first half of third century A. D. At that time the throne was occupied by an usurper, and two kings had ruled before him for a period of 93 years. This takes us back to the first half of the second century A. D. as the date of the foundation of the royal dynasty.

Fourthly, an ambassador from one of the smaller Hindu kingdoms, Lang-ya-Sieon (identified with Tenasserim) who visited the Chinese Court in 515 A.D., is reported to have said that their kingdom was founded more than four hundred years ago. [1]

All these evidences agree in referring the Indian colonial kingdoms to a period not later than the second century A.D.

But although this may be regarded as the lower limit of the date by which Indians must have established kingdoms in these distant colonies it should by no means be regarded as the upper limit also. The very fact that the easternmost part of these colonies, *viz.*, Annam, came under the sway of the Indians not later than the second century A.D., would naturally push back by a few centuries the date of the beginnings of political activity of the Indian colonists in these regions. Further, colonisation, as distinguished from the establishment of political authority, would be pushed back still further.

This hypothesis, self-evident as it is, has recently been challenged by a distinguished scholar. The question arose out of the interpretation of a passage in Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra which runs as follows :

"*Bhūtapūrvamabhūtapūrvaṁ vā janapadaṁ paradeśāpavāhanena svadeśābhiṣyandavamanena vā niveśayet* (By sending excessive population of his own country or carrying away people from other countries (a king) should colonise new or old settlements)."

Commenting on this passage, Jacobi argued that new colonies in the above passage could only refer to countries on the east and south-east of India, *i.e.*, Indo-China, as the Deccan had already been Brahmanised by the time when Kauṭilya wrote. As Jacobi held that Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra had been composed in the time of Maurya Candragupta, he found in the above passage a reference to Indian colonisation in the Far East in the 4th or 3rd century B.C. Professor Finot opposed this view on two grounds. First, that although the whole of India was Brahmanised, there remained vast unoccupied space within the country itself which could

1. Bulletin de l'Ecole Francaise d'Extreme Orient 1912, No. 8, pp. 8 ff.

offer facilities for colonisation, and the passage of Kauṭilya need not therefore necessarily refer to Indo-China. Secondly, he held that on the available evidence it is impossible to date the Hindu colonisation of Indo-China before the first two centuries of the Christian era.

Professor Finot's first argument is eminently sound, but the same cannot be said of his second. As has been already shown above, the available evidence shows that the Hindus had established political authority in Indo-China at least as early as the first two centuries of the Christian era, but that almost necessarily proves the existence of colonies long before that period.

III. About the time when the Indians gradually penetrated into Burma and the countries further east, these were settled by savage tribes. Those in Burma were Mongoloid in character and akin to the present tribes of Abors and Mishmis. The people of Indo-China and of the islands of Sumatra, Java and Borneo were Malayo-Polynesian in character. "In native traditions the early inhabitants of the coast, specially near the mouth of the Salween river, are represented as savages, called in Burmese Bilu, the equivalent of Rākṣasa. They rejected all intercourse with civilised men and even Gautama himself who, it is fabled, came to the country, was stoned and driven away by them."[1] The Chinese also speak of the people of Annam in the same strain. 'They are' we are told 'so savage that they do not know cultivation and live by fishing and hunting alone. They are turbulent people who frequently rise in revolt, invade the Chinese official quarters, burn, pillage and massacre wherever they go, and take refuge in their impenetrable forests whenever they are attacked by a strong army.'[2]

It was the mission of Indian colonists to bring this heterogenous mass of barbarians within the pale of civilisation, a task which the Chinese, their next-door neighbours, had hitherto failed to accomplish.

As a matter of fact the political conquest of Further India and the adjacent islands was rapidly followed by a complete cultural conquest. The local people readily assimilated the new civilisation and adopted the religion, social manners and customs, alphabet, literature, laws and administrative system of the conquerors. We state only a few characteristics under each of this head, for it is obviously impossible to give here a complete picture of the new civilisation[3].

1. Phayre—History of Burma, p. 27.

2. T'oung Pao, 1910, p. 223.

3. The picture of civilisation that follows is based entirely upon Inscriptions. I am preparing a collection of these inscriptions, and the first volume, containing the inscriptions of Campā (Modern Annam) is in the press, to be published by the Punjab Sanskrit Book Depot, Lahore.

Religion.—The worship of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva and of the Śaktis of the last two gods was the principal feature of the religion. Homage was also paid to other minor gods or demigods like the Sun, the Moon, the Earth, Water, Fire and Wind. Śiva was known under various forms such as Śarva, Bhava, Paśupati, Īśāna, Bhīma, Rudra, Mahādeva and Ugra and was worshipped in his *liṅga* form. Śiva was looked upon as the most powerful of all the gods and most costly temples were dedicated for his worship. Bhagavatī, Gaṇeśa or Vināyaka, and Skanda the War-god were duly worshipped and Nandi and Garuḍa, the Vāhanas respectively of Śiva and Viṣṇu were very popular.

Social.—The social hierarchy of the Hindus was adopted and the people were divided into four castes—Brāhmaṇs, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras. Of course the rigidity of the caste system was absent and marriage between different castes was in vogue, as was the case also in India in early times. King Vikrāntavarman of Campā, *i.e.*, Annam, laid down that there was no greater sin than the murder of a Brāhman, and on the whole the predominance of Brāhmans and Kṣatriyas is marked throughout. The kings belonged to the Brahma-Kṣatra race, probably the result of a mixture between the Brāhmans and the Kṣatriyas. The system of administration followed closely on the lines of Indian monarchy. The king's power was more or less absolute. He was duly consecrated and the royal umbrella was held over him. The crown-prince, called Yuvarāja, had to be accepted by an assembly of the Grandees. That this too was an Indian custom is proved by Rāmāyaṇa which describes how Daśaratha convoked an assembly and proposed to them to consecrate Rāma as Yuvarāja.

Law.—Law and administration of justice was also based upon Indian practice. Mutilation of limbs was practised and Indian law books like the Smṛtis and the Saṁhitās served as their basis of law. The trial by ordeals was not unknown.

Alphabet and literature.—The alphabet was purely Indian, slightly modified by local characteristics. The Indian literature was the fountain source of their knowledge. Works written in indigenous language were neglected and Sanskrit works alone were thought worthy of being studied. Any one who wanted fame by literary composition wrote in Sanskrit and we have got remnants of a work called Artha Purāṇaśāstra written during the reign of Jaya Harivarman I. The large number of Sanskrit inscriptions that have already been discovered give us a fair indication of the extent of knowledge in Sanskrit literature possessed by the people. They tell us that the people cultivated the study of the Śāstras, literature including Epics, the Grammar of Pāṇini with its commentary, the Kāśikāvṛtti, the Horāśāstra or Astronomy, the six systems of Philosophy commencing with Mīmāṁsā, the doctrines of Buddha, the law books chiefly of Nārada and Bhārgava, the Uttarakalpa of the Śaivites and the

64 Kalās. That this picture is no exaggeration is proved by the inscriptions themselves written in good Kāvya style.

Art and architecture.—Along with Hindu literature Hindu music was also cultivated in these far-off lands. Last but not the least in importance was the influence of Hindu ideas upon Architecture. The Indian temples, stūpas and the sculptural motifs make their appearance in these far-off lands. The wonderful monuments of Borobudur in Java and Angkor Vat in Cambodia have elicited the admiration of the world. An idea of their magnificence will be apparent from the fact that the series of sculptures, depicting Indian themes, in Borobudur alone, would, if arranged consecutively in a row, extend over nearly three miles of ground. 'For nearly one thousand years the Indian colonists had persevered in adorning these far-off lands with edifices admost unrivalled elsewhere of their class. But at the end of that time, as happened in India, they disappear as if at the touch of a magician's wand.' The case of Java is a typical one. In the year 1479 the last Hindu dynasty was overthrown by the Muhammadans. Fergusson describes the sequel in the following words: "Then occurred what was, perhaps, the least expected event in all this strange eventful history. It is as if the masons had thrown away their tools, and the chisels had dropped from the hands of the carvers. From that time forward no building was erected in Java, and no image carved, that is worth even a passing notice."[1]

Thus in every respect Indian civilisation made a thorough conquest of these lands, and a new India was established in that far-off country. The Indian colonists even tried to complete the transformation by importing the celebrated place-names of their motherland into their new home, and thus we find new towns and countries called Ayodhyā, Kośāmbi, Śrīkṣetra, Dvāravatī, Mathurā, Campā, Kaliṅga, Kāmboja, and Gāndhāra springing up hundreds of miles away from their namesakes.

---

1. Fergusson—History of Indian and Eastern Architecture; Vol. II, p. 421.

POPULAR GOVERNMENT IN MEDIAEVAL TRAVANCORE.

BY

MR. A. S. RAMANATHA AYYAR, B.A., M.R.A.S., TRIVANDRUM.

The researches of scholars have conclusively proved that ancient India was not unacquainted with representative popular Government, that institutions which we are accustomed to look upon as of western growth had also flourished in India long ago from the early Vedic and post-Vedic days, when such corporate bodies as the [1] "*samiti*, *sabhā*, the *mantri-pariṣad* and the council of ordinary ministers," are known to have played an important part in the administration of the country, and that India was not always the land of civil strife and anarchy before the auspicious era, when peace and prosperity followed in the wake of Britain's occupation.

In Keraḷa more than in any other country, where the spiritual domination of the Brāhman was so pronounced from early days and where the administration of the land was, according to tradition, theocratic and intimately connected with the temple as nucleus, similar popular institutions existed from an early past. But in this home of the world-famous forests whose abundant timber had supplied, the chief and almost the only building material, there is unfortunately a shortage of early lithic records which alone could have supplied us with much valuable data; and, apart from the literary testimony embodied in the Śaṅgam works such as *Śilappadikāram*, *Padiṟṟuppattu*, *Puṟanāṉūṟu* etc., which give us an idea of the advanced state of civilisation of the West Coast in the early centuries of the Christian era, our knowledge of Keraḷa history has now to depend mainly on tradition and the available records of a comparatively later date. I propose in this short paper to collect the evidence furnished by some of the Travancore inscriptions ranging from the 9th to 12th centuries A.D. which, though not containing such epoch-marking information as the famous Ukkal and Uttiramallūr records of the 10th century A.D., may yet establish in their own limited capacity that mediaeval Travancore was not quite a stranger to the principles of popular government.

The *Keralōlppaṭṭi*, a Nambudiri-composed (?) Malayāḷam work of no great antiquity or authenticity, but purporting to be a historical chronicle of the early kings gives the following [2] interesting account of the origin of kingship in ancient Keraḷa:

---

1. Corporate Life in Ancient India, Chapter II.
2. Malayālam Keralalopaṭṭi (1864), p. 14. Travancore State Manual., Vol. I, p. 220.

The country of Keraḷa, which was reclaimed from the ocean by the warrior-saint Paraśurāma, was originally gifted away by him as *brahmadeya* to the Brāhmans of the land, in expiation of his initial matricidal and homicidal sins. This landed aristocracy, which was distributed among the sixty-four brahman settlements comprising Keraḷa, conducted a joint administration of the country for some time; but finding the system unworkable on account of petty jealousies and internecine dissensions, they tried the experiment of rule by *Rakṣāpuruṣas* or 'Protectors' who were elected from among themselves for short terms of three years each from the four important villages of Panniyūr, Paravūr, Peruñjellūr and Cenganiyūr, in which had been installed four great assemblies or *kaḻakams*, representative of the sixty-four colonies. This policy was, on experience, also found to be a failure, owing to the high-handed opportunist tendencies of the elected protectors, who made the most of their short spells of power to aggrandize themselves at the expense of others and the State. The Brāhman oligarchy were thereupon forced to import Viceroys from adjacent countries for fixed periods of twelve years each, to afford them the necessary military protection and get as remuneration the impost of *rakṣābhōgam*, aggregating to a sixth of the land produce; but as an effective check on the growing power of these foreigners, four new assemblies were formed at Paravūr, Mūḻikkaḷam, Ayirāṇikkuḷam and Iriñjālakkuḍa, which were situated near enough to the capital, Koduṅgōḷūr and to each other, unlike the other four which were so far apart, as to impede the expeditious transaction of State business. These councils had their halls called *taḷis* [1] (Skt. *sthalī*) in the capital itself, the Neḍiyataḷi, the Mēltaḷi, the Kīḻtaḷi and the Ciṅgapurataḷi representing respectively the four great assemblies mentioned above; and their presidents called the *taḷiyādirimār* (or *taḷiyāḷvāṉ*) were selected celebates from certain influential families. (These latter presumably formed the king's cabinet of ministers, whom he had to consult in all matters.)

Though this narrative appears to be slightly apologetic of the Brāhman supremacy in the land, composed as it may have been by a member of that community, and has such an utter disregard for historical sequence as to import an Ānegundi Kṛṣṇarāya to the rescue of the bewildered Keraḷa Brāhmans in the 4th century A.D., a few at least of its general particulars seem to have been based on some correct tradition current at the time of its compilation; for its account of the early experiment at

1. Compare also verse 69 of the *Śukasandeśam*, (13th cent?):—

वाचा येषां भवति नृपतिर्वल्लभो राज्यलक्ष्म्या
ग्रामान्षष्टिं चतुर इह ये ग्राह्यचेष्टा नयन्ति ।
शस्त्रे शास्त्रेपि च भृगुनिभैःशश्वदुद्भासते या
विप्रेन्द्रैस्तैर्विपुलमठवर्यावलीषु स्थलीषु ॥

popular Government made in Keraḷa is in a way confirmed by what we find in some of the inscriptions of Travancore, in regard to the administration of the country in general, and in its religious side, in particular.

The earliest copper-plate document, that has hitherto been discovered in Travancore and that is palaeographically attributed to the beginning of the 9th century A.D., is the record of the 12th year of the reign of Rājaśekharadeva, [1] the Cera king, who has been given the imperial *birudas* of Śrīrāja, Rājādhirāja, Paramēśvara and Bhaṭṭāraka, and who has also been identified with the traditionary contemporary of his compatriot, the great Advaitin Śaṅkara of the same period. This plate, which relates to the arrangements connected with the daily routine of worship in the Tiruvāṟṟuvāy temple, mentions in its preamble that the representatives of the eighteen *nāḍus* or sub-divisions which comprised the Tiruvāṟṟuvāy District and the residents of the township of Vālaippaḷḷi met in assembly in the immediate presence (*tirukkaikkīḻ*) of king Rājaśekharadeva and made some regulations regarding an item of service in the temple :

'*Tiruvāṟṟuvāy padnettunāṭṭārum Vaḻaipaḷḷi-ūrārum kūḍi Rāja-śēkharadēvar trikkaikīḻ vaittu śeyda kaccam*'—Rājaśekhara plate.

Next in point of time, come the famous Kottayam copper-plate charters [5], of the reign of king Sthāṇu-Ravi, (c. 870-900 A.D.) which granted certain social privileges to the Christian colony at Quilon headed by the influential immigrant Maruvān Saphīr Īśō and some land for the upkeep of the church called the Tarīsāppaḷḷi, which he had erected there. This document has the following preamble :

'*Kōyiladhikārigaḷ Vijarākadēvar uṭpaḍa irundaruḷi piḍi-naḍatti nīrttuḷiyōḍu kuḍa Ayyanaḍigaḷ-Tiruvaḍiyum iḷaṅgūṟu vāḷiṉṟa Rāma-Tiruvaḍiyum adikārarum prakṛtiyum aṟunūṟṟuvarum Puṉṉaittalaip-patiyum Pūḷaikkuḍip-pattiyum uḷppaḍa vaccu.*'

which states that, under the presidency of Kōyiladhikārigaḷ Vijayarāgadēva, an important assembly was convened consisting of :—

(1) Ayyaṉaḍigaḷ-Tiruvaḍi, the Governor of Vēṇāḍu at that time under the Cēra king, Sthāṇu-Ravi.

(2) Rāma-Tiruvaḍi, probably the crown-prince, who was administering the *iḷaṅgūṟu*, or a portion of the Vēṇāḍu province.

(3) the *prakṛti* or the ministry (*prakṛti* also connotes the seven constituent elements of the State :

स्वाम्यामात्यौ पुरं राष्ट्रं कोषदण्डौ सुहृत्तथा ।
सप्तप्रकृतयो ह्येताः सप्ताङ्गं राज्यमुच्यते ॥

---

1. Published in Trav. Arch. Series, Vol. II, pp. 8-14.
2. *Ibid.* Vol. II, pp. 61-84.

धर्माध्यक्षो धनाध्यक्षः कोषाध्यक्षश्च भूपतिः ।
दूतः पुरोधा दैवज्ञः सप्तप्रकृतयोऽभवन् ॥)

(4) the *adhikārar* or important executive officers;

(5) the *Maṇigrāmam* and the *Añjuvaṇṇam* which are already known to scholars as the names of two semi-independent trading corporations enjoying certain distinctive privileges up to criminal and civil administration within their own respective jurisdictions;

(6) the Puṉṉaittalai-*pati* and the Pūlaikkuḍi-*pati*, who were the *pati* or the headmen (*grāmaṇī*) of the two suburbs of those names in Quilon: and

(7) the assembly called the *Aṟunūṟṟuvar* or 'the six-hundred', which may not have consisted actually of this unwieldy number of members, but may perhaps have been a council representative of a community known by that name, which controlled the affairs of a certain district: [compare, the *Munnūṟṟuvar* or 'the three-hundred' of Naṉṟuḻai-nāḍu and the *Nūṟṟuvar* or 'the hundred' of Cittūr-Cochin State].

The fact, that the presence and consent of all these parties were deemed essential for the authentication of the Christian charters, indicates the important position that a representative form of Government held in the country's administration.

The title of Kōyiladhikārigaḷ which has been applied in this document to Vijayarāgadeva requires some explanation *Kōyil* means 'a palace or a temple' and *adhikāri* is "an officer' and Dr. Gundert has translated the title into 'the Palace Mayor': but it appears to be more appropriate to take it in the significance of 'Devasvam-Commissioner' or 'Director-General of Temples'. The primary importation of the foreign Viceroys into Kerala was, according to the tradition embodied in the *Keralōlpapatti*, for the purpose of administering the vast demesne (*saṅketam*) of temples on behalf of the effete Brāhman proprietors. When in course of time the official machinery grew more complex, and greater power began naturally to centralize in the ruler's hands on account of the responsible position which he occupied in the executive, this work of supervising the numerous temples of the land appears to have been handed over as a distinctive function to the heir-apparent, who, in addition to thus relieving the king of a portion of his work, received also therefrom the necessary preliminary training in general administration. In minor temples, the chieftain and executive officers called the *Nāḍuvāḻis* and *Dēśavāḻis* or influential members of the village called the *Ūrāṇmakkārar* were the subordinate

local representatives of the royal *Kōyiladhikāri.* This sacerdotal supervision is still a royal prerogative in Travancore and Cochin, and the Rāja of the latter State styles himself even now as 'Perumbaḍappu Gaṅgādhara Vīra-Kēraḷa Kōyiladhikārigaḷ'[1] in the documents relating to temple property.

The Māmbaḷḷi plate[2] of the Vēṇāḍu (Travancore) ruler Śrīvallabhaṅgōdai dated in the Kollam year 149 corresponding to A.D. 974, is the next in sequence; and it records the significant fact that even an apparently unimportant gift of land to the Ayirūr temple made by his consort Ādiccaṉ-Umaiyammai of Tirukkalaiyapuram was ratified by the king on the occasion, when the great men (*perumakkaḷ*) of the *pariḍai* (Skt. *pariṣad*-assembly) of Tiruccengunṟūr had assembled in the elevated archery-hall (*koṭṭil*) of the Paṉaiṅgāvu Palace at Quilon.

> '*Kollattu Paṉaiṅgāviṉ kōyiluḷ uyariya koṭṭiluḷ Tiruccengunṟūr paruḍaip-perumakkaḷ kūṭṭam kūḍi irundaruḷiyeḍattu nīrōḍaṭṭi koḍuttāṉ Vēṇāḍuḍaiya Śrīvallabhaṅgōdai.*

The numerous inscriptions of Indu-Kōdai (c. A. D. 955-71) and Bhāskara-Ravivarman (A. D. 978-1036) contain information of a similar nature which establishes beyond doubt that temple administration, in particular, was effectively conducted by corporate bodies.

Each village temple had its own assembly consisting of the important residents of the village and of responsible temple officials, and was presided over by the *Dēśavāḷis*, the headmen of villages which were the administrative units of those days) or *Nāḍuvāḷis* (who were chiefs of a higher status capable of maintaining a militia of Nāyars at least a hundred strong and governing a large tract of province), who represented the king as a *kōyma* in these councils. Instead of under the village trysting tree, usually a banyan, a tamarind or an *aśvattha* with its open platform called the *manṟu*, which had no attraction in the rainy West Coast, the assembly of a Travancore village generally met in the sheltered portico-hall (*vādilmāḍam*) or the drama-hall (*kūttambalam*) of the local temple (*mukkālvaṭṭam*), which were convenient communal rendezvous for the village elders, brahman and other, to meet and deliberate on their parochial politics, and occasionally also on topics of greater public moment. The *poduvāḷ* or the *madhyastha* (arbitrator), sub-divided into the *agappoduvāḷ*, the *puṟappoduvāḷ* and the *ūṟppoduvāḷ* according to his duties, was an important personage in these assemblies. There were also the *vāriyar* or general supervisors, the *perumudiyar*, the

1. Cochin State Manual, p. 39.
2. Trav. Archi. Series., Vol., IV, p. 9.

uḷpādar etc. who were connected in some way or other with particular items of temple service.

One record [1] of Bhāskara-Ravivarman dated in the 33rd year of his reign (*c.* A. D. 1011) and another [2] of Kulaśēkhara-Kōyiladhikārigaḷ assignable to about 1098 A. D. which are both of them found in the Viṣṇu temple at Peruneyil (Ceṅgaṇācēri taluk), contain some interesting information in regard to the part played by the ministers in the temple administration. The first epigraph states that the influential residents, members of the assembly and the *poduvāḷ* (*madhyastha*) of Peruneydal met in council and assigned 80 *kalams* of paddy as the *āṭṭaikkōḷ* or the yearly impost which was to be paid to the Kōyiladhikāri. On being informed of this resolution, the ministers (*amaiccu*) were pleased to ratify it in an official order, authorising the Kōyiladhikāri to levy just this stipulated quantity of paddy and no more. The other record mentions that the royal order of Kulaśēkhara-Kōyiladhikārigaḷ assigning to the Peruneydal temple his own incomes of impost and *arandai* (a tax?) leviable from the same village, was first approved by the ministry and that it was then communicated through the agency of two other officers, to the *pati* (headmen) of the two villages of Muttūṟu and Kāpālimaṅgalam, who thereupon promised to abide by the new rules of tax-exemption and had this order engraved on stone and set up in the temple-compound. The Tamiḻ texts of the particular portions of the records are as follow:

(1) "*Peruneydal ūrum paraḍaiyārum poduvāḷum kūḍi enpadiṉ kalaṉ nel Naṉṟuḷai-nāṭṭu āṭṭaikkōḷāka koḍuppāṉ-amaiñjār amaiccuḷḷ-uṟutta*" and,

(2) "*Āṭṭaikkōḷ namakkāramum Mābāratamum tiruvuḷḷam paṇṇiyaruḷiyār amaicuḷḷ-uruttiya Kulaśēkhara-Kōyiladhikārigaḷ.*"

One other point deserving of mention in the preamble of this latter record and of another [3] belonging to the same king dated in Kollam 278 (= A.D. 1102), is that he has been described as having been surrounded by the four *taḷis*, both at the capital and in camp.

(1) "*Nālu-taḷiyaiyum Tirukkuṉṟappōḻaiyum kuṭṭikkoṇḍu Neḍiyataḷ irunnaruḷi*".

When the king was present in Nediyatali having taken with him the four *taḷis* and Tirukkuṉṟappoḻai)-*Peruneyil*;

---

1. Trav. Archi. Series., Vol. II, p. 84.
2. Do. Vol. V. p. 38.
3. Do. Vol. V, p. 44.

(2) "*Kurakkēṇi-Kollattu Paṉaiṅgāviṉ kōyilagat-tirunnaruḷa... nālu-taḷiyum āyirum-aññūṟṟuvarum innāḍu-vāḻkkaiyāṇa Vikkiramaṉ....mudaliya sāmantarum tirukkaikkīl kūḍi-yirukka*".

We the four *taḷis*, the thousand five-hundred, the ruler of the district, Vikkiramaṉ....and other feudal barons were assembled under the aegis of the kingin the Paṉaiṅgāvu palace at Kuragkōṇi-Kollam)-*Quilon.*

As has already been explained, *taḷi* a 'temple' denoted also the assembly-hall at the capital and by metonomy, the presidents of these councils; and these presidents, in addition to forming an advisory board to the king at his capital, appear to have also accompanied him in his state tours to the different viceroyalties of his kingdom. Tirukkuṉṟ-appōḷai is the name of an important *saṅkētam* with the Eḍappaḷḷi Rāja at its head, and this chief appears to have also formed part of the royal cortege. The detailed mention of the circumstances under which the council met, the place of meeting, and the constituents who formed the council, gives one a fair idea as to the definiteness of the administrative procedure of those days.

Another interesting inscription [1] is found engraved on a slab of stone, which must have originally belonged to Quilon before its present trans-plantation in the outer corridor of the Napier Museum at Trivandrum; but its possible importance is much vitiated by the damaged condition of the record, of which only a small portion can now be satisfactorily deci-phered. The existing traces seem to register some transaction made in the Kollam year 229 (=A.D. 1053) by the people of the eighteen sea-ports (*paṭṭiṇam*), thirty-two *veḷḷams*, sixty-four *kaḍigai-tāvaḷam*, the *ceṭṭi*-merchants of the *tāvaḷam*, the *kavaṟai* and "the thousand five-hundred' of Kurakkōṇi-Kollam. As Quilon was a great maritime centre in the eleventh century A.D. and as the parties involved in the transac-tion were the residents of sea-port villages and *tāvaḷams* (or halting stages on the water-routes), this inscription may perhaps have contained, in its entirety, some useful data on the customs-regulations of the time.

The Quilon record of date 1102 A.D., mentioned above, contains another piece of interesting information, namely, that in expiation of the sin of his enmity with the Āryas (brāhmans), the king made some donations in land for the expenses of conducting worship in the temple of Rāmēśvarasvāmin at Quilon. Epigraphical researches have accumulated quite a large number of instances to show how expiatory donations were forced from private individuals who had been guilty of injury to others

1. Inscription No. 1 of 1096 M. E.

which sometimes culminated in accidental homicide ; but this is another instance wherefrom it is seen that even kings and chiefs were not exempt from the rod of correction, and that, either voluntarily or under the moral stress of public opinion as voiced by the religious corporations called the *yōgams*, they had to make ample amends for their acts of petty tyranny and coercion. The Chronicles of the Padmanābhasvāmin temple at Trivandrum which have furnished certain facts for the compilation of the *Travancore State Manual* [1] cite the following cases also:

(1) Vīra-Keraḷavarman (A.D. 1344) had to pay some land compensation to the survivors of certain Brāhmans (*dēśikal*) whom he had murdered, and another similar donation to the Trivandrum temple for having assaulted some temple servants ;

(2) Vīra-Mārtāṇḍavarman (A.D. 1381) had to pay a penalty for the wasteful loss of human life in a battle at Kiḷimāṉūr ;

(3) Vīra-Ravivarman (A.D. 1416) had to make amends for having misappropriated property belonging to certain Brāhmans ;

(4) Vīra-Rāmavarman atoned for certain atrocities by the gift of an elephant to a temple " [2].

These penalties were called *garvakkaṭṭu* or amercement for high-handed conduct. But although the records try to cover up the sting of forced penalty by the euphemism that the expiatory donations were made on the king's own volition, there is no doubt that great power was wielded by the assemblies over and above the king himself, in matters relating primarily to temple administration ; and this fact gets further exemplification in the later activities of the *eṭṭaraiyōgam* or 'the Committee of 8½ votes ' (the king having a bare half vote, the other eight being the monopoly of eight influential families), which brewed considerable mischief in the later days of Travancore history, sometimes even hounding the king into tight corners.

In another copper-plate record [3], dated in Kollam 343 (=A.D. 1168) when Vīra-Udayamārtāṇḍavarman was the heir-apparent governing the *ilaṅgūṟu* (minor) portion of the Travancore kingdom, certain regulations were made in regard to the internal administration of the temple of Tiru-pāṟkaḍal-Bhaṭṭāraka near Kiḷimāṉūr, one of which related to the appointment of a supervision-committee of ten members from certain influential centres. These men were to hold office in annual batches

1. Trav. State Manual Vol. I, pp. 264-66.
2. Malabar Quarterly Review, VII. p. 123.
3. Trav. Archl. Series, Vol. V, pp. 63-85.

of two at a time and look after the temple accounts in such an honest manner as not to utilise anything for themselves, but they were given some land as a remuneration for their work. It was also stipulated that on their vacating their seats, either by absence or demise, their eldest sons were to take their places on the temple committee of management.

From the foregoing paragraphs, it will be seen that assemblies and other corporate bodies of the people in Travancore had a large hand in the administration of temples and their vast landed resources, that the other departments of Government must naturally have been conducted on similar lines, that the arbitrary powers of the rulers were much circumscribed by the restrictions placed on them by the popular assemblies, and that the kings were answerable to the people for their own good conduct and for just government.

---

be sung in various tunes or *rāgas* in praise of *God Raṅga* Viṭṭhala. Most of them are highly lyrical poems depicting the life of Kṛṣṇa as described in the Bhāgavata, (10th skanda), and few of them deal with the polemical questions of his days. There are hundreds of them available even now in manuscripts and a few of them have come out in print. Thus the first step was taken bp Śrīpāda, himself a sanskrit scholar and writer, to write as well in Kannaḍa, the vernacular of his country, the philosophical literature of the Dvaitic school which could be found till then only in Sanskrit.

The reasons for this bold departure on the part of an orthodox *sanyāsi* imbued in sanskrit learning from childhood must have been very weighty indeed, though not evident to us at this distance of time. His were the days of great religious controversies and the criticisms levelled against the Dvaita Philosophy must have been of a very serious character as could be seen from the prominence given by the writers of those days, in their works, to the controversial questions bearing on Madhva's doctrines. During such hairsplitting logical discussions, ordinary minds might have had their faith shaken in their own religion and shown signs of changing their creed. Moreover, just previous to this time, Vīraśaiva writers had produced a large quantity of Vīraśaiva literature in the Kannaḍa language and its influence on the population was great. As a set off against this influence and to keep the followers of the Vaiṣṇava faith within their fold by removing all their doubts regarding the validity of their own philosophical doctrines in simple and non-technical language and also to infuse the devotional spirit amongst them, the *tevāranāmam* or the religious songs seem to have been written. Thus, Śrīpādarāja was one of the earliest among the Brahmin writers in the Kannaḍa language, perhaps including even *Kumāra Vyāsa*- [(1508) A.D., date of his Mahābhārata] The Āḷvārs of the Tamil country had done this for their religion in South India many centuries earlier than this, and Śrīpādarāja did a similar thing for his religion. His successors especially Vyāsarāja and Vādirāja continued this work with great enthusiasm and the former has given to the Kannaḍa country the two most famous Vaiṣṇavite devotional songsters—*Purandara Dās* and *Kanaka Dās*, both of whom lived at Vijayanagar for a considerable time.

The ascetic Śrīpāda in addition to his being the head of the Sanskrit Academy of Philosophy and starting the school of vernacular religious poetry among Vaiṣṇavites, seems to have wielded much influence in the courts of the contemporary kinkgs of Vijayanagar and Gajapati Kingdoms. This influence over his royal patrons seems to have been more an inheritance from his spiritual preceptor Paraśurāma Tīrtha rather than one newly acquired by him and it seems to have culminated in the ascending

of Śrīpāda Rāja on the imperial throne of Vijayanagar in the last decade of the 15th century.

Śrīpādarājāṣṭaka a work written by one of the successors of Śrīpāda, eulogises him in the conventional language usual in stotras recording many events of his life, and also mentions two historical personages, Vīra Narasiṅga Rāya Nṛpati and the Gajapti King of Orissa, who seem to have both honoured him. [Also another king is mentioned, but he is not identified. This reference shows Vādirāja, Raghunātha Tīrtha and Śrīpāda Rāja were invited for meal by that king. So Śrīpāda Rāja could not be much older than Vādirāja]. The Aṣṭaka mentions that Vīra Narasiṅga Rāya Nṛpati resigned his great throne effulgent with light (*Ujvala mahā sihmāsana*) to Śrīpāda Rāja who sat on it and expiated him from the sin of *Brahmahatya*. Thus a brief reference to a very short lived occupation of the Vijayanagar throne Śrīpāda Rāja has been made; but who the king was that resigned the throne is not clear. He must have been either Narasa, the father of Kṛṣṇadevarāya or Vīra Narasihma, the half-brother of the latter king. The confusion here is due to the fact that the father Narasa was also called Vira Narasihma (Vide Kumāra Dhūrjaṭi's Kṛṣṇarājavijayam and Epgraphia Carnatica Shimoga, No. 64 of 1506 A.D.) It may be argued that the King referred to in the Aṣṭaka was Saluva Narasihma, but as he has not been anywhere mentioned as Vīra Narasihma but as Saluva Narasihma or Katari Saluva, he is to be rejected as the least likely.

Next, according to the newly discovered *Vyāsayogi Caritam*, when Narasa entered the City of Vijayanagaram as king (about 1495 A.D.), Vyāsa Tīrtha was there and was highly honoured by him. Since it appears that Śrīpāda Rāja was at Vijayanagar for some time staying with his disciple Vyāsa and also Purandara Dāsa who was Vyāsa's disciple according to a statement by the son of Purandara Dāsa this must have occurred only after Narasa's entry into Vijayangar and thus Śrīpāda Rāja and Narasa should have both lived for sometime together in the City of Vijayanagar. It is likely that the enthronement of Śrīpāda Rāja should have taken place sometime during this period, *i. e.*, about the year 1495 A.D. So it seems to me that the king referred to in the Aṣṭaka is the father Vīra Narasiṅga Rāya and not the son Vīra Narasihma.

It was a custom with the Hindu emperors to celebrate *Tulābhāram* (*i.e.*, weighing against gold) and similar ceremonies in places like Tirupati Rāmasetu etc., and wash off their sins of omission and commission in the waters of those places. King Vīra Narasiṅga Rāya did many such

* This book was discovered by Mr. B. Venkoba Rao, Dy. Commissioner of Bangalore and is now in print.) Its author is one Somanātha who writes very high *campu* style employing Śleṣālaṃkāra practically throught the work. It is very surprising that his existence was not known till now and that on his excellant poetical production had been lost to the world for so many centuries.

purificatory ceremonies as records show and as a further step in his expiatory ceremonies (for, his murdering the two sons of Saluva Narasihma the claimants to the throne should have tormented him in his old age) he seems to have resigned the throne to Śrīpāda Rāja and requested him to sit on it which he did.

The enthronement of Śrīpāda Rāja and the reason mentioned therefor in the Śrīpāda Rāja Aṣṭaka may appear fanciful to some of us. But considering that *Ratnābhiṣekas* and *Kanakābhiṣekas* and *Tulābhāra* ceremonies, which we can only hazily imagine in these days were the order of the day in the Courts of Vijayanagar Kings, the enthronement of a *sanyāsi* on the imperial throne need not create any stir amongst us. Nor was there any need even for the Vijayanagar Emperor, who did such a thing to get much perturbed in resigning his throne to that ascetic, because the latter would have been the first person to return it safely back to him. Moreover, if there had been no enthronement, the name of an earthly ruler, like Vīra Narasihma would not have been mentioned in a poem in which only the miraculous powers and the spiritual greatness of a recluse have been described solely for purposes of daily prayer by his followers.

So, *assuming* that the Aṣṭaka's account of enthronement is correct, it seems to have taken place within a few years after 1495 A. D,—the date ot Vīra Narasihma's entry into the capital as Emperor and the cessation of his military activities.

The actual period during which Śrīpāda Rāja wielded kingly authority must have been naturally very brief, and during this period, he should have made great grants of land and money for the worship of gods and the study of the Vedas. Politically considered, his period as a ruler might have been a most insignificant one. But from the cultural standpoint, the period should have been most noteworthy. The impetus and encouragement given for religious study and sanskrit scholarship should have been immense. An ascetic on a throne, reflects, on the part of the Emperor who resigns his throne, a realisation of the smallness of his worldly glories, and in the popular mind, it is a symbol of the eternal superiority of divine wisdom over worldly knowledge, of philosophy, over science, and finally of spirit over matter.

Vyāsa Tīrtha, the famous disciple of Śrīpāda Rāja, far surpassed his master in fame and scholarship. The exact date of his birth is not known, but there is no doubt that he was living in the last quarter of the 15th century and the first quarter of the 16th century. Tradition has made him a Karnāṭaka *Sihmāsanādhīśvara* and in support of it there are literary evidences, in the contemporary Kannaḍa Vaiṣṇavite literature, in Vyāsavijaya (a work of about 140 ślokas said to have been written by Srīnivāsa-Tīrtha, the successor of Vyāsarāja on the pontifical seat of

Vyāsarāja Mutt), and in the newly discovered Vyāsayogīśacaritam which is now in print. But the details as to the time and circumstances of his sitting on the throne are not yet clear.

It seems to have taken place during the reign of Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya. Since he was engaged in warfare away from his capital till 1514, the year of his entry into Vijayanagar, and since he was at Tirupati in 1523 making grants to Vyāsa Tīrtha and thereafter went on a long pilgrimage to the South, the event of enthronement must have happened sometime between 1514 and 1523 A.D.

The *tradition* goes to say that a period of disaster caused by planetary conjunctions by name, *Kuhū yoga* (Kuhū = New moon day probably due to the fact that it occurs on New-Moon days) was awaiting the king and that to escape from this, he made Vyāsa Tīrtha sit on the throne in his stead, as it was probably thought that he could withstand the effects of the yoga by virtue of this ascetic powers.* That there is a great deal of truth in this traditional account the following facts will show :—

That Vyāsa Tīrtha was the donee of several grants from king Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya from 1516 A.D. to 1527 A.D., *i.e.*, for a period of 12 years or more is quite evident from the Epigraphical records published till now. That he lived at Vijayanagaram for a considerable period is evident from the newly found Vyāsayogīśacaritam the contemperary Kannaḍa Vaiṣṇava literature and other evidence. Nuniz, the Portuguese Chronicler as an eye-witness about the year 1530 A.D. describes him as a brahmin, who never got married nor touched a woman and was daily teaching religion to the king (probably to king Acyuta Rāya). These facts go to show that Vyāsa Tīrtha had profoundly impressed the royal house of Vijayanagar by his scholarship and saintliness and that his influence was indeed very great extending over a long period. So supposing that either Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya or Acyuta Rāya had thought of seating some *Sanyasi* on the throne as a means of escape from some impending disaster, then they could not but have chosen Vyāsa Tīrtha for that purpose. That the choice should have fallen on Vyāsa Tīrtha will become more probable, if we recall now that his Vidyā Guru, Śrīpāda Rāja had on a similar occasion formerly sat on the throne of Vīra Narasimharāja—a predecessor of Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya.

Now, turning our attention to the account of the battle of Raichūr in Sewell's Forgotten Empire we find therein that Friday, the 18th May 1520 A.D. was a new moon day and was quite inauspicious for the king —so inauspicious that even a hero like Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya with an

---

* The statement Vyāsavijaya that an elephant garlanded the ascetic Vyāsa Tīrtha and consequently that he sat on the throne may be true ; but that the ascetic qualities of Vyāsa made the king choose him seems to be more probable, for both had known each other very intimately for a long time.

army of several thousands quite confident of success on the battlefield, had to stop the battle and proceed with it only on the next day. When even a foreigner like Poes who never believed in the customs of the heathen Hindus should have observed this New Moon-day particularly as being quite unlucky for the king and considered it worthy of recording in his chronicles as a great historical event, one could gauge the seriousness with which the occasion should have been viewed then. It is most probable that *Kuhū*, or the New Moon day yoga should have occurred on this date and caused the enthronement of Vyāsa Tīrtha and given him the appellation of *Vyāsa Rāṭ* as he calls himself. Vyāsavijaya mentions that on this occasion he was proclaimed as "Gaja Gahmara Sihmāsana Gatha Prabho." The devotional sons of Purandaradās and his successors describe this incident over and over again. Vyāsa Yogīśacaritram gives a most glowing account of the enthornement of Vyāsa Tīrtha in a language of highly poetic imagery. Considering that the author of this last work was not a co-religionist of Vyāsa, but as his name and other literary evidence in his work show should have been a smārta or a follower of Bhāgavta Sampradāya,) there could be no doubt about Vyāsa Rāja's enthornement, and this event so far as available evidences go, seem to have occurred on the 18th May 1520 A. D. Further careful study of the newly discovered work Vyāsayogīśa Caritram and other contemporary works and records may throw additional light on the great personality of Vyāsa Tīrtha and the contemporary history of Vijayanagar.

ŚRĪRAṄGA III OF VIJAYANAGAR.

BY

MR. R. SATYANATHA AIYAR, M.A., L.T., TRICHINOPOLY.

" A brave man struggling in the storms of fate,
And greatly falling with a falling state."

1. *His Early Life.*—Śrīraṅga, the nephew and successor of Veṅkaṭa II, is referred to by scholars as Śrīraṅga or Raṅga II, III or VI. The form Śrīraṅga is kept here as it is found in inscriptions and literary works. Dr. Hultzsch mentions Śrīraṅga as the sixth of the name, but he was not inclined to consider whether the Śrīraṅgas who preceded him were emperors or not. Mr. Robert Sewell gives the genealogical table as arranged by Dr. Hultzsch and disavows any responsibility for the numbers attached to the names.[1] As Śrīraṅga, the successor of Veṅkaṭa II, was the third of that name to rule as emperor, it is proper to regard him as Śrīraṅga III. He is referred to as Śrīraṅga II, probably on the ground that Śrīraṅga Cikkarāya, the nephew and successor of Veṅkaṭa I, did not occupy the throne for any appreciable length of time; but the duration of his reign is immaterial to our present purpose, and even if he had been sovereign for a few days only, he must be reckoned as Śrīraṅga II. So the emperor who succeeded Veṅkaṭa II was the third Śrīraṅga.

The date of Śrīraṅga's accession to the throne is the 29th of October, 1642: Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Śāstri quotes the authority for this statement.[2] The existence of an epigrapical record of Śrīraṅga, dated 1630, probably indicates that he had been selected as *yuvarāja* by Veṇkaṭa II soon after his succession. If so, Śrīraṅga had sufficient time before his accession to the throne to gain knowledge of imperial affairs. Though he seems to have been on good terms with the emperor till his death, he was opposed to the policy of his uncle towards the feudatories of the empire. Veṅkaṭa II appears to have loved peace at any price, and during his reign the anti-imperial attitude of the provincial rulers was not properly dealt with. He wished to avoid the embarrassments of war. He must have known the aims of Tirumala Nāyaka of Madura, but he probably thought it inadvisable to force him into implicit obedience. Though the tribute of Madura was not regularly paid, no serious measures

1. A Forgotten Empire, p. 214.
2. Archaeological Survey of India, Report, 1911-12, p. 192.

were taken to prevent such an irregularity. The Kūniyūr Plates of Veṅkaṭa II (1634) show his amicable relations with Tirumala Nāyaka, but the subordination of Madura that record implies could have been only nominal. Both laboured diplomatically to maintain peace between themselves and adjust their differences. But Tirumala Nāyaka's growing power was not checked. On the whole the emperor lost the game substantially. In the light of these considerations, supported by contemporary Jesuit records, the following observation of Mr. H. Krishna Śāstri may have to be revised: "Veṅkaṭa (II) appears to have for a time revived the supreme sovereignty of the Karṇāṭa kings, which was found to be fast declining."[1] The character of Śrīraṅga was very different from that of Veṅkaṭa (II); his was not a pacific temperament. His ability and courage prompted him to a complete reversal of his predecessor's policy.

2. *Problems he had to solve.* An important problem which confronted Śrīraṅga on his accession was his relations with his feudatories, especially with the Nāyak of Madura. Though Mysore was as strongly inclined to independence as Madura, if not more, the opposition of Tirumala Nāyaka to the empire loomed large. Probably his personality and strength of will gave a special character and magnitude to the question of the imperial policy towards him. Another vital question related to external defence. After 1636, the date of the Mughal settlement with the Dakhan Sultanates, their activities against the Hindu empire might be renewed at any time. Upon the solution of the internal problem depended a proper consideration of the problem of defence against foreign enemies. Śrīraṅga resolved to deal with Madura first and thought of putting the empire on a stable basis as a preparation for protecting it from the Muhammadan encroachments. Mr. Krishna Śāstri says: "According to Mr. Foster's extracts, the Muhammadan kings of Golkonda and Bījapur began to invade the territories of the Hindu king in 1642, immediately after the death of king Veṅkaṭapati (II). They are even stated to have occupied the whole country on the coast."[2] The Jesuit letters mention the Muhammadan invasion as the result of Śrīraṅga's dealings with the Southern Nāyaks.

3. *His Struggle with Madura and the Dakhan Sultans.*—Soon after his succession, Śrīraṅga declared war on Madura and was not prepared to waste time in negotiations. As crown prince, he might have studied the policy of Tirumala Nāyaka and come to the conclusion that an appeal to the sword must be made. At the head of a 'formidable' army, he marched to the south to crush his great feudatory of Madura. For more than a

1. A.S.I., Report, 1911-12, p. 191.
2. A.S.I., Report, 1911-12, p. 193.

generation Madura had exhibited hostility to the empire. The period following the death of Veṅkaṭa I (1614) found that province definitely committed to an anti-imperial policy. So Tirumala Nāyaka only continued the long-standing opposition of Madura to the empire. It is definitely mentioned by Jesuit writers that Mysore set the example of provincial insubordination and this example was followed by Madura. Tirumala Nāyaka probably believed that the inconspicuousness of the emperor would continue even after Śrīraṅga's succession to the throne; he had too long been accustomed to Veṅkaṭa's acquiescence in his policy to expect a sudden exhibition of imperial authority against him.

Tirumala Nāyaka was a resourceful man; he entered into an agreement with his neighbours of Tanjore and Jinji with a view to arrest the progress of the emperor. When the Nāyak of Tanjore divulged the schemes of his allies to Śrīraṅga, the latter turned on Jinji. But Tirumala's disappointment did not lead to the cancellation of his plans. To save himself from the wrath of the emperor, he sought the help of the Sultan of Golkonda by inviting him to attack the imperial territory. The movement of the Golkonda army forced the emperor to make a retreat and defend his own dominions. Śrīraṅga succeeded in defeating it and securing its withdrawal. This was a great triumph for him as the Muhammadans sustained serious losses.

The Sultan of Golkonda made active preparations to regain his reputation. When his attack was delivered, Śrīraṅga found his own position untenable. He now thought that his salvation lay in the whole-hearted support of his Nāyak feudatories of the south, and entered into negotiations with them. Encouraged by their new attitude—his revised terms were accepted by them—he worked with them to devise plans for the expulsion of the Muhammadans from their recent conquests. It is to be noted that Śrīraṅga preferred to reconcile himself to an alliance with these rebels rather than invoke the aid of Mysore (or probably he sought it and failed) either against the Muhammadans or against his recalcitrant feudatories.

Śrīraṅga's new policy did not produce any satisfactory result. It is said that he "spent more than a year with the three Nāyaks in the midst of festivities, feasts, and pleasures, during which the Muhmmadans quietly achieved the conquest of his dominions. Soon vain joys gave place to jealousies and divisions. Rejected again by the Nāyaks, Narasinga established his court in the forests of *Kaḷḷans* (lying to the north of Tanjore), where he spent four months, a prey to all discomforts; his courtiers soon abandoned him." It is not known what exactly prevented the success of the plan of joint action proposed by Śrīraṅga and accepted by his feudatories. The above extract from Jesuit records shows that the Nāyaks were not solely responsible for the

unhappy termination of the emperor's promising career. Śrīraṅga became an emperor without an empire. This miserable position of his is confirmed by the notice of the French traveller, Thevenot, that "the king of Bisnagar ....was left without a kingdom and constrained to fly into the mountains,"[1] and by the reference *Śivatatvaratnākaram* to the loss of his capital Vellore and to his "wandering without a home."

Śrīraṅga's hard forest life soon came to a close. His appeal to Kaṇṭhīrava Narasarāja of Mysore (1638-59) relieved his miseries, and the emperor is said to have received "a brilliant treatment worthy of his rank", which went far beyond his expectations. It is creditable to Śrīraṅga that he was not inclined to remain a well-fed guest of Mysore. When the Muhammadans returned home after their conquests, he bestirred himself and, with the help of Mysore, recovered a portion of his old territories. He defeated the Golkonda army which advanced to attack him.

To this part of Śrīraṅga's career may be ascribed the services of Śivappa Nāyaka of Ikkēri to the empire, recorded in the *Śivatatvaratnākaram.*[2] This Sanskrit work mentions the capture of Vellore by Śivappa Nāyaka and the numerous honours conferred upon him by the emperor. It places that achievement some time after Śrīraṅga's "wandering without a home". So the reference is probably to the second victory of the emperor mentioned by Jesuit writers. The *Rāmarājīyamu* says that "once Śrīraṅga Rāya marched from his capital against the hill fort of Udayagiri, which was occupied by the Kutub Shah, and utterly defeated him.[3]" Mr. H. Krishna Śāstri refers to Śrīraṅga's defeat of the "Moors" in 1644, according to the extracts quoted by Mr. Foster in the *Founding of Fort St. George*, and suggests that this authority perhaps refers to the event mentioned by the *Rāmarājīyamu.*[4]

The Jesuit records specify two different occasions when Śrīraṅga was successful against the Sultan of Golkonda; the second time with the help of the Mysore army. From these records it is clear that his first attempt was for driving the Muhammadans out of his dominions, which had just been occupied by them during his absence in the south. When he made a second attempt, he was the first to take the field, and his object was to recover the territories he had lost, not, as in the former case, to repel an army dispossessing him of his dominions. So the *Śivatatvaratnākaram* and the *Rāmarājīyamu* may be taken to refer to the later success of Śrīraṅga and Mr. Foster's extracts to his earlier victory.

---

1. Travels, Part III, p. 91.
2. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, Sources of Vijayanagar History p. 347.
3. *Ibid*, p. 311.
4. A. S. I., Report. 1911-12, p. 193.

The progress of Śrīraṅga towards the recovery of his dominions was nullified by the activities of Tirumala Nāyaka, who was frightened by the possible consequences to him of the united efforts of the Mysore ruler and Śrīraṅga and who therefore invoked the help of Bījapūr. The intervention of Bījapūr resulted in the defeat and flight of the emperor and in the loss of the prestige of Mysore. Thus Śrīraṅga's second attempt to recover his empire was also a failure. He was "obliged to seek refuge, on the confines of his kingdom, in the forests, where he led a miserable life." Mysore was in no mood to invite and help him again; Kaṇṭhīrava probably thought that a repetition of his generosity would mean a recrudescence of his recent troubles. Śrīraṅga's two separate efforts to re-establish the empire curiously ended in his expulsion to the forests twice. The cup of his misery was now full.

4. *His Appeal to the Mughal Emperor.*—Professor Jadunāth Sarkar refers, on the authority of the *Adab-i-Alamgirī*, to two futile appeals which Śrīraṅga secretly made to the Mughal emperor, Shah Jahan, through Aurangzib, Viceroy of the Dakhan, for protection against Bijapūr and Golkonda; the first in 1653 and the second, two years after, in 1655. It is said that the Vijayanagar emperor was willing, on the second occasion, to pay 2½ crores of rupees, 200 elephants, and all the jewels in his possession, besides an annual tribute, as the price of Mughal protection. He was further inclined to enrol himself as a Mughal *jāghirdar* and even prepared to embrace Islam, if such a condition was imposed upon him.[1] This account throws light on the serious situation in which Śrīraṅga was placed. That such was his position we understand from the Jesuit records and, to some extent, from the other authorities. There is exact correspondence between the double appeal made to the Mughal emperor, according to the *Adab-i-Alamgiri*, and the betrayal of the Vijayanagar emperor twice by his feudatories, in the language of the Jesuit fathers. Śrīraṅga must have become desperate beyond description after his second disappointment, which was preceded by a great hope of the rehabilitation of his imperial position, based on the good-will of Mysore—an additional source of strength to him. In the intensity of his disappointment, it does not seem unlikely that he made promises, otherwise incredible, to the Mughal emperor, even compromising his position as a Hindu ruler. The hard conditions to which he was ready to submit exhibit him as a great man who, exposed to peculiar misfortunes, was prepared to sacrifice almost all his cherished possessions for the recovery of his lost territories. The *Adab-i-Alamgiri* records[2] the subsequent attempts made by

1. Sarkar, History of Aurangzib, I, pp. 248-49.
2. Noted as not definite by Prof. Sarkar, History of Aurangzib I, p. 251.

Śrīraṅga in 1657 and 1658. This is intelligible in the light of the furious wars between Mysore and Madura in the last years of Kaṇṭhīrava Narasa and of Tirumala Nāyaka (both of them died in 1659), which are described as "the Wars of the Noses" by Jesuit writers.[1] Though the campaigns of Kaṇṭhīrava Narasa were not conducted on behalf of Śrīraṅga, they could have been thought, by those to whom the *Adab-i-Alamgiri* is indebted for its information, to be for the restoration of the Vijayanagar emperor, as that Mysore ruler had ostensibly worked for him before for some time. There are no sufficient grounds for thinking that Śrīraṅga continued his imperial efforts during the years referred to above, (1656—59) though their continuation is not improbable.

5. *His Life after* 1659.—The life of Śrīraṅga after the death of Tirumala Nāyaka and Kaṇṭhīrava Narasa is very obscure. The throne of Madura was occupied by Cokkanātha Nāyaka from 1659 to 1682 and that of Mysore by Dōvarāja from 1659 to 1672 and by Cikkadēva Rāya from 1672 to 1704. The available information about Śrīraṅga may be summarised as follows:

(*a*) *Jesuit evidence.*—Father Proenza's letter of 1662 contains a reference to Cokkanātha Nāyaka's 'daring project,' *viz.*, " to drive the Mughals (the Dakhan Sultans) from all the countries they had invaded, to re-establish the ancient king (the ex-king) of Bisnagar in his country, (and) to give Jinji to its Nāyak." It is surprising that there is no other specific reference to Śrīraṅga in the Jesuit letters after 1659. Probably his movements were not known to the authors of those records or they thought that he had ceased to be an important factor in South-Indian politics. Father André Freire's letter of 1678 says that Sivāji seized several provinces of Vijayanagar and that, by his capture of Vellore he became sovereign of a large part of the kingdom of Vijayanagar, as he had already been master of Jinji. The reference here may well be to the territories which once formed part of the Vijayanagar empire. The letter of 1682, written by the same Father, gives the information that the sovereign of Vijayanagar had already been deprived of his dominions. So the later fortunes of Śrīraṅga cannot be traced with reference to the Jesuit accounts.

(*b*) *Other literary evidence.*—Thevenot, after mentioning the expulsion of the Vijayanagar emperor from his dominions by the Sultans of Bijapur and Golkonda, notes: "(He was) constrained to fly into the mountains, where he *still lives.*" Obviously the reference is to 1666-7, during which years that French traveller visited Bhagnagar (the capital of Golkonda) and Masulipatam.

---

1. History of the Nāyaks of Madura, Madras University Historical Series, II, pp. 135-36, 268-69.

The *Cikkadēvarāya Vamśāvaḷi* describes the relations of Mysore with Ikkēri. It is said that Śivappa Nāyaka, after ascending the throne by murdering his brother, sent his representatives to the Court of Cikkadēva Rāya to conclude an alliance between the two kingdoms. When that offer was rejected by the Mysore ruler, Śivappa Nāyaka espoused the cause of Śrīraṅga, ceded to him the two districts of Hassan and Belur, and declared war on Cikkadēva Rāya.[1]

So it is clear that Śrīraṅga was alive after 1672, the date of Cikkadēva's accession to the throne, and the war referred to must have been waged after that date and after the succession of Śivappa Nāyaka to the throne of Ikkēri. According to Dr. S. Krishnasvāmi Aiyangar, Śivappa's accession "may be put down a couple of years later at the most."[2]

(c) *Inscriptional evidence.*—Śrīraṅga's Bellary inscription of 1663 mentions him as living then "at Vēlāpuri on his jewelled lion throne." Cokkanātha Nāyaka's grants recorded in two inscriptions of 1665 and one of 1667 were made" in the reign of Śrīraṅgadēva Rāya." Further the emperor is referred to in a record of 1678-79 These evidences, literary and epigraphical, show that Śrīraṅga must have lived for more than a decade and a half after his second appeal to the Mughal emperor.

6. *The Battle of Erode.*—An inscription of 1686 mentions the achievements of Cikkadēva Rāya : the defeat of the Lord of Madhurā in the Īrōḍu country, the capture of Tripura (Trichinopoly), Anantāpuri, Śāmbaḷḷi, Ōmalūr and Dhārāpuram, and the death of Damarala Aiyapēndra. An earlier record (of 1679) refers to the defeat of the Pāṇḍya king Cokka and the capture of Tripura and Anantāpuri. A record of 1722 says that Cikkadēva Rāya "emulated the sports of (God) Kṛṣṇa in conquering the lord of Madhurā". The question is when exactly the above-mentioned defeat of Cokkanātha Nāyaka and of his allies by Cikkadēva Rāya took place. Dr. S. Krishnasvāmi Aiyangar observes : "The battle that was fought at Erode must have taken place about the end of Dēvarāja's reign, as the Mysore accounts state that Cikkadēva, while yet a prince, offered, when negotiations failed, to lead the army to victory. This battle may be dated somewhere about 1670 and was undertaken ostensibly in the interests of the emperor" (Śrīraṅga).[3]

The achievements of Cikkadēva Rāya detailed in the first of the above-mentioned inscriptions cannot be ascribed to the date of that inscription (1686) as those very achievements are stated in a summary form in the inscription of 1679. The dates of the inscriptions cannot be taken as the dates of the events recorded in them as is shown by the

1. S. K. A., Sources of Vijayanagar History, pp. 309-10.
2. History of the Nāyaks of Madura, p. 134 n.
3. History of the Nāyaks of Madura, p. 138 n.

information contained in the three inscriptions. An analysis of the Jesuit evidence confirms this view and gives some indications of the probable date of those events.

Father Mello's letter of 1686 states; "In the south, the petty *rājas*......continue to shake off the yoke of Mysore, which is too weak to preserve its conquests...... Sāmbāji mercilessly conducts war against the king of Mysore, whose dominions he is invading, and is strongly helped by the revolts of the inhabitants against their own sovereign." This account is followed by a description of the internal troubles of Mysore which culminated in a civil war and in the siege of the fortress of Mysore, in which the king had shut himself up. Father John de Britto's letter of 1683 says: "The power of the king of Mysore in Madura begins to grow weak, because, violently attacked in his own dominions by the troops of Sāmbāji, he cannot sustain and reinforce the armies he had sent to these countries. The provinces he had conquered there shake off his yoke gradually." Father André Freire's letter of 1682 contains an account of the Mysore Daḷavāy, Kumāraiya's siege of Trichinopoly, of his attempts to come to terms with Cokkanātha Nāyaka owing to the proximity of the armies of Sāmbāji and Ekōji (Veṅkāji), of his final resolve to withdraw to Mysore in safety, and at last, of his defeat and capture by Sāmbāji's general. Kumāraiya is referred to as having been invincible till then. The subsequent misfortunes of Mysore are mentioned, *i.e.*, the loss of the province of Dhārāpuram and other neighbouring territories. It is said that the king of Mysore appealed to the Mughal emperor for help against the Marathas. The same Father's letter of 1678 says: "The king of Mysore took possession, *without striking a blow*, of the only two fortresses which Madura had preserved till then in the north." His letter of 1676 gives the information that "Mysore...fortifies the citadels taken from the northern provinces of Madura." It is noted, in the same letter, that Cokkanātha Nāyaka was involved in "*disastrous wars*, an account of which was given in that letter (of 1673)"; unfortunately this letter has been lost.

Therefore the lower limit of the date of the battle of Erode may be fixed at 1674. Its upper limit is 1666 as far as the Jesuit evidence goes. Father Proenza's letter of 1665 describes the military achievements of Cokkanātha Nāyaka. Father André Freire's letter of 1666 says that "all the political events of this year consist in some changes of ministers". For the history of the period between 1667 and 1674 we have not the guidance of Jesuit records as far as they are known to me.

A study of the inscriptions tends to shorten the period to which the battle of Erode is to be ascribed. Cokkanātha Nāyaka's epigraphical records in the Coimbatore and Salem districts are found up to 1668-69. From 1669-70 to 1671, the inscriptions of Dēvarāja and, from 1673, those

of Cikkadēva Rāya are frequently found in those regions. It may therefore be taken that the battle of Erode was fought between 1669 and 1674

All this evidence goes to support Dr. S. Krishnasvāmi Aiyangar's view quoted above. One important detail noted by him is that, at the time of the battle, Cikkadēva had not become king of Mysore. If this literary notice is not incontestable, the battle of Erode may be ascribed to 1672 or 1673. It is not unlikely that an organised attempt by the South Indian powers was made at a time when or some time after there was a change of rulers. The death of Dēvarāja might have given a suitable occasion for upholding the imperial claims of Śrīraṅga even nominally, and the hostility of the confederates might have at first consisted in questioning the succession of Cikkadēva Rāya and urging the claims of the emperor. Though there is nothing decisive to show that the missing letter of Father André Freire, written in 1673, gave an account of the events of that year or of the previous year, it is not unreasonable to suppose that it was written shortly after the battle of Erode, on the ground that the Jesuit Fathers were inclined to record important events as early as possible as is attested by their chronicle of Sivāji's Karṇāṭic expedition and of other historical happenings.

7. *His Last Days and Death.*—It is not definitely known how long Śrīraṅga was alive after the battle of Erode. He took refuge in Bednūr, and Śivappa Nāyaka is recorded to have given him an honourable reception. Dr. S. K. Aiyangar sums up the indications given by literary evidence, and takes Śrīraṅga to at least 1675.[1] He refers to a silver plate grant in the possession of Mr. Jayanti Rāmaiya Pantulu, issued by Sivāji to the widow and sons of Śrīraṅga, in which it is noted that the emperor died a fugitive 'in the west country'.[2] The date of the grant is not given, and Dr. Aiyangar says that the genuineness of the grant is not established beyond doubt. It does not seem necessarily to follow that Sivāji made that grant while he was in the South in 1677, though such a supposition is quite reasonable. It may have been issued some time after that date in accordance with his instructions. Evidently the date of Śrīraṅga's death cannot be taken later than that of Sivāji's, *i.e.*, 1680. The inscription of 1678-9 (Kāḷayukti) found in Madura, which mentions him, may be the last record about him.

Mr. H. Krishna Śāstri remarks that "Ś. 1587 (A. D. 1665)......is the latest sure date for Raṅga VI (Śrīraṅga III)".[3] The record of Ś. 1585 (A. D. 1663) seems to be the last one issued by the emperor. The inscriptions of Ś. 1587 (two), 1589 and 1600 (A.D. 1665, 1667

1. History of the Nāyaks of Madura, p. 134 n.
2. Sources of Vijayanagar History, p. 312 n.
3. A.S.I., Report, 1911-12, p. 194.

and 1678) say that they were issued "in the reign of Śrīraṅgadêva Rāya." These records cannot, by themselves, establish the final date of Śrīraṅga. But it may be noted that there are records of A.D. 1678 mentioning Śrīraṅga and Veṅkaṭa. The next mention of a Veṅkaṭa is in an inscription of 1680 and of a Śrīraṅga Rāya in one of 1692. It is not unlikely that the last record of Śrīraṅga III is that of A.D. 1678-9, as the series of inscriptions mentioning him continues without a break up to that year. All the evidence pointed out in this section tends to leave a broader margin for the date of Śrīraṅga's death.

8. *Estimate of his Character and Life.*—Śrīraṅga was a more courageous and talented emperor than his nerveless uncle Veṅkaṭa II. Perseverance was the dominant note of his character. Undaunted by repeated disappointments, he persistently attempted to infuse life into the almost moribund imperial system. When driven to extremities, he was inclined to sacrifice his all, provided that such a sacrifice would ward off the extinction of his empire. Though he must have realised by bitter experience the difference between life in the palace and that in forest, and though he was driven from pillar to post, he endured all "the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune" with remarkable courage. Though his two successes against the Dakhan Sultans were each time followed by a most desperate moment in his life, and though he was kicked like a football by feudatory after feudatory, he could not be forced into passivity. In the midst of a life of strange and tragic vicissitudes, he gave some attention to the work of peaceful times. Literary men were patronised by him, and it is well known how he encouraged in 1645-46 the activities of English merchants with a view to "secure the prosperity of his subjects by opening up the country for foreign merchandise."[1] He is eulogised by contemporary Jesuit observers as a ruler who was wiser than his feudatories and who "alone could save the country." There is no doubt that his personal worth deserved better results than those which attended his efforts.

Though a man of high ideals and abundant energy, Śrīraṅga is recorded to have once lapsed into fatuous inactivity detrimental to his interests. He is said to have lost much of his precious time by throwing himself into pleasures in the company of his Southern feudatories at a time when the Muhammadans were seizing his dominions in the north. There was a certain amount of precipitancy in his actions and movements which made his victories mere oases in the desert of his failures.

It does not appear that Śrīraṅga carefully calculated the chances of his ultimate success or estimated the amount of co-operation which his

---

1. A. S. I., Report, 1911-12, p. 193.

policy would secure from his feudatories Disaffection was not confined to Madura. If the facts of the situation had been known to the emperor, it is not easy to understand how he could have ventured on the war-path. Either Śrīraṅga was unaware of the extent of the opposition which an attempt to rejuvenate the empire would call into being, or he was confident that he could set things right unaided, seeing that the hostility between Mysore and Madura would prevent their combined action against him. He does not seem to have considered whether it was practicable to revitalise the empire in the teeth of strong provincial opposition. Ever since the battle of Talikota in 1565, the feudatories of the empire were learning to care more for their separate interests than for their common imperial interests. The civil war that followed the death of Veṅkaṭa I was damaging to the prestige of the empire, and it accentuated the diversity of provincial interests. Though the empire was formally preserved after that catastrophe and Rāmadēva and Veṅkaṭa II occupied the imperial throne in succession, the rule of these emperors only hastened the decadence of the empire. If Śrīraṅga had appreciated the character of his dangerous inheritance, he must have pondered over the possibilities of the renovation of full imperial strength. The only practical solution of the problem was perhaps the establishment of a common understanding for the preservation of common interests, without the assertion of the legal rights of the emperor, to the full and unquestioned obedience of his feudatories. If hostility to the empire had been confined to the minor provinces or to a small part of the empire, a different policy might have succeeded. But, under the circumstances, an arrangement which would conduce to concerted action against external dangers was alone feasible—the conversion of the nominal empire into a strong confederacy.

Whatever may be said against the policy actually followed by Śrīraṅga, his idealism commands admiration. His emphatic repudiation of Veṅkaṭa II's policy and his efforts to metamorphose the rickety empire into an actively functioning body invest his career with imperishable glory. His failure was a splendid one, and it was mainly due to the circumstances of the time and to the refractory attitude of Mysore and Madura. It was not loyalty to the empire that induced Mysore and Ikkēri to welcome Śrīraṅga in misery, but their schemes of self-aggrandisement. But it is easy to exaggerate the selfishness of the feudatories. In the case of the emperor, his own interests coincided with those of the empire. It is not true to say that Śrīraṇga was not in the least responsible for his failure. A less ambitious policy and a more considerate attitude might have secured the common interests of South India, without offending the susceptibilities of the feudatories of the empire. But the emperor and his major feudatories were all blind to their own *real* interests and those of their country.

"PUṢYAMITRA—WHO IS HE?"

BY

MR. H. A. SHAH, BOMBAY.

Foreword.

Puṣyamitra is a prominent figure in classical Samskṛt literature. The drama of Kālidāsa has preserved him from obliquity and the connection of Bhāṣyakāra Patañjali as a priest at his sacrifice has sustained our interest in his personality. Apart from these facts, he has his own place in the dynastic lists of Purāṇas. We propose to bring together everything stated about him and to suggest *true* interpretations of certain data, which, we urge humbly, have been loosely thought about. With due deference to scholars who have contributed mightily towards discussions we will point out certain defects which have unconsciously marred their efforts.

Bāṇa.

One general notion about him is that he is a *Śuṅga* king and that he killed his master *Maurya* Bṛhadratha. Bāṇa has cited two examples (in his हर्षचरित, in book VI) which have fostered these impressions.

" प्रज्ञादुर्बलं च बलदर्शनव्यपदेशदर्शिताशेषसैन्यः
सेनानीरनार्यो मौर्यं बृहद्रथं पिपेष पुष्पमित्रः स्वामिनम् " ॥

" अतिस्त्रीसङ्गरतमनङ्गपरवशं शुङ्गममात्यो वसुदेवो
देवभूतिदासीदुहित्रा देवीव्यञ्जनया वीतजीवितमकारयत् " ॥

We would not have thought of challenging the statement of such a learned figure in literature; but older information as preserved in the Matsya Purāṇa leads us to conclusions different from his. The state of chronology or knowledge of it in his time is least assuring. We know from Hieun Tsiang (629—645 A.D.), his contemporary, that 'Buddha Nirvāṇa was calculated (in those days) to have occurred in about 1200 years, 1300 years, 1500 years, above 900 years and under 1000 years according to different authorities' (cf. Watter's "Yuan Chuang," Vol. II, p. 28). This is sufficiently damaging for claims to exact records and so we are tempted to take up the *clue* the Matsya-narration gives, in spite of the great authority of Bāṇa.

Mr. Pargiter and Matsyapurāṇa.

That Matsya-Purāṇa-narration is a record of considerable antiquity and worth a genuine history has been brought out by Mr. Pargiter in his studies (cf. Introduction, Purāṇa Text of the "Dynasties of the Kali age," 1913). His conclusions may be briefly cited with advantage.

Versions of the Matsya, Vāyu and the Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇas present a remarkable similarity in their close agreement (Para 3) : so do the Viṣṇu and the Bhāgavata Purāṇas (Para 4). They all point to an original source which may be styled Bhaviṣya Purāṇa (Para 9). The Matsya, Vāyu and the Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇas must have been sanskritized versions of Prākṛta original as several traces of Prākṛta influence betray. (Para 15). Matsya Purāṇa stops its narration much earlier than what the Vāyu Purāṇa and others do (Para 20) ; hence, it appears that the versified chronicles were first collected about or soon after the middle of 3rd century A. D. (Para 21). The Matsya Purāṇa borrowed from the original Bhaviṣya Purāṇa the shorter account, about (say) the last quarter of 3rd century (Para 23). The Matsya Purāṇa version is older than those of Vāyu and Brahmāṇḍa ...it is somewhat *crude* at times (Para 24.) "Where variations occur, I have endeavoured to choose the most weighty, it being remembered that the Matsya Purāṇa gives the oldest version, a Vāyu Purāṇa the next and all other copies of Vāyu and the Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇas the third recension." (Para 32).

Let us proceed, then, with the Matsya Purāṇa.

What the Matsya Purāṇa has to say about Puṣyamitra and his dynasty is contained in its Ch. 272, vs. 26—32.

The Matsya Purāṇa.

We are informed by it that from Mauryas, earth will pass on to the Śuṅgas (vs. 26) and that Devabhūmi, last in Puṣyamitra family, will be *followed* by the Śuṅgas (vs. 32) and Vasudeva who deposed him is a man of the *Śuṅga* family (vs. 33).

"इत्येते दश मौर्यास्तु ये भोक्ष्यन्ति वसुंधराम् ।
सप्तत्रिंशच्छतं पूर्णं तेभ्यः शुङ्गान् गमिष्यति ॥ २६ ॥

भविष्यति सुतस्तस्य देवभूमिः समादश ।
दशैते क्षुद्रराजानो भोक्ष्यन्तीमां वसुंधराम् ।
शतं पूर्णं दश द्वे च ततः शुङ्गान्गमिष्यति ॥ ३१—३२ ॥

अमात्यो वसुदेवस्तु प्रसह्य ह्यवनीं नृपः ।
देवभूमिमथोत्साद्य शौङ्गस्तु भविता नृपः "॥ ३२—३३ ॥

[We use the Matsya Purāṇa published in the Ānandāśrama series at Poona 1907.]

Not a Śuṅga.

It leaves no doubt that Matsya Purāṇa does not count Puṣyamitra as a *Śuṅga* and definitely implies that he is not a Śuṅga. Later on while developing Āndhra succession, it tells us that Śiśuka, first of the *enumerated* Āndhra rulers, who will overpower Suśarman (a Brahmin &c.), who will suppress the remnant of the Śuṅgas, is of their caste. [सजातीय:] This view definitely attributes to Śuṅgas the caste of Brāhmins which Puṣyamitra was not.

The text is as follows :—

"चत्वारिंशद्विजाह्येते कण्वा भोक्ष्यन्ति वै महीम्" ॥ ३६ ॥

"काण्वायनास्ततो भूपाः सुशर्माणः प्रसह्य ताम् ।

शुङ्गानां चैव यच्छेषं क्षपित्वा तु बलीयसः ॥

शिशुकोऽन्ध्रः सजातीयः प्राप्स्यतीमां वसुन्धराम्" ॥

Ch. 273, Vs. 1-2.

King Gautamiputra is styled in an inscription of his son as एकब्राह्मणस (cf. E.I. Vol. VIII, No. 2, p. 59 ff.) which characterization is in perfect agreement so far as the caste of Śiśuka-Āndhra is concerned.

Even with the help of the Matsya Purāṇa it looked too audacious to challenge the veracity in Bāṇa's illustrations. So the drama of Mālavikāgnimitra was hunted up; but throughout, *no* evidence of the hero or Puṣyamitra styled as Śuṅga turned up. Instead, we came across a verse in act IV sung by the hero that it was the hereditary vow in the family of *Baimbikas*, of sticking to दाक्षिण्यं (Regard and honour for their consorts).

राजा—"दाक्षिण्यं नाम बिम्बोष्ठि बैम्बिकानां कुलव्रतम्" ॥ १४ ॥

The king herein claimed seems to belong to those of Bimbis—perhaps those in whose clan or family king Bimbisāra, (a contemporary of Buddha and Mahāvira) best of Bimbis, flourished. Bimbisāra was a Kṣatriya by birth and is not known as a Śuṅga.

The Bṛhadrathas.

Another statement of Bāṇa is that Puṣyamitra killed Maurya Bṛhadratha. The Vāyu Purāṇa has the last Maurya ruler Bṛhadaśva and not Bṛhadratha. The Matsya Purāṇa tells us something, *quite* different and of *great* import.

" पुष्यमित्रस्तु सेनानीरुद्धृत्य स बृहद्रथान् ।
कारयिष्यति वै राज्यं षट्त्रिंशत्तु समा नृपः " ॥ २७ ॥

It means that the deposed Bṛhadathas are not a single king but *several* of the *family* of the Bṛhadratha dynasty. Hence, if we have to look for the predecessors of Puṣyamitra, we have to look to the Bṛhadratha-dynasty *and not the Maurya-dynasty*. We saw before that the Matsya-Purāṇa-narration of successors to the Mauryas referred to the Suṅgas which Puṣyamitra is not; and *hence*, Puṣyamitra cannot be understood to have followed the Mauryas. In this way the second statement of Bāṇa is found to be untenable if we follow strictly the Matsya Purāṇa. We therfore leave aside what he says in favour of what we glean from the Matsya Purāṇa and follow it in the chronology it suggests. We did the same in our paper on the date of Mahāvīra with respect to Kāṇva and Āndhra chronology. Here we take up the Bṛhadratha chronology. Matsya Purāṇa has recounted the Bṛhadratha kings in Ch. 272, vs. 17-30. It professes to give an account of 32 kings for a period of 1000 years. The start is made with the termination of the Bhārata war but the end is not so definitely stated here which is quite unusual with its mode of narration. Hence, we have to connect the link from the following chapter where we are told that Puṣyamitra deposed them.

The kings actually counted are not 32 but 22 and the total made up is not 1000 as proclaimed but 825 years only. This is how the list runs according to the Matsya and the Vāyu Purāṇas,

" अत ऊर्ध्वं प्रवक्ष्यामि मागधा ये बृहद्रथाः ॥ १७ ॥

पूर्वेण ये जरासंधात् सहदेवान्वये नृपाः ।
अतीता वर्तमानाश्च भविष्यांश्च निबोधत ॥ १८ ॥

सङ्ग्रामे भारते वृत्ते सहदेवे निपातिते ।
सोमाधिस्तस्य दायादो राजाऽभूत्स गिरिव्रजे ॥ १९ ॥

....

रिपुंजयस्तु वर्षाणि पञ्चाशत्प्राप्स्यते महीम् ।
द्वात्रिंशत्तु नृपा ह्येते भवितारो बृहद्रथाः ॥ २९ ॥

पूर्णं वर्षसहस्रं तु तेषां राज्यं भविष्यति ।
जयतां क्षत्रियाणां च बालकः पुलको भवेत् " ॥ ३० ॥ मत्स्यपुराण.

No.	मत्स्यपुराण. Name.	मत्स्यपुराण. Years.	वायुपुराण. Years.	वायुपुराण. Name.	Remarks as to agreement in years.
1	सोमाधि	58	58	सोमाधि	
2	श्रुतश्रवा	64	64	श्रुतश्रवा	
3	अप्रतीपी	36	26	अयुतायुः	
4	निरामित्र	40	100	निरमित्र	
5	सुरक्ष	56	56	सुकृत	
6	बृहत्कर्मा	23	23	बृहत्कर्मा	
7	सेनाजित्	50	(सांप्रतं) =0	सेनाजितं	Total 327 years.
8	श्रुतंजय	40	40	श्रुतंजय	Total 367 ,,
9	विभु	28	35	महाबाहु	
10	शुचि	64	58	शुचि	Total 459/460 ,,
11	क्षेम	28	28	क्षेम	
12	अनुव्रत	64	64	भुवन	Total 551/552 ,,
13	सुनेत्र	25	5	धर्म (सु) नेत्र	
14	निर्वृति	58	58	नृपति	
15	त्रिनेत्र	28	38	सुव्रत	
16	द्युमत्सेन	48	58	दृढसेन	Total 710/711 ,,
17	महीनेत्र	33	33	सुमति	Total 743/744 ,,
18	अचल	32	22	सुचल	
X			40	सुनेत्र	
Y			83	सत्यजित्	
Z			35	वीरजित्	
19	रिपुंजय	50	50	अरिंजय	
Actual Total		825	974		
Stated Total 32		1000			

N.B.—The total in the Brāhmāṇḍa Purāṇa is 916 years. It counts 22 kings like Vāyu Purāṇa.

The above list shows what absurdities it contains; and along with them, what facts it preserves. Where the Matsya and the Vāyu Purāṇas

differ about *names* we cannot control the difference. But where they differ in *years, we take them as they state* and find that at some milepost later on they again meet in their onward journey—meet in their *totals*, till finally, they meet to separate.

Date of Puṣyamitra.

We may *leave out the details therefore in favour of totals* there being no other reasonable course; and the Matsya Purāṇa being the *oldest*, we stick to its total as the one which signifies some *juncture* point in history inferring that the Vāyu Purāṇa tried to give the whole *detail* of duration of the dynasty amounting to 974 years, which approximately agrees with the duration which the Matsya Purāṇa asserts, *viz.*, 1000 years, a pretty round number when we find that the total is not in agreement with details.

The juncture point is, as stated by Matsya Purāṇa, the rise of Pulaka, at about 825 years of Bṛhadratha dynasty. "Pulaka established on throne his son (in Avanti) who ruled for 23 years and who was succeeded by Pālaka." It therefore means that since the Bhārata war, 848 (825 & 23) years had gone when Pālaka ascended.

The year of Pālaka is known well from the following Jain gāthās

"वीरनिर्वाणकाले च पालकोऽत्राभिषेक्ष्यते ।
लोकेऽवन्तिसुतो राजा प्रजानां प्रतिपालकः" ॥

I. A. Vol. XV P. 141 ff.

"जं रयणिं कालगओ अरिहा तित्थंकरो महावीरो ।
तं रयणिं अवन्तिवै अहिसित्तो पालगो राया" ॥

I, A. Vol. II, P. 362.

It means that in Avanti, Pālaka was anointed on the very night Mahāvīra entered Nirvāṇa. In other words the year of Pālaka is O. A. M. and therefore the Mahābhārata war must have taken place about 848 years before Mahāvira entered Nirvāṇa. If the Nirvāṇa year corresponds to 527 B.C.—and no doubt it does (see our paper on "The Date of Mahāvira")—the great war occurred in about 1375 B.C.

So much for the starting point of the Bṛhadrathas.

For their end:—Their end (*i.e.* end of their power) came by Puṣyamitra is what is told by the Matsya Purāṇa. Their end came when 1000 years were completed according to the Matsya Purāṇa or when 974 years were completed according to the Vāyu Purāṇa. In other words, their end came about 175 years after Ripuñjaya and rise of Pulaka according to the Matsya Purāṇa (*i.e.*, 1000—825=175 years), or 149 years after that event (*i.e.*, 974—825=149 years) according to the Vāyu Purāṇa.

बृहद्रथेष्वतीतेषु वीतिहोत्रेष्ववन्तिषु ।
पुलकः स्वामिनं हत्वा स्वपुत्रमभिषेक्ष्यति ॥ १ ॥

मिषतां क्षत्रियाणां च बालकः पुलकोद्भवः ।
स वै प्रणतसामन्तो भविष्यो न च धर्मतः ॥ २ ॥

त्रयोविंशत्समा राजा भविता स नरोत्तमः ।
अष्टाविंशतिवर्षाणि पालको भविता नृपः ॥ ३ ॥ Ch 272.

As Pālaka is preceded by (a rule of) 23 years, the year of his anointment, for displacement of Ripuñjaya, we have to accept 23 years *before* the Nirvāṇa of Mahāvīra. *Thence* from 23 before Mahāvīra, for 175 years (if Matsya Purāṇa is followed) or for 149 years (if Vāyu Purāṇa is followed), the Bṛhadrathas must have existed as minor power. It is equivalent to a period ranging from 23 years before Mahāvīra till 152 A. M. (or till 126 A.M.).

It must therefore be circ, 126 A.M. or 152 A.M. when Puṣyamitra must have flourished. This is the proper date for him. It is synchronistic with the dates of the last Nanda and of Candragupta. The date of Candragupta according to Hemacandra (Pariśiṣṭa Parva VIII, 339) is 155 A.M.

एवं च [?] महावीरमुक्तेर्वर्षशते गते ।
पञ्चपञ्चाशदधिके चन्द्रगुप्तोऽभवन्नृपः ॥

The result is that Puṣyamitra is an elder contemporary of Candragupta Maurya.

That the Bṛhadrathas were formerly in Girivraja (very near Rājagṛha capital of *Bimbisāra*) is according to Matsya.

सोमाधिस्तस्य दायादो राजाऽभूत्स गिरिव्रजे ॥ Ch 271. १९ ॥

It lends colour to the fact of Agnimitra, son of Puṣyamitra claiming descent from a clan or family of the Bimbis (in Mālavikāgnimitra IV 14) whose one great ruler Bimbisāra ruled at Rājagṛha very near Girivraja.

Patañjali: his date.

The early date of Puṣyamitra in about 126 A.M. or 152 A.M. is naturally the date of the Bhāṣyakāra, Patañjali. It is very close to that of Vararuci, whose death has been described by Hemacandra in his Pariśiṣṭa Parva Ch. VIII 82 ff. It happens within the period of a year of Sthūlabhadra taking vows. The latter event happens according to Jain succession lists (I. A. Vol. XI, P. 251) in 146 A.M. (=After Mahāvīra) when the ninth Nanda was ruling. Accordingly, the death of Vararuci takes place in 147 A.M.

The fact of—the date of the Bhāṣyakāra, Patañjali being tied up with date of Puṣyamitra has been very successfully established by Dr. Bhandarkar in the pages of the first Volume of the Indian Antiquary. This is what he says in I.A. Vol. II, P. 59, in his reply to Prof. Weber :—

> "इह पुष्यमित्रं याजयामः"...is given by Patañjali as an instance of the Vārtika, which teaches that the present tense (*laṭ*) should be used to denote an action which has begun but not ended... ...The passage enables us, I think, to arrive at a satisfactory conclusion as to the date of Patañjali, since it shows that the author of the Mahābhāṣya flourished in the reign of Puṣyamitra."

Now we have to consider other passages of Patañjali which have a bearing on this *period*. First we discuss a passage of his Bhāṣya (V, 3, 99) on "जीविकार्थे चापण्ये ।"

He writes.

"अपण्य इत्युच्यते तत्रेदं न सिध्यति । शिवः स्कन्दो विशाख इति । किं कारणम् । मौर्यैर्हिरण्यार्थिभिरर्चाः प्रकल्पिताः । भवेत् । तासु न स्यात् । यास्त्वेताः संप्रतिपूजार्थाः । तासु भविष्यति" ॥

Kaiyyaṭa observes on it as follows :

यास्त्वेता इति । याः परिगृह्य गृहाद्गृहमटन्ति तास्वित्यर्थः । यास्तु विक्रीयन्ते तासु न भवति । शिवकान्विक्रीणीत इति ।" (Goldstücker—Pāṇini P. 229).

Prof. Weber has discussed the passage (cf. I A. Vol. II, P. 61). Therein he observes

> "...On the other hand it is not easy to understand how kings, in order to earn their livelihood (and only on this condition is the example relevant to the sūtra), should have caused images of the gods to be prepared or exhibited for sale."

In these words he has doubted the construction put by Dr. Goldstücker (*ibid.* p. 229) "that he lived after the last of Maurya dynasty." Placing of Puṣyamitra after the Mauryas allayed this doubt (of Prof. Weber) as of little or no significance. But with a change in chronology, the questioning of the attributed sense (by Dr. Weber) comes into forefront that Maurya kings did not live upon this sort of worship will be a common sense view. The sūtra lays stress upon "जीविका" *for livelihood*, which condition is absent in case of the Maurya kings. Therefore, "by Mauryas" in this illustration we have to understand "persons of Maurya gotra or clan". That there was a name such as "Mauryaputra," the name of one of the several Brahmin gāṇadharas (foremost disciples) of Mahāvīra, shows that the Maurya name was used irrespective of family and that it need not necessarily mean the Maurya race of rulers in our illustration.

[That Mauryaputra is the son of a Brāhmin called Maurya is stated in the Tri. (Bk. X, ch. 5) of Hemacandra]. Again another illustration of Patañjali (I. i. 68) "पुष्यमित्रसभा, चन्द्रगुप्तसभा" puts चन्द्रगुप्त *on a level* with Puṣyamitra which would not be the case if Candragupta was earning his livelihood on worship of images. In Mālavikāgnimitra on I. 7.

मौर्यसचिवं विमुञ्चति यदि पूज्यः संयतं मम स्यालं ॥

the commentator Kāṭyavema explains मौर्यसचिवं as "मौर्यसचिवनामानं" which implies that the word " Maurya " is not at all reserved for Maurya rulers. On the other hand, the illustration पुष्यमित्रसभा, चन्द्रगुप्तसभा is pregnant with implication that the author (Patañjali) had before his mind two sights which impressed him; and the order of his narration was according to the importance he attached to them, or that Puṣyamitra was treated as an elder contemporary of Candragupta. Some copies omit the latter citation. If the omission is accepted as natural and true, then all connection, in fact the *only* connection of Patañjali with the Mauryan ruler is lost; in which case, his date stands irrespective of date of Candragupta (which is 155 A. M. according to Hemacandra). Moreover, mention of the assembly of Candragupta in the same breath with that of Puṣyamitra would have no significance if the one sight was separated from the other by several generations. To preserve the force of this illustration we have to understand that the two sabhās (assemblies) *must have been green* in the author's (and in fact, of his readers') memory.

It will be seen from the above disquisition that Patañjali has nothing in his Bhāṣya which challenges our findings based upon the Matsya Purāṇa and against Bāṇa. We leave it to scholars to consider the effect of these changes in dates of Puṣyamitra and of Patañjali. We considered them so far as chronology and prevalent notions (mistaken as they were) were concerned.

Alternative proposals.

We have accepted the total of the 825 years of Matsya Purāṇa for a cross road in the fortunes of the Bṛhadratha line, with its end in Ripuñjaya. Some will propose to accept 974 years of the Vāyu Purāṇa instead of 825 years of the Matsya and would prefer to count 26 years *hence* for the appearance of Puṣyamitra on the scene. This latter proposal is not acceptable because out of the 26 years (1000—974=26), 23 years will have to be deducted for the reign of the son of Pulaka. Then will remain only 3 years which are 3 years of the Nirvāṇa of Mahāvīra because Pālaka, the successor to Pulaka's son was anointed on the very night when the Nirvāṇa occurred. It will therefore assign to Puṣyamitra 3 A.M. which is inconsistent with the reference to Pāṭaliptura (अनुशोणं पाटलिपुत्रं) in the Bhāṣya of Patañjali. The city of Pāṭaliputra was founded by Udāyi, son of Ajātaśatru, which therefore cannot be

earlier than 20 A.M. (because Ajātaśatru reigned for 32 years and died 16 A.M.) The foundation of that city is narrated by Hemacandra in his Pari. ch. VI 22 ff.

Therefore, the total 974 of the Vāyu cannot be taken as the year when Pulaka came in the forefront. The total 916 years of शतं पूर्णं is unacceptable. It would assign to Puṣyamitra date 61 A.M. (1000 minus 916 = 84. 84 minus 23 = 61 A.M.) It is much remote from the time of Vararuci whose death occurs in 147 A.M. The only other interpretation therefore is the one we have ventured to offer—that 974 is the only actual figure approximating to 1000 and *may be* substituted for it (unless we are confronted with some other weighty evidence going against our proposal) for the end of the Bṛhadratha line.

The total duration of the family of Puṣyamitra is according to the Matsya 300 years and according to the Vāyu 112 years.

Succession to Puṣyamitra family.

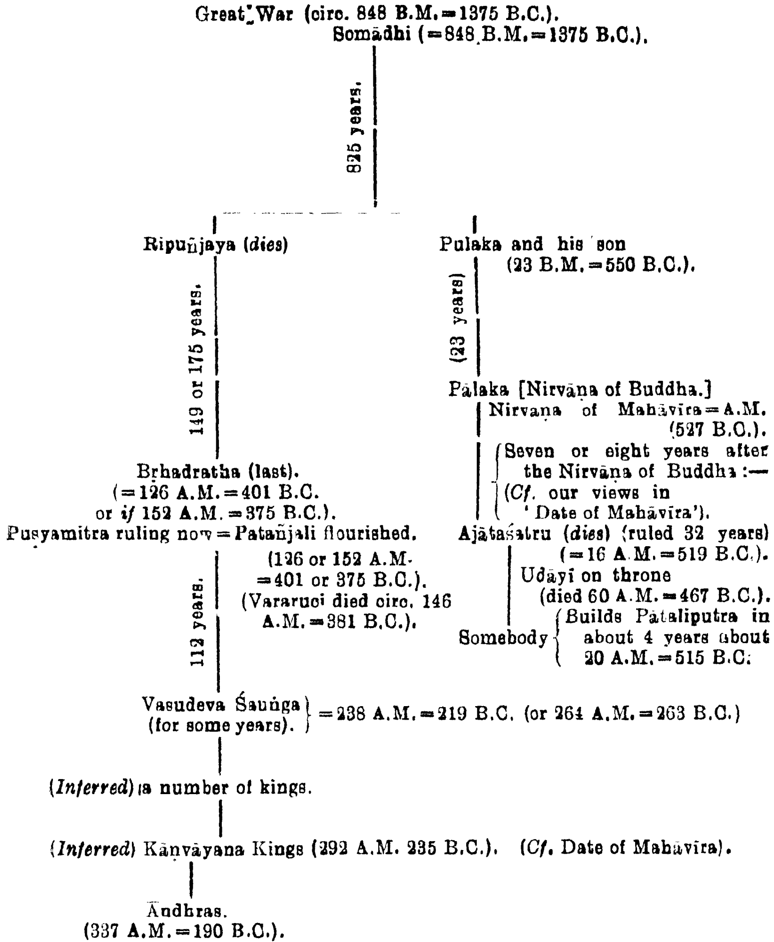
"शतं पूर्णं शते द्वे च" ch. 272, 32. of the Matsya.
"शतं पूर्णं दश द्वे च" according to the Vāyu.

It is evident that the Matsya Purāṇa is not correct because after completion ("पूर्णं") of 100 naturally decades and units are to follow and so does the Vāyu Purāṇa, making it 100+10+2.

We have inferred before that Puṣyamitra must be ruling about 126 or 152 A.M. adding 112 years, we come to 238 or 264 A.M. as the probable time when his dynasty came to an end and was succeeded by minister 'Vasudeva' *belonging to the Śuṅgas* or of Śuṅga family. Who succeeded him, we are not told.

The chronology so far reconstructed in terms of A.M. years (years of the Nirvāṇa of Mahāvīra which is equivalent to 527 B.C.), is as under :—

RESULTS.



The "Mālavikāgnimitra"

The above form of Chronology is the result of the authorities we have used—both Jain and Purāṇic. Let us now collect the information we get from Kālidāsa, from his drama the Mālavikāgnimitra, the hero therein being the son of Puṣyamitra.

We hear of Puṣyamitra for first time in Act V, when he sends a messenger to fetch his son with family at the sacrifice at a place *not at all* given by Kālidāsa. In the drama, Agnimitra is the lord of Vidiśā (परिव्राजिका........"अत्र भगवान्विदिशेश्वरः संप्राप्तः" Act IV). Puṣyamitra is regularly styled Deva and Senāpati but they do not convey to us any indication, of *his* kingdom, if he was not lord of Vidiśā. He styles himself as Senāpati in his letter. There he styles himself according to one

reading Vaidiśaḥ (of Vidiśā) while according to another reading it is "वैदिशस्थं पुत्रं आयुष्मन्तम्" (Act V) to his son (long lived) who is at Vidiśa. It is therefore undecided where Puṣyamitra ruled although the latter reading has the word पुत्र which appears redundant and undignified, it being followed by आयुष्मन्तम्.

Position of Puṣyamitra.

But the seat of Government must be Vidiśā and none else is obvious from the war which is waged against Vidarbha king, who is styled "प्रकृति अमित्र" (Act I). Now प्रकृति अमित्र means a close neighbour in politics, he being naturally inclined to swerve from friendly basis according to political science (cf. Kauṭilya VI, 2, 97. "भूम्यनन्तरं प्रकृत्यमित्रः तुल्याभिजनस्सहजः"). If Puṣyamitra's kingdom extended from Pāṭaliputra (or Magadha) till the borders of Vidarbha, only then, the Vidarbha king would be to him "प्रकृति अमित्र," being a close neighbour. But we have no indication of such an extent of his kingdom in this drama. It is very unlikely that he let loose his horse and went after it so far away up to the banks of the Sindhu *without subjugating his neighbours.* Had Puṣyamitra been on throne of some powerful kingdom, the king of Vidarbha would have thought a hundred times before giving a cause for quarrel to his son Agnimitra. With the styling of the lord of Vidarbha as a "natural enemy" the King (Vidarbha) becomes a "तुल्याभिजनः" (as may be seen from Kauṭilya). The king in fact remonstrates with Agnimitra that he should have known well the mode of dealing with तुल्याभिजन kings, the neighbour getting that position of equality (तुल्य) and respect (अभिजन) automatically in politics. And on that basis, he proposed exchanges to Agnimitra. Of course he under-estimated the power of Agnimitra but his reply leaves no doubt as to the equality of the position of Agnimitra (and incidentally of Puṣyamitra) amongst several rulers of those times.

Horse-sacrifice.

The picture of Puṣyamitra tagging to his army hundred princes protecting the horse, and the other picture of Agnimitra thinking of invading a powerless and newly established king are incommensurable. The second picture should have been an accomplished fact before the first one is drawn. We therefore think that the horse-sacrifice or the great Yajña was a result of the co-operation of several states who combined together to check the onslaught of foreign intruders and that Puṣyamitra with his grandson led the host; and accordingly on the achievement of victory, he was the principal sacrificer with sons of hundreds of kings. It looks as if Patañjali is referring to this intrusion of Yavana hordes when he cites illustrations that "Yavanas beseiged Sāketa;" that "Yavanas harassed the Mādhyamika people." They (Yavanas) must have been finally driven away in a pitched battle

on the shores of the Sindhu where Puṣyamitra must have been the generalissimo of Indian kings. With propriety and pride he may have called himself the Senāpati and later on, it may be said, it became his title—the Senāpati of Vidiśā.

Résumé. We have now exhausted our sources of information about Puṣyamitra. Let us take stock of the results :

(1) The Matsya Purāṇa does not call him either a Śuṅga or a successor of the Mauryas.

(2) Elimination of his dynasty from the chronology after the Mauryas allow us to build up a much more consistent and reliable chronology of the Āndhras ; (see our paper on the " Date of Mahāvira. ")

(3) His early date allows the Bhāṣyakāra, Patañjali an early date which is quite consistent with tradition and with illustrations—"पुष्यमित्रसभा—चन्द्रगुप्तसभा"

(4) Moreover we find an easy link in him by his advent after the Bṛhadrathas who begin with the end of the Bhārata war. That Bṛahdrathas were originally of Magadha but later on were in Vītihotra is what the Purāṇa says. But geography in Purāṇic narration is very uncertain and geographical centre appears to be shifting now and then, and as such affords us no certain check to our findings.

So much and no more—can be said with reference to Puṣyamitra and his times—and with reference to his great contemporary Patañjali.

N.B.—Chronology herein presented is of course *a tentative one* because we have no inscriptional evidence or strong literary evidence to settle it once for all beyond dispute. In our paper on " Date of Mahāvira " we settled the Maurya, Kāṇva and Āndhra chronology. [1] We hope to settle the remaining ones of Pradyota and Śaiśunāka quite to the satisfaction of scholars in another article on some future date.

---

1. **It will be published in A. B. I., Poona.**

INFLUENCE OF SOUTH-INDIAN IMPERIALISM ON MEDIAEVAL HINDUSTAN.

BY

PROF. C. S. SRINIVASACHARI, M.A., MADRAS.

I.

Rāṣṭrakūṭa Expansion : 753—973 A. D.

The spread of Buddhism and Jainism to the Deccan and Southern India as early as the Mauryan epoch, strengthened the connection between the North and the South already growing. This connection, cultural from the beginning, assumed on occasions a political turn also. Not only was the frontier region of the country between the lower Kṛṣṇā and the Tirupati Hills a bone of contention between the dominating power of the Tamil land and the lords of the Deccan ; but the region of the Narmadā and the Vindhya Mountains was equally disputed between the Deccan powers and those of Āryāvarta. There are evidences of the Tamil Cola rulers of the earliest times like Karikāla trying to strengthen their frontier region of Kāñcī, as well as of powerful Sātavāhanas like Vāsiṣṭha putra Śrī-Pulumāvi (*Cir.* 150 A.D.) making a great effort at southern expansion beyond the Kṛṣṇā to the North Peṇṇār basin. The northward expansion of the Sātavāhana power which incorporated the Maratha country as early as the time of Śātakarṇi, [1] and pushed on to Ujjayinī as may be inferred from numismatic testimony, resulted in a long struggle waged by the Āndhra power first with the Śuṅgas, and later on with the Śakas for the possession and retention of Imperial Ujjain. The struggles of Āndhra rulers like Gautamīputra-Śātakarṇi and Vāsiṣṭha putra Śrī-Pulumavi with the Śāka Satraps, Nahapāṇa Caṣṭāna, and Rudradāman which are made so clear to us by Professor D.R. Bhandarkar from the inscriptional evidence of Western India in the second century A.D. [2] have a twofold significance for us. On the one hand they are an indication of the recurrent waves of Southern imperialistic advance on the North ; and on the other hand they form a struggle of Hindu orthodoxy with the casteless, and in other ways disagreeable, foreign races so largely settled in Western India at that epoch.

The Cālukya Pulakeśi II's repulse of Harṣavardhana's personal attack with "the troops from the five Indies and the best generals from all countries" on the line of the Narmadā is the next great historical landmark of interaction between Deccan and Hindustan Imperialism. The marcher rule of a younger branch of the Cālukya dynasty in Lāṭa (Southern Gujarat) seems to have served its purpose well. In a grant

1. Cam. His. Ind. Vol. I, p. 530.
2. Dec. of Sat. Per, *Ind. Ant.* Vols. XLVII, XLVIII etc.

made by one Pulakeśi of this branch (circa 739 A. D.) we find it stated that he vanquished an army of *Tājikas* (Arabs) which had destroyed the Saindhava (King of Sind) Kaccella (probably the King of Kaccha) Saurāṣṭra, Cahotakaṭ (King of Anhilpattan of the Capotkaṭa race), Maurya, Gūrjara and other kings on its way to Dakṣiṇāpatha to conquer the southern kings had come to Navasārī to reduce that country first [1]. Thus the task of defending the land against the great wave of Islam penetrating into the interior fell upon this marcher principality as upon the Gūrjaras also who bounded the Arab power on the North-East and East.

The Rāṣṭrakūṭas began their rule with an outburst of military glory and expansion. Dantidurga, the founder, is supposed to have conquered not merely the kings of the South but also of those of Malwa, Lāṭa and Ṭaṅka, and "at Ujjayinī he gave large quantities of gold and jewels in charity". Kṛṣṇa Akālavarṣa who consolidated Raṣṭrakūṭa supremacy, churned the Cālukya ocean and drew out from it "the Lakṣmī of paramount sovereignty" The next important ruler was Dhruva Nirupama, Dhārāvarṣa (circa 779-794 A. D.) who according to the Radhanpūr plates of Govinda III, (Saka 730) had a victory over Vatsarāja of the Gūrjara-Pratīhāra line, "who had easily appropriated the fortune of the royalty of the Gauḍa". Having with his armies which no other army could withstand quickly caused the Vatsarāja, intoxicated with the sovereignty of the Goddess of (the country of) Gauḍa that he had acquired with ease, to enter upon the path of misfortune in the centre of the deserts of Maru, he took away from him not only the two regal umbrellas of Gauḍa. [2] Thus Vatsarāja who established his suzerainty over all the Gūrjara states of Rājaputana and who had probably defeated the expanding king of Gauḍa, was soon after his victory humbled along with the Gauḍa by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa. Thus "it appears that while Vatsarāja was laying the foundation of the future greatness of his family in the West, the Pālas had established a strong monarchy in Bengal in the East. The former had gradually expanded his kingdom in the East while the latter did the same in the opposite direction...... While the rivals were thus fighting with each other a common enemy appeared from the South, involved both of them in a common ruin and pushed as far as the Ganges and the Jumna [3]". Dhruva who according to the Baroda Plates of Karkarāja [4] conquered the basin of the Ganges and the Jumna appointed his brother Indrarāja to rule over the Lāṭeśvaramaṇḍala, that is the

1. Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency Vol. I, Part II, Early Hist. Of Deccan p. 187.

2. *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI, pp. 56 et. seq. an *Ep. Ind.* VI, p. 248.

3. The Gūrjara-Pratihāras by R. C. Majumdar in the *Cal. University Journal of the Dept. of Letters*, Vol. 10, pp. 35, 36.

4. *The Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XII, p. 160.

northern dominions of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas with Lāṭa as the centre. When this Indrarāja was expelled from Kanauj in a period of Rāṣṭrakūṭa depression soon after the death of Dhruva by a recrudescence of the Pālas of Gauḍa, the kaleidoscopic struggle assumed a new phase. The Gūrjara monarch Nāgabhaṭa II (Cir. 825 A.D.) allying himself with the powers of the middle belt from the Sind to Kaliṅga, tried to stem the double tide of Rāṣṭrakūṭa aggression from the south and the Pāla advance from the Doab. Govinda III, Jagattuṅga, Prabhūtavarṣa, who was undoubtedly the greatest king of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa line, after overcoming his initial difficulties in the south strengthened his brother of Lāṭa who was being hard-pressed by Nāgabhaṭa. When he next advanced against the Gūrjara king, "the latter in fear vanished no-body knew whither so that even in a dream he might not see battle".[1] We have also got other epigraphical reference in the Sañjan Copper-plate and the Pathari Pillar Inscription, as to the victories of Govinda against the Gūrjara [2]. Govinda's victory seems to have extended against the Gauḍa also, which is interpreted to mean that the Pala monarch and his lieutenant of Kanauj who were so lately at war with the Gūrjara "made common cause with the Rāṣṭrakūṭa against their more dangerous rival namely Nāgabhaṭa"[3]. The date of this invasion of Govinda is easily fixed as 807-808 A.D. Between the issue of the Wani plates and that of Radhanpūr grant which contains besides a repetition of verses in the Wani plates, another verse descriptive of the flight of the Gūrjara king before Govindarāja Rāṣṭrakūṭa. The Nīlaguṇḍa inscription [4] tells us of the victory of Govinda over the Pāla also which most likely means that the Dharmapāla of the Gauḍa was probably forced to submit to him. The inscription issued in the 52nd year of the reign of Amoghavarṣa Lakṣmīvallabha (*Cir.* 814—15—877 A.D.) represents the Rāṣṭrakūṭas being worshipped by Vaṅga, Aṅga, Magadha, Malava, and Veṅgi. Amoghavarṣa in the Deccan and Mihirabhoja Pratīhāra (*Circa.* 843 to 890 A.D.) at Kanouj seem to have been a repetition so to speak of Pulakōśi II, Cālukya and Harṣavardhana in the seventh century. Bhoja, like Harṣa seems to have been repulsed by Dhruvarāja of Gujarat whose Bagumra Plates dated 867 A.D. narrate his victory over Gūrjara. It was only towards the latter part of Bhoja's reign that the Rāṣṭrakūṭa power represented by Kṛṣṇa II Akālavarṣa (875 to 911 A.D.) was engaged in a bitter struggle with the Cālukya ruler and could not seriously check the Gūrjara. But even as it was, the Navasārī plates issued by Indra III Nityavarṣa, dated Śaka 836 give an account of Akālavarṣa's wars with Gūrjaras as given by old men at the time of the grant.

1. The Radhanpūr Plates *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VI, pp. 243 et. seq.
2. Dr. R. C. Majumdar, Gūrjara-Pratīhāras, p. 43 quoted above.
3. This has another interpretation, Vide next section.
4. *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VI, p. 102.

But the Gūrjaras under Bhojas and Mahendrapāla reached the zenith of their power enjoying undisputed possession of Kanauj which was the accepted Imperial capital as Arab contemporary and slightly later accounts amply testify, pointing to the city as the capital of Hind. "The halo of the Empire of Harṣa hovered long over the city and induced each successive aspirant to imperial power to establish his dynasty there."[1]

It was fortunate in another sense that the Gūrjaras should have attained to dominance in Kanauj for they stood out at this epoch as the bulwark of India against Arab invasions; while the Rāṣṭrakūṭas always the friends of Arab traders, "seem to have allied themselves with the Islamic powers of Sind against them." The Arab merchant Sulaiman and his continuator, Abu-Zaid, who wrote respectively about 851 and 916 A.D. tells us of the unfriendliness of the king of Juriz also (Guzr); and the latter calls Kanauj a large country forming the empire of Jurz[2] Both Sulaiman and Maśūdi, a later traveller and writer (d. 956 A.D.) concur in making Jurz border on the kingdom of the Balharā. Though Maśūdi locates the Bamūra at Kanauj and speaks of Jurz as quite a distant kingdom still it is presumed that the Banūra of Kanauj was only the Pratībāra who was the lord of the Gūrjaras—Reinaud having long ago pitched upon the identification of Jurz with Kanauj[3]. The Arab travellers are explicit upon the mutual hostilities of the Bamūra and the Balharā (Rāṣṭrakūṭa), the southern of the four armies of Kanauj always fighting against the Balharā.

Though the Rāṣṭrakūṭas might not have foreseen the consequences of opening the door of commerce and friendliness to the Arabs, it was to the credit of the Pratīhāras that they successfully resisted the encroachments of the Arab power in Sind, and to them "the country owes its immunity from Moslem invasions for well-nigh two-hundred years."

Thus at the beginning of the 10th century the Pratīhāras under Mahendrapāla could play the imperial role to the fullest extent. As Dr. R. C. Majumdar says "the struggle for empire between the three great rival powers of the 9th century A. D. had thus its logical end. Dhruva and Govinda III, Dharmapāla and Devapāla (of Gauḍa) Bhojadeva and Mahendrapāladeva, each played in turn the imperial role and satisfied to the fullest extent the Imperial ambitions of the respective powers".[4]

But the Rāṣṭrakūṭas were not to rest content without one more assertion of their imperial impulse. Indra III Nityavarṣa (*Acc.* 914 A. D.) the donor of the Navasārī grant gives in this a description of his

1. C. V. Vaidya "*Hist of Med. Hindu. India* Vol. I, p. 27.
2. Pages 4 & 10 of Elliot and Domsen's Hist of India Vol. I.
3. *Ibid* Vol. I, pp. 22—25 & App. p. 388.
4. R. C. Majumdar, The Gūrjara—Pratīhāras, Vol. 10 of Calcutta University *Journal of the Department of Letters*, Vol. X, p. 58.

grand-father's wars against the Gūrjaras. Of him and his wars with the Gūrjaras, the Cambay Plates of Govinda IV give an account how the conquered Ujjayinī, crossed the Jumna and destroyed the city of Mahodaya—" the cavalry swimming in the deep Jumna vying with the sea or the Indus, storming and devastating Kanauj so that it truly became Kuśasthalī or a plot overgrown with grass [1] (*circa* 916-7 A. D.). The last northern expansion of the dynasty was that of Kṛṣṇa III—Akālavarṣa who issued the Wardha grant which describes his achievement in detail dated 940 A. D. We are told how the terror of his name and southern conquests frightened the Gūrjara king who was preparing to take the fortresses of Kalañjara and Citrakūṭa and how all feudatory chiefs between the Himālayas and Sibmaḷa paid obeissance to him.

The Rāṣṭrakūṭas achieved all this empire and glory only to die like their rivals the Gūrjaras. The Cālukyas before them had indeed warred with the northern powers. Pulakeśi had defeated Harṣa and Vinayāditya had probably checked Yaśovarman of Kanauj in his *digvijaya* [2] But the Rāṣṭrakūṭas advanced frequently into the heart of Hindustan itself as far as Kanauj (which as the seat of the northern empire was their natural objective as much as Delhi, the seat of Mughal empire was the objective of the Marathas.)

II.

Cola Imperialism 985 to 1118 A. D.

The Rāṣṭrakūṭa legacy of imperial expansion passed on not so much to their immediate successors in the Deccan the Cālukyas of Kalyāṇi as to the revived Cola power of the Vijayālaya dynasty. After the consolidation of their rule in their hereditary Cola country and in the adjacent Pāṇḍya and Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam territories it was left to Rājarāja the Great to begin a career of aggressive conquests. The conquest of the Gaṅgas, and other powers of the south was easy enough. Before the 14th year (A. D. 998-999) Rājarāja had conquered Veṅgaināḍu, Gaṅgapāḍi, Nolambapāḍi Taḍigaipāḍi, the last of which has been identified by Dr. Fleet with a portion of Mysore. One of Rājarāja's first achievements was a permanent alliance with the Eastern Cālukya power cemented by a marriage and probably effected "after a demonstration of power or more probably a warlike intervention". We find the Veṅgi ruler Vimalāditya in Tanjore in A. D. 1013-1014 making gifts to the temple there. The importance of the Eastern Cālukya alliance was great, since a combination of Veṅgi with the Western Cālukya power at Kalyaṇī would have weakened the Colas along their

1. Ep. Ind Vol. VII, pp. 26 to 36, and C. V. Vaidya, Hist of Med. Hind. India, Vol. II, p. 154.

2. The point is doubtful and has not yet been finally settled. *Vide* Vaidya, pp. 385-36 of his Hist of Mediaeval Hindu India, Vol. I.

northern frontier and disabled them in their expansionist policy. Rājarāja's victory over Satyāśraya the W. Cālukya king and his conquest of Rattapaḍi seven and a half lakhs country cannot, as proved by Dr. S. Krishnasvāmi Aiyangar, be the conquest of the whole of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dominions now in the hands of the Western Cālukyas, but only a victory over the ruler, nor do we know for certain what exactly Rājarāja did with regard to Kaliṅga. The actual northern line of Rājarāja's conquests might have been along the Tuṅgabhadrā down to the Karnul and then along an irregular northern line behind the Veṅgi dominion to the Orissa frontier [1].

Rajendra Cola already associated with his father in the last five or six years of his reign began even from his accession a career of northern conquests with "the great war-like army" built up by Rājarāja. His first conquests were Iḍaitturaināḍu, Vanavāsi, Kollipakkai and the camp of Maṇṇai. Iḍaturaināḍu has been identified by Dr. Fleet with the Raichur Doab ; Kollipakkai has been shown in the *Hyderabed Archaeological Journal* Vol. I to have been then Kulpak between Hyderabad and Warrangal ; and Maṇṇaikaḍaham by Dr. S. K. Aiyangar to be the Tamil representation of Mānyakheṭa, the erstwhile capital of Rāṣṭrakūṭas and the Mankir of the Muhammadan historians. The records of the 10th year of Rajendra describe a war with the Cālukya Jayasihma whom he defeated at Muyaṅgi. This place is according to Dr. S. K. Aiyangar the Kanarese Māsaṅgi, contracted into Maski, where the Aśokan Minor Rock Edict was found, in the Raichur district, [2] Had Rajendra been merely content with this he would have followed only the achievements of his father and "no originality could be claimed for him." But he had a powerful imagination and grasp of the political situation of Northern India at the time, weakened as it was by the invasions of Muhammad of Ghazni. Records of his 12th year among them the Tirumalai inscription [3] and the inscription No. 44 at Kolar [4] give the achievements of the conquests of Śakkarakkoṭṭam, Namanaikoṇam, Pañcapalli, and Māsunideśam, a victory over, Indraratha of the lunar dynasty, at Jatinagar the capital of Oddaviṣaya, and Kosalaināḍu, victories over Dharmapāla of Daṇḍabhukti and Raṇaśūra of Dakṣiṇalāḍa ; and he further "attacked Vaṅgaladeśam, from which Govindacandra fled and took the territory of where the monsoon never ceases". He then "reached the mouths of the Ganges and having frightened in the field Ottamayipāla he took his elephants, the camp of his women and Uttaralāḍa". Other records of the king's 13th year mention his overseas conquests in Kaḍāram, Śrīvijaya etc. regions probably situated in South Burma and

1. Rajendra, the Gaṅgai-Koṇḍa Cola by Dr. S. K. Aiyangar Journal of Indian History, Vol. II, p. 320-ff.

2. Jour. Ind. His. Foot-note, p. 322 of Vol. II.

3 & 4. Ep. Ind. Vol. XI, pp. 230-31.

the Malay Peninsula. The famous Tiruvālangāḍu Plates of which the Sanskrit portion was written at least a decade later than the Tamil contains, in the Sanskrit part, a record which says that Rajendra returned to his capital after his victory over Jayasihma and ordered his commander to subdue the king's occupying the banks of the Ganges. (verses 108-110). Then follows the order of his conquests which are mostly recorded in the historical introductions to his Tamil inscriptions dated from and after the 13th year of the reign. The Editor of the Tiruvālangāḍu plates and Rai Bahadur V. Veṅkayya before him [1] say that the northern expedition was conducted by deputy and the former maintains that even the title Gangaikoṇḍān assumed by the Cola after the defeating the nothern powers and receiving from them the waters of the Ganges with all the pomp of a conqueror is "not enough by itself to suggest that Rajendra personally conducted the campaigns as is recorded by the Government Assistant Epigraphist [2]. First there was the campaign of Musaṅgi and next awas the campaign which seems to have had for its object the subjucation of Kaliṅgam which must apparently have started from Kollipakki (Kulpak) or thereabouts. Śakkarakūṭa whose rulers were the Nagavaṁśis is identified by Dr. S. K. Aiyangar on the basis of the researches of Paṇḍit Hiralal of Nāgpūr with Śakkarkoṭṭam and Māsuṇideśam the territory of snakes. The other places mentioned may be regarded as the centres of feudatory chiefs among whom Indraratha was the dominant ruler. This Indranāth of Sadinagam has been identified by the above authority with the Somavaṁśi king of that name whose capital was Yayātinagar (the Jajnagar of Muslim historians). This Indraratha strong "with very powerful elephants, horses and innumerable foot soldiers" was defeated in the battle field and "his white parasol of sovereignity fell to the ground." This defeat of Indraratha meant virtually the Cola conquest of Oddaviṣaya which apparently was his own direct territory", as well as the subjugation of Kosalaināḍu the Mahākosala country of the Central Provinces which constituted the hinteland of modern Orissa.

The campaign extended beyond Orissa where the Cola general proceeded from this second base is not certain. The Tiruvālangāḍu plates say that the general attacked Raṇaśūra of Dakṣinalāḍa and then entered the extensive dominions of Dharmapāla, thereafter getting the Ganges waters carried by the subjugated chiefs to his royal master who had meanwhile reached the river Godāvarī; he had also defeated in the meanwhile Mahīpāla and taken possession of his game splendour and precious gems [3]. The order is somewhat different in Tamil Records, the general

1. South Indian Inscriptions, Vol. III, Part III, p. 172 foot-note, 5 and Arch. Sur. of Ind. Annual Rep. 1911-12, p. 173.

2. Ep. Rep. for 1917, p. 145.

3. The Tiruvelaṅgāḍu plates, Verses 116 to 119, pp. 424-25 of S. I. I. Vol. III, Part III.

advancing first against Dharmapāla of Daṇḍabhukti and then against Raṇaśūra of southern Lāḍa. The exact order of the campaign would be of great use in testing the historical and geographical accuracy of the Cola records.

Working on the basis of materials supplied by Mr. R. D. Banerjee, Mahāmahopādhyāya Haraprasād Śāstri and others, Dr. Aiyangar would come to the following conclusions. (1) Rāda a well-known division of Bengal is the same as Rāda-Dakṣiṇalāḍa being Midnapūr and Uttara Lāḍa, Burdhwan; and Daṇḍabhukti is Behar the modern province of Bihar without Orissa. (2) Three was a family of Rāṣṭrakūṭa—Karnāṭakas, in the region of Daṇḍabhukti which must have been planted by either Dhruva or Govinda III when Vatsarāja who had got the sovereignty of Gauda was driven into the deserts of Maru [1]. This new power first planted in Central India was attacked by the great Gūrjara ruler, Bhoja and Mahendrapāla and had to move east to Magadha being eclipsed by Mahīpāla the Gūrjara. This power is revealed to us in a few Rāṣṭrakūṭa inscriptions but goes under eclipse during the 10th century allying itself with the Palas of Gauḍa (3), the Dharmapāla of Daṇḍabukti is probably a relative of Mahīpāla of Gauḍa ruling over the territory of the eclipsed Karnāṭakas. Most of the points raised and argued in the course of this elaboration are mere visions of material already to hand interpreted in the light of new data. We are also treated to a good refutation of Mr. R. D. Banerjee's assumption that the Cola general was unable to cross the Ganges to the farther bank being defeated by Mahīpāla, the Gauda and that the Karnāṭas whom Mahīpāla defeated, were not the Colas, nor a portion of their army left behind—the Cola objective being only the reaching of the Ganges bank for spectacular and religious purposes as well as for a deeper object. " The real object of the invasion seems to have been the through conquest of Kaliṅgam " (Vide *Rajendra —the Gangaikoṇḍa, Journal of Ind. History* already referred to.) It is also quite possible that the Sena and the Karnāṭa dynasties which ruled over Bengal and Mithila in the latter days of Pāla rule were not the result of the Cola conquest, but merely the result of a revival of the eclipsed Karnāṭa power of Magadha.

Coming to the next stages of the Cola campaign the probability of truth lying more towards the order of events and march as presented in the Tamil records—the Cola general advanced from Daṇḍabhukti to Dakṣiṇa-Lāḍa, and then marched east against Govindacandra "of whom as yet we know nothing,"; after turning to the mouths of the Ganges he took Uttara-Lāḍa having frightened Ottamayipala. Then the Ganges water was taken and brought to the Cola king encamped on the banks of the Godāvarī. Here it is proved by Dr. Aiyangar that the Mahīpāla was not

1. The Pālas of Bengal by R. D. Banerjee, Caṇḍakauśikī MSS and notes by H. P. Śāstri—quoted by Dr. S. K. Aiyangar, in his *Rājendra the Gaṅgaikonda Cola.*

the Gauḍa ruler but an Odda ruler of "the Saṅgama which teaches the sea"—which description of the king is given in the Tamil records and the ruler who was defeated by the Cola was the king of the north Orissa extending from the Mahânadī to the Hugli.

The succeeding campaign seems to have been waged by both the general and the master—(verses 120-123) of the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates describing clearly the events, the killing in battle of the Lord of Oḍḍa etc. —the Tamil records describing clearly only the overseas expedition that followed. All the records are unanimous that after reach—the banks of the Ganges the conquests of the Orissa coast region followed—the Orissa coast being the base from which the naval expedition should have started. The last overseas campaign is not germane to our purpose here and is consequently left out.

The nothern campaigns of Rājendra could not have occupied more than a year or two. But they did not merely constitute a mere roving pilgrimage and had a definite political and military object in view—the securing of the northern flank of the Cola empire by a triumphant march from Bihar to Gaṅgāsāgara coupled with an effective subjugation of the feudatories of the interior and followed by the effective subjucation of the Orissa coast which served as the starting point of the overseas enterprice. Probably the Oḍra king threatened to rival and forestall the Cola naval expedition.

One result of these northern campaigns seems to have been the establishment of some sort of intercourse, diplomatic and otherwise between the Cola and the north Indian powers like Kanauj. The title 'Protector of the people of Kannakucci' seems to have been bestowed by Rājādhirājacola on one of his relatives [1]. Vīrarājendra conferred a similar title on one of his relatives. Mr. Veṅkayya suggests the probability of visits and revisits between the Cola capital and Kanauj in the 11th century. An inscription of Kulottuṅga at Gangaikoṇḍa Śolapuram dated 1010-1011 A.D. contains a copy of a portion of the introduction in the copper-plates of the Gahadwala king, Govindacandra of Kanouj [2]. (1) Mr. Veṅkayya postulates Āryan influence in other directions, also, as in the grammar of the Tamil language which saw the importance of the Āryan *Bahuvrīhisamāsam* (Tamil—*Palaner—samāsam*) about this time as quoted by Buddhamitra. "There is also reason to believe that Śaivism which largely flourished in the time of Rājendracola was due to his intimate connection with the North," "The Cola king Rajendracola went for a bath in the Ganges saw the best of Śaivas there and brought them with him to settle in his own country in Kāñcī and throughout the Cola land."[3]

1. South Indian Inscrip. Vol. III, Part I, p. 56.

2. *Arch. Survey of India*, Annual Report from 1911-12, p. 175.

3. Quoted by V. Venkayya from Trilocana—Śivācārya's *Siddhānta-Sārāvali*.

The achievements of the immediate successors of Rājendra were mainly against the Western Cālukyas. Kulottuṅgacola (1070-1118) had even as prince engaged in the capture of *Vairagaram* (Wairagarh) in the Central provinces; his ambition was always imperial and in his reign there were clearly two invasions of Kaliṅga—as referred to by the Tiruvaḍamarudūr inscription of his 26th year and again by inscriptions of his 42nd and 45th years, at least of such Kaliṅga as was outside the Veṅgi viceroyalty of the Colas. The first invasion of Kaliṅga of 1095-96 A.D. might have been possibly directed against some intruder into the remote northern frontier of Veṅgi—probably when Vikramāṅka Cālukya penetrated into this region which supposition would account for inscriptions of his, found at Drākṣārām in the Godāvarī district and which is described by Bilhaṇa. The *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi* states that the grand invasion of Northern Kaliṅga was undertaken when its king failed to appear with the usual tribute—this was probably about 1112 A.D.

Kulottuṅga in spite of his greatness appears to have lost his overseas dominions as well as the Gaṅgapāḍi territory. Otherwise the Cola dominion remained in tact for some time but its imperial glory had vanished and its imperial status had gone as well with Kulottuṅga.

HINDUISM AND MUHAMMADAN HERETICS DURING THE PATHAN PERIOD.

BY

DR. SURENDRANATH SEN, CALCUTTA.

The Timuride princes of Delhi were good Muhammadans, but during their long sojourn in India they had imbibed many of the superstitious beliefs of the original Hindu inhabitants of the country. Their belief in astrology was probably characteristic of that age, but Sir Thomas Roe, the English ambassador at the Court of the Emperor Jehangir, speaks of one superstitious rite that is still current among the native Hindus and was undoubtedly of Hindu origin. Writes Sir Thomas Roe, [1] "Then the king descended the stairs with such an acclamation of health to the king, as would have out-cryed cannons. At the stairs foote, where I met him, and shuffled to be next, one brought a mighty Carpe, another a dish of white stuffe like starch, into which he put his finger, and touched the fish, and so rubbed it on his fore-head; a ceremony used presaging good fortune." In that "mighty carpe" and "a dish of white stuffe like starch" it is not difficult to identify a *Rohit* fish and a pot of '*Dadhi*', things of good omen that every orthodox Hindu likes to touch and look upon when he sets forth from his home for a new place, even to-day. The Hindu and Muhammadan had lived side by side for so many centuries that they had naturally learnt to tolerate and unconsciously imbibe each others social customs, common beliefs and even superstitious rites, and the process must have begun long before the conquest of India by Babar and his immediate successors. Towards the Tughlak period, the Muhammadans of India had earned such a notoriety for their heathenish practice among their co-religionists outside India that Timur regarded his invasion of India as a real *Jehad*, for, according to him, most of the Indian Muhammadans were no better than heathens. In the *Malfuzat-i-Timuri* we read that the expedition was directed mainly against "the infidels and ploytheists of India." The Muhammadans were neither infidels nor polytheists, but the same authority informs us that in this country there were ,'those who called themselves Musalmans, but had strayed from the Muhammadan fold." (Elliot & Dowson Vol. III, p. 426). In the defence of Bhatnir the Muhammadans not only fought side by side with their Rājput comrades and fellow countrymen, but, like them, when all hopes were lost, killed their women and children and rushed forth to fight and die sword in hand. Evidently the Hindus and Muhammadans had learnt to unite in the face of a

1. Purchas His Pilgrimis, Vol. iv, p. 376.

common danger and disaster. Both of them had learnt not only to tolerate but to co-operate with each other and from the evidence at our disposal, it appears that the social customs and even religious beliefs of the Islamic conquerors of India did not long remain unaffected by those of their Hindu subjects and neighbours.

A zealous Muhammadan was Firuz Shah Tughlak ; in his reforming zeal he did not spare either himself or his subjects, and heresy wherever and whenever detected was sternly suppressed. He has given us a list of his achievements in a short work called *Futuhat-i-Firoz Shahi*, which gives us some idea of the encroachment made by Hinduism on the Muslim mind in those days. Firuz Shah informs us—" There was a sect of heretics, who laboured to seduce the people into heresy and schism. They met by night at an appointed time and place, both friends and strangers. Wine was served, and they said that this was their religious worship. They brought their wives, mothers, and daughters to these meetings. The men threw themselves on the ground as if in worship. and each man had intercourse with the woman whose garment he caught. I cut off the heads of the elders of this sect, and imprisoned and banished the rest so that their abominable practices were put an end to." We know nothing more about this heresy suppressed by the pious Emperor but from the short description of their abominable rites one feels tempted to find in these heretics the Muhammadan converts of *Tāntrism*. The free use of wine and communion of women at their place of worship reminds us of the well-known *Bhairavi-Cakra* of the *Tāntrists*.

If the *Tantras* found their votaries among Indian Muhammadans in those remote days, the ordinary idolatrous practice was not without its admirers among them. We read in the pages of *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi* of *Sham-i-Siraj Afif*, of a Brāhman who perverted the Muhammadan women of Delhi and led them to become infidels. It does not appear possible that the Brāhman actually converted these Muhammadan women, for even in those days Hinduism was not a proselytising religion. All that these female converts to idolatry probably did was to worship a wooden tablet," covered within and without with paintings of demons and other objects," The Brāhman was burnt to death after a formal trial by a body of Muslim theologians, but the historian does not tell us whether that served as a deterrent to the fair delinquents of Delhi.

If *Tāntrik* doctrines, in their grossest interpretation were accepted by some sensualists and ordinary idolatry, without any philosophy at all, found converts among credulous women, the higher teaching of the *Vedānta* was not altogether lost upon the Mahomedans of India. *Shufism* is, as is well known, nothing but *Vedāntism* in its Islamic garb, and the celebrated Shaikh Nizamuddin Aulla was suspected of *Shufi* leanings. *Shufism*, however, did not disappear with him, and was found to prosper in its

most advanced form during the reign of Firuz Shah in the far off province of Gujarat. The Emperor tells us—"A person set himself up as a Shaikh in the country of Gujarat, and having got together a body of disciples, used to say, "*Ana-l-Hakk*" (I am God). He commanded his disciples that when he used these words they were to say "Thou art, thou art." He further said "I am the king who dies not." In the above mentioned exclamation—"Ana-l-Hakk" we hear nothing but an echo of "*Soham*" "I am He," and the Hindu theory of identity and unity between the creator and his creation. A book written by the Gujarat heretic was burnt at the orders of the zealous Emperor, but did that root out this heresy?

The Emperor also tells us that "A custom and practice unauthorised by the Law of Islam had sprung up in Musalman cities. On holy days women riding in palanquins, or carts or litters, or mounted on horses or mules, or in large parties on foot, went out of the city to the tombs." This new practice did not meet the Emperor's approval and he frankly informs us that it had not the sanction of the Law of Islam. Where these Muhammadan ladies emulating the example of their Hindu sisters who were in the habit of going to holy cities on pilgrimage on festive occasions in large companies attended by only a comparatively small number of the male sex?

It may be objected that these heretics were all probably new converts and uneducated people of the lower classes who find it very difficult to shake off their old beliefs and customs. This objection is not unreasonable and from the meagre materials, now at our disposal, it cannot be satisfactorily answered. But it is noteworthy that during the reign of Sikundur Lody a Muhammadan noble man of very high station and probably of good education as well Ahmad Khan, son of Mubarik Khan, Governor of Lucknow, was accused of becoming a convert to the Hindu doctrines. Probably this conversion did not go further than avowed sympathy as in the case of Prince Dara Sheko in a later age, but it is undoubtedly significant. Many Muhammadan scholars studied Sanskrit literature and philosophy. The celebrated poet Amir Khusru, "the parrot of Hindu" was a sincere and ardent admirer of both. There is no reason to suppose that he was the solitary Muhammadan to admire the ancient philosophy and literature of the Hindus in the so-called Pathan period. The *Vedānta* and the *Upaniṣads* have many European admirers to-day, and is it impossible that they found some real converts among the Muhammadans of those days? It is highly improbable that these heresies would have attracted the attention of the Emperor Firuz had they been confined among a few low class renegades newly and probably forcibly converted into Muhammadanism. Either these heretics could count among them men of note, or the heresies, suppressed by Firuz Shah, must have been very wide spread indeed. It is not improbable that some men

of high rank at least had some leanings towards the heresies described above. Converted Hindus often rose to very high position in the days of the Pathan Emperors. Khusru Khan, the notorious favourite of Mubarik Khilji was a converted Hindu, and so was Khwaja Jehan, the all powerful minister of Firuz Shah Tughlak. It appears that in those days converted Hindus, even when highly placed, did not forget their former friends and relatives, nor did the latter hesitate to stand by their converted kinsmen. In the pages of Ferishta we find an instance of a Hindu chief permitting a brother, converted into Islam, to reside in his fort. Khusru relied mainly on his Hindu friends in his ambitious schemes, and so did Khwaja Jehan, the Junior. Heredity, and environment, after all, cannot be easily dismissed, and these highly placed converts, who intermarried in high families were probably not a little responsible for the propagation of the Hindu ideas and introduction of Hindu customs among their new relatives and co-religionists. This seems all the more likely when we remember that to-day uneducated Muhammadans in Bengal willingly worship many popular Hindu gods, and the Hindus, on their part, resort to shrines of celebrated Muslim saints with unmitigated alacrity. Even the caste system, a practice opposed to the fundamental democratic doctrines of Islam, is recognised by many Muslims in India. The reforming attempts of Firuz Shah proved a failure, for Sikundur Lody had to prohibit afresh some of the objectionable practices, said to have been suppressed by Firuz. In the meantime toleration grew apace among the people in general[1], and in Bengal in

1. The new spirit of tolerance can be illustrated by the following anecdote told by Ferishta. A Muslim holy man once had the temerity to protest against the intolerance of Sekundur Lody. "He maintained that it was highly improper for a king to interfere with the religion of his subjects, or to prevent them bathing at places to which they had been accustomed to resort for ages. The prince drew his sword and said 'Wretch.' do you maintain the propriety of Hindu religion ' The holy man replied, 'By no means: I speak from authority. Kings should not persecute their subjects on any account." This offers a remarkable contrast to the opinion expressed by Kazy Kugheesuddin, when consulted by Allauddin Khilji, that "to slay the Hindus or to convert them to the faith" was a well-recognised maxim. But Gulam Hanif forbade heedless execution and commanded that "tribute should be executed to the uttermost farthing from the non-believers, in order that the punishment may approximate as nearly as possible to death." It is also noteworthy that when a Brahman who claimed equality for all religions was placed before the Kazis of Lucknow (during the reign of Sekundar Lody) for trial, they were divided in their opinion as to the eligibility of the doctrine upheld by the offender. In an earlier period there would be no difference of opinion among the Muslim Doctors of law as to the utter worthlessness of any doctrine that placed Muhammadanism and any other faith on the same level. Unfortunately we have not enough information about such interesting subjects and some side-lights alone were thrown on the state of religious toleration when such a bigot as Firuz Shah deemed it necessary to record, what he consciously considered to be his services to Islam in India. More tolerant rulers were probably indifferent to heresy and idolatry and only negative evidence of their tolerance is available, except when a Badauni comes to upbraid, or an Abul Fazal to eulogize, a religious innovator like Akbar.

particular many Muslim poets came forward to enrich the *Vaiṣṇava* literature. The Vernacular literatures of Hindustan found many Muhammadan patrons and towards the close of the Pathan period, the response from the Hindu side was, so eloquent that the Muslim rulers no longer felt it necessary to issue bi-lingual coins. As the *Shufis* popularised *Vedāntic* doctrines among Muhammadans, so also the Hindus, in their turn, made a serious endeavour to introduce the democratic principles of Islam into their own faith. The result of this influence was the *Sikhism* of Nānak and the *Vaiṣṇavism* of Caitanya.

When the Muhammadans first came to India the Hindus naturally kept aloof from their conquerors, and the followers of the two faiths regarded each other with jealousy and mistrust. But graudually their relation improved and the early Pathans became as much Hindustanis as the Saiyads of Barā in the closing years of the so called Mughal period. A careful examination of known events shows that the Hindus again began to take a prominent part in the politics of the Pathan empire during its last days. The renegade Hindus naturally led the way but they were in due course followed by unconverted Hindus as well. In the Saiyad days the powerful Hindu Zemindars were no longer indifferent spectators, but took active part not only in the petty intrigues which characterised that period but also in the administration of the country; and the closing years of Pathan rule was marked by a striking revival of Hinduism. The Historians of the Pathan Rule in India cannot afford to ignore the fact that the Afghan Jagirdars of Northern India once looked to Rānā Saṅga of Mewar for leadership in their opposition to Babar and his foreign hordes. A new spirit of comradeship and sympathy, of which the heresies mentioned by Firuz Shah were probably the first fruits was in fact coming into existence, when it was interrupted, for a short time only, by the advent of a new band of Muhammadan warriors yet unaccustomed to tolerate idolatry and unfamiliar with the brighter side of Hindu culture.

INDIA IN THE SECOND CENTURY B.C.

BY

PROF. S. V. VENKATESWARA, MYSORE.

I

In his chapter on 'Indian Native States' in the Cambridge History of India, Prof. Rapson remarks that "political conditions in the 2nd and 1st centuries are extremely complicated"[1] Recent researches have thrown light on a number of facts in the history of this period, and it is high time to co-ordinate all the scraps of information available from Traditions, Numismatics and Epigraphy.

At the dawn of the 2nd century B.C. we have the undoubted fact of the decline of the Maurya empire. The Purāṇas and such Hindu traditions as were preserved in later times have bearing for the most part on Magadha and the eastern parts of the empire; while Western Hindustan especially Avanti was the stronghold of Jainism and Buddhism, and its political conditions are reflected in Buddhist and Jain traditions. Of the four sons of Aśoka known to us, one (Mahendra) became a monk, and another (Tīvra) is not heard of after his father's death. Kuṇāla was Viceroy at Taxila,[2] and Jalauka ruler over Kashmir and Kanauj who sought to replace Buddhism by Śiva-and-Śakti worship.[3] In the next generation we hear only of Samprati whom Jaina traditions[4] and Northern Buddhist tradition[2] agree in considering as ruler of Western Hindustan, and of Daśaratha who dedicated caves to the Ājīvikas as known from three inscriptions[5] on the Nāgārjuni hill.

The list of Eastern emperors has been given by Pargiter[6] along with the various readings found in the Purāṇas. Some of these names are found in the *Garga Saṁhitā*.[7] It styles Devādhama Śāliśuka and says he was of *janarāja Satakula*. It mentions Śatadhanus as an elder brother of Bṛhadratha. The last king and his overthrow by the Kaṇva is mentioned in Bāṇa's *Harṣacarita*[8] also. The first of this line apparently

---

1. C. H. I., p. 516.
2. Divyāvadāna 29 ; Yuan ch. I, 245
3. Kalhaṇa Bk. I, vv. 108-152.
4. *Ind Ant.* XI, 246.
5. C. I. I. 104, 134.
6. 'Dynasties of the Kali Age', p. 29.
7. Cited by K. P. Jayaswal in J. B & O. R. S. for 1915.
8. Trans. of Cowell and Thomas, p. 193.

is Daśaratha of the Nāgārjuni cave dedications. That the *Garga Saṁhitā* [1] had some access to traditions not available to us elsewhere is clear from its reference to the invasions of the yavanas who penetrated, past Saketa (Oudh) and Pāñcāla (the doab of the Ganges and Jumna), as far as Kusumadhvaja.

The list of the Western Emperor's can be thus made up. Samprati's rule at Ujjain is proved by Jain traditions preserved in inscriptions of later ages. His rule must have extended into Rajputana [2] in the light of these. Tāränātha mentions his grandson Vīrasena as ruling in Gāndhāra, Polybius [3] tells us that Antiochus the great renewed an ancestral alliance with Sophasenus (Subhāgasena) in the Kabul valley about 206 B.C., and the word 'ancestral' makes one think he must be of the Maurya dynasty. The only other reference we have which might possibly refer to this line, is in an old hemstich quoted by Vāmana and which has been referred to a Gupta emperor [4] but which may be as old as this period.

Soyam Samprati Candragupta tanayaḥ candraprākśo yuvā ।
Jūtōbhāpatir āśrayaḥ kṛtadhiyām diṣṭyā kṛtārdhaṣramaḥ. ॥ [5]

The hemstich if applied to, Samprati, would show that there was trouble as to the succession after his death, possibly due to the Kings of the east. It may also explain how these intestine broils helped the usurpation of the throne by Puṣyamitra Śuṅga.

II

The account of Puṣyamitra Śuṅga's reign given in the *Divyāvadāna* [6] demands more attention than it has received. Puṣyamitra got all the forces mustered together before usurping the throne. (This is in keeping with the Purāṇic story that he was the Commander-in-chief.) He then set on foot a persecution of the Buddhists. He proceeded to Śākala and set a price of 100 dīnāras on every head of Śramaṇas. He then marched on Kōṣṭaka, when his forces were taken in the rear by the Yakṣa of Damṣṭra and his great ally Parvata. [7] Thenceforward the Yakṣa came to be known as Munihana. At the death of Puṣyamitra, the Maurya dynasty also ended. Avadāna 29 adds that Puṣyamitra's

1. Cited by Korn ; *Bṛhead Samhitā*, p. 37.
2. Jain temple in Jodhpur built by him (Arch. Sur. (1) I, 1910, p. 41).
3. XI. 34.
4. The passage does not refer to Vasubandhu but to Subandhu (*Ind. Ant.* 1911-13).
5. In Śūdraka's Padmaprābhṛtakam we have reference to a Maurya prince *Candrōdaya* who had trouble from his feudatories. (Trichur 1922, p. 18).
6. Edition of Cowell & Neill, pp. 433, 434. Avadāna 29.
7. For coin of a king *Pavata* of the 2nd cent. B.C. see Smith's Catalogue of coins in the Ind. Mus. Vol. I, p. 165.

attempt on the great monastery near Pāṭalīputra was obviated only by roar of a mighty *Sihma* (lion).

The mighty *Sihma* which struck terror into the Śuṅga emperor must have been from the South, for Puṣyamitra had proceeded S. E. of Pāṭaliputra, and the capital would have been his defence on the north. The first of the Āndhras of history is Śimuka or Sihmaka in the Purāṇic list, the Śimuka of the Nānāghat inscription No. 1113 [1] which Bühler assigns to about 200 B.C. The raid of Śimuka on Magadha is also preserved by the name *Śāliśūka* in the Maurya list, whom the Gārga Saṁhitā, as we have seen, describes as Janarāja Sātakula which I would amend by *Jina rāja Sāta kula* 'who belonged to the Sātavāhana race of Buddhist Rājas.' Since the dynasty of the Mauryas ended only with Puṣyamitra, we may assume that he reigned only five years as emperor, and that for the 31 years more assigned to him by the Purāṇas he was *de-facto* ruler under the last Maurya emperors after Śaliśūka. [2] That Śaliśūka was a Sātāvāhana King appears indicated by the name itself which means 'an ear of corn' (Cp. *nīvāra Śūkavattanvī* in the Mahānārāyaṇa upaniṣad), as Śālivāhana (variant of Sātavāhana) means carrier of grain *i.e.*, of merchandise in grain.

The Yakṣa referred to as the other rival of Puṣyamitra must have been Menander as the term *munihana* in the passage referred to is evidently a play on his name. The Garga Saṁhitā informs us of Oudh and the Doab ravaged by the yavanas until they were checked by Kusumadhvaja. Dr. V. A. Smith who quotes this passage [3] thinks that Kusumapura is intended, but it may simply mean the banner of Pāṭaliputra, whose forces must have advanced to check the progress of the Graeco-Bactrians. We find such an event referred to also in Kālidāsa's *Mālavikāgnimitra*. This is the sequel apparently to Patañjali's statement in the *Mahābhāṣya* that the yavanas stormed Sāketa and Mādhyamikān (nagari in Rājputana).

The contemporaneity of Khāravela is suggested by the name Bahasati of Magadha in Jayaswal's reading of the inscription [4]. Mr. Jayaswal has rightly identified Bahasati with Puṣyamitra, an identification supported by the general study of the coins of this dynasty, to which we shall now turn.

---

1. Cf. Lüders List in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. X App.

2. This agrees with Jaina tradition of 108 years for the Mauryas and 30 for Pusyamitra (*Ind. Ant.* XX 347) as against the 137 years given by the Purāṇas to the Mauryas.

3. Early History (3rd *Edn.*) p. 214.

4. Journal of the Bihar & Orissa Research Society for 1918.

III

A large number of coins which Numismatists describe as 'Mitra' coins were discovered originally in Oudh and Rohilkhand, and described by Rapson and Smith in their coin-catalogues. Dr. Vogel discovered some more during his excavations at Śrāvasti in 1907-8, and Paṇḍit Hīrānanda discovered some during his excavation at Sankisa in 1917. Sir A. Cunningham [1] gave a warning that these coins should not be ascribed to the Śuṅgas on the ground that the Śuṅgas did not hold the territories where these coins were found. The main objection to the identification was that these coins were not unearthed from Magadha, with which part of India Purāṇic students had identified the Śuṅga Rājas. But as Prof. Rapson rightly points out, Vidiśa not Pāṭaliputra was the capital, of the Śuṅgas, at any rate after Puṣyamitra, and "no certain traces of the Śuṅgas or their feudatories have yet been found in the region of Magadha" [2] Speaking of the coins of Agnimitra in relation to the identification with the 2nd Śuṅga King the same scholar remarks that there is 'no evidence at present either to prove or to disprove the suggestion'. [3] The question may therefore be considered *de novo*.

An examination of the coins shows that one favourite method of mentioning the King's name in this period was similar to the one now adopted by the Mahārājas of Travancore—naming the King after the asterism under which he was born. As every *nakṣatra* has its *devatā* a Rāja's name may be denoted either in the one way or the other. For instance, *Puṣyanakṣatra* has Bṛhaspati as its *devatā* or presiding deity, so that the King's name is found either as Puṣyamitra or as Bahasati (Bṛhaspati) Mitra. Similarly Indra is the deity of Jyeṣṭhā, Bhaga of Phalguni. Viśvēdevas of Uttarāṣāḍha; We can therefore identify Jyeṣṭhamitra of the Purāṇic list with Indra mitra (Idamita) of the coins, Bhaga of the Purāṇas with Phalgunimitra of the coins, and so on. [4] Vasumitra, or more properly Punarvasumitra, may be identified with Sūryamitra and Bhānumitra of the coins, as the deity of Punarvasu is Aditi, (whence, Āditya) the only names on the Śuṅga list not represented in the coins are Āndhraka and Pulindaka. This circumstance heightens our suspicion as to the historicity of these kings.

As regards Āndhraka there are too many variants in the Purāṇas, among which are Oḍraka and Bhadraka, and Pargiter [5] does not regard

1. 'Anc. coins of India', p. 80.
2. Camb. Hist. of India, Vol. I, p. 527.
3. *Ibid*, p. 525.
4. The *devatas* of the *Nakṣatras* are detailed in *Tait. Brāhmaṇa* III. 1.
5. Dynasties of the Kali Age, p. 31.

Āndhraka as a proper name at all, as there are variants *Antaka* and *Aṣṭaka* Mr. Jayaswal takes the reading Oḍraka and makes it the corner stone of a theory, which involves his position in a chronological absurdity as Prof. Rapson has already shown. [1] In view of coins of Bhadraghōṣa I I would accept the reading *Bhadra* of the Brahmāṇḍa and Bhāgavata Purāṇas and not regard him as a separate king from Ghōṣa (cp. Bhāga-bhadra of the Besnagar column with Bhāgavata or Bhāga of the Purā-ṇas). About the other king Pulindaka it may be merely mentioned that his name is not at all found in some of the Mātsya mss. examined by Pargiter, and that the Brahmāṇḍa and Bhāgavata Purāṇas have the name in the plural Pulindakāḥ! So also, the name Ayumitasa (ayumitrasya) on the coins ha s nothing corresponding to it in the Purāṇic list but it does not apparently belong to this dynasty. Those coins are obviously of a later age, judging from the form of the letters *yu* and *sa*.

On an examination of the symbols on the coins we find not only the chronological arrangement of the Purāṇas satisfactory, but the relations of the dynasties explained better than in the traditions available. The coins of Bhānumitra and Sūryamitra, for instance, show the same symbols on the *observe* as those of Agnimitra; but we have the solar emblem characteristic of the King's name on the *reverse*, like the bull on the coins of Puṣyamitra (or 'Bṛhaspati,' one of the forms of Śiva in the *Yajur Veda*) or Indra on the coins of Indramitra. The three symbols which first appear on Agnimitra's coins apparently belong to Vidiśā, Pāñcāla and Kosala over which he ruled as Viceroy under his father, and are on the *observe* while on the *reverse* we have *agni pañca śikhā*, characteristic of his name and dynasty. These symbols remain on later coins, but on the *reverse* in place of agni we have on them a standing figure, or seated figure, sometimes, a female (with a lotus, in those of Bhāgavata, representing Lakṣmī).

I have inentified *Kaṇhayama* of the coins with Kāṇvāyana Vasudeva the founder of the Kāṇva dynasty, and Bhūmimitra of the coins with his successor, so named in the Purāṇas. Here, again, the symbolism on the coins is profoundly interesting. Prof. Rapson has conjectured that Mitradeva who slew that fourth Śuṅga King may have been an ancestor of Vasudeva Kāṇvāyāna. The coins of Mūladeva [3] have the elephant symbol and snake as on the coins of Kaṇhayama, and Mūladeva is one of the readings of Mitradeva in the *Harṣacarita* of Bāṇa. The epithet Karṇīsuta of Mūladeva in the Harṣacarita establishes the identity of this King with the famous exponent of the *Cora Sāstra*, and the famous art-critic of his time. Secondly, while the coin of Bhūmīmitra has

1. Camb. Hist. (loc. cit.), p. 537.
2. See V. A. Smith's coins (*op cit*) Camb. Hist. of India Vol. I, Plate V. 11.
3. Camb. Hist. (loc. cit.) Plate V, No. 12.

nearly the same symbols as those of the Suṅgas, the railing on the *rev* have crossed bars which are absent from Śuṅga coins, thus denoting a change of dynasty.

Purāṇic names.		Coin-names.
(1) Puṣyamitra	...	Bahasati (Smith's coin catalogue of the Ind. Mus. I p. 155).
(2) Agnimitra	...	Agimitasa (Ibid pp. 186, 187).
(3) Sujyeṣṭha	...	Jetha (p. 146) [and possibly some inscribed *Indramitasa*).
(4) Vasumitra	...	Sūryamitra (p. 185). Bhānumitra (p. 185).
(5) Bhada [ka] and Ghoṣa or Ghoṣa Vasu	...	Bhadraghoṣa (p. 187).
(6) Vajramitra	...	Indramitasa (p. 188).
(7) Bhāgavata	...	Phalgunimitra (p. 187).
(8) Devabhūti	...	Devasa (pp. 206, 207).
Kāṇvāyana Vasudeva	...	Kaṇhayama (p. 200).
Bhūmimitra	...	Bhūmimitasa (pp. 187, 194 and 205).
Nārāyaṇa	...	Viṣṇu (p. 194).

As regards *provenance* [1], it may be mentioned that Sir A. Cunningham got from a single place 16 coins of Bahasati three of Jyeṣṭhamitra and two of Devasa. (Arch. Rep. X, p. 4). The coins of Bahasati were mostly found in Kosan and Rāmnagar (Eps. Ind. II. 243) and of Agnimitra mostly in Pañcāla and Kosala. But coins of Bahasati have been found in Oudh (Kosala) also, as also those of other kings in the list, and as far as Farukhabad district in 1917.

IV

There is hardly any doubt that the beginnings of the Āndhra dynasty are to be referred to about 200 B.C. and that the Purāṇas are wrong in the account of Śimuka, overthrow of the last of the Kāṇvāyana Kings who lived far later, probably about the middle of the 1st century B.C. This [2] is obviously a mistake, and we have a parallel in their account of the Śaiśunāgas overthrowing the descendants of Pradyota of Avanti, who really was a contemporary of the Buddha and of Bimbisāra of Magadha, fifth in the Śaiśunāga list. What the Purāṇas really preserve is the tradition that the power of Avanti was eclipsed by that of Śaiśunāgas of Magadha, and that the power of the Kāṇvāyanas was overthrown by

1. J.A.S. B. 1880, p. 21. Arch. Sur. Rep, No. X, XII. Also, Annual Report for 1907—8, p. 129.

2. See my article in the *Ind. Ant.* for 1915 for the discussion.

the Sātavāhanas. Their mistake consists in attributing their achievement to the first King and founder of each of the succeeding dynasties, instead of to some succeeding King.

A raid of the Āndhras under Śiśuka or Śimuka probably led to Śaliśūka finding way into the Maurya list, but it is possible that the Āndhras were in possession of Magadha for some time. A second conquest, though temporary, by the Āndhras, now in concert with the Pulindas, both a Deccanese people,—can alone account for the inclusion, unwarranted by the coins, as we have seen, of these names in the Purāṇic Śuṅga list. The Kāṇvāyana power was anticipated by Mūladeva's assasination of Vasumitra Śuṅga at the theatre, and hastened by these blows on the Śuṅga power from the south, not to mention the Kaliṅgas of whom we have no record after Khāravela. But the Śuṅga empire dragged on for years, as there was a balance of power between the Āndhras and Kaliṅgas in the south, and as the foreign dynasties were at war—the Parthians supplanting the Greeco-Bactrian dynasty in the Punjab, after a century or more of hostile relations. The Yuga Purāṇa apparently refers to the latter incident when it says that the yavanas 'soon withdrew because of a dreadful war among themselves which broke out in their own country.' We know from the Indo-Bactrian coins that a tendency towards the creation of petty principalities became a marked feature in the final phase of Greek rule in India.

Evidence from the coins reveals the existence of various tribal republics in North India, the Ārjunāyanas, and Yaudheyas who had a continued independent existence at least a millennium after Pāṇini's time, the Kuṇindas whose silver coins were found in Kāngra with Greek coins of Apollodotus, the Mālavas of Eastern Rajputana whose earliest coins have legends in the Brāhmi script of the 2nd century B.C., and the Rājanyas whose coins are in type like those of Mathurā.

The Bhaṭṭiprōlu inscription mentions a King Kubera (Khubiraka) in Guntur district about 200 B.C. The Hathigumpha inscription (Line 4) mentions the Mūṣhikas who, associated with Vanavāsi in the Mahābhārata [1] and with the Canarese districts (Śrī Rājyam) misnamed (Strīrājyam) in the Viṣṇu Purāṇa [2] had colonised the coast of the Bay of Bengal in the modern Nellore district whence they were dislodged for a time by Khāravela. The same inscription seems to mention the Pāṇḍya Rāja (Line 13) but nothing definite is known about him, or about the Colas or the Ceras in this century. On the other hand, the Kannaḍa districts appear to have been in active trade relations with China, as may be inferred from the find of coins of the Han emperor Wa-Ti (C. 135 B.C.) unearthed at Candravalli (N. Mysore) in the Kaḍamba country.

1. Bhiṣma. Parva.
2. Wilson, IV, 22.

It is possible that northern Deccan was dominated by the Kośar who appear along with the Mauryas in ancient Tamil tradition, and who are probably meant by the 'Kosambas' in the inscription of Khāravela, who were his allies. In his fourth year he claims to have humbled the Rāṣṭūkas of the Mahratta country and the Bhojakas of Berar, who were at any rate semi-independent and became feudatories of the Āndhra Kings in later times.

V

The sources we have been examining enable us to get some account of social life in the second century. Commercial activities were in full swing as there was trade with China on the east proved by the finds of coins, and trade with the Western world, especially Persia is clear from the resemblance to the Persian of the coins of Demetrius, evidently issued to suit Indian traders. Menander's coins were in circulation on the west coast, [1] and his city of Śākala was 'a great centre of trade, situated in a delightful country, abounding in parks and gardens, groves, lakes and tanks, a paradise of rivers and mountains and woods. [2]. There is considerable evidence of vigorous life in cities in this century. The city of Śākala has been already described. The city of Pāṭaliputra had its charms yet, as described in Śūdraka's *Bhāṇa* (the Padmaprābhṛtakam) where Mūladeva expresses his longing to return to this city, but its splendour had been already eclipsed by the greater glory of Ujjain which was the seat of arts and learning, and the new capital of the Śuṅgas Vidiśā was also rising into prominence. Aesthetic education must have received a good impetus under the School founded by Mūladeva and during the rule of the later Śuṅgas and Kāṇvāyanas two of whose kings perished as victims to the sensual side of the aesthetic instinct.

Social relations had been established between Indians and foreigners. Not only did Subhagasenus renew alliance with Antiochus, but Antialcidas, King of Taxila sent an envoy Heliodorus the Bhāgavata the Śuṅga King at Vidiśā. Foreigners adopted Indian Religions. Menander became a Buddhist, and Heliodorus a Bhāgavata. Earlier still, it is possible, that Demetrius showed a tendency to Hinduise, judging from his coins on which the Sun-God is represented as driving in a four-horse chariot. The legend on the coins, *Mahārājasa* and *Rājane* might merely show a desire to indicate rule in India, as also the figure of the elephant on the coins, but the figure of the dancing girl on the reverse of the coins of Agathocles and Pantaleon bear witness to the social relations of the Indians and the Greeks.

The educational system of the time finds revealed in detail in Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya. Khāravela's inscription shows that Kings had

1. Periplus, ed. (Schoff) Bharukaccha. p. 47.
2. Milinda Pañha (S.B.E. Vol. 35 p. 2.)

training in correspondence, Accounts, Currency,[1] Public Law and the principles of Dharma. (Lekharūpa, Gaṇanā, Vyavahāra, Vidhi). There was a systematisation of branches of knowledge into Arts and Sciences. Even thieving was a fine art under Mūladeva who also codified the laws of gambling ! University of Taxila was elaborately organized, with various departments of arts and sciences already revealed in the *Jātaka* literature.

The great revival in Hinduism is in evidence in the Horse-Sacrifice (Aśvamedha) performed by Puṣyamitra, and by Śrī Śātakarṇi, in the great gift of the Kalpa tree in gold by Khāravela, and the setting up of a flag-staff by Heliodorus, and the hermit's cave at Prabhāsa cut by Āṣāḍhasena. But the religion was of a liberal kind. Khāravela for instance, styles himself 'a worshipper of men of all sects'. The only exception was in Ceylon if the Rājāvaḷi could be believed. There two importers of horses by sea (*aśva nāvikas*) from South India had established political influence and ruled justly for 22 years (177—155 B.C.) according to the Mahāvaṁśa (Chap. XXI), but *Rājāvaḷi* has it that Elala was a Malayāḷi from the Coḷa country who took to Ceylon a million Tamil soldiers and desecrated the monasteries ! The story shows only the intimate relations of South India with Ceylon, and the *Mahāvaṁśa*[2] must command our credence infinitely more than any Rājāvaḷi. But the chief interest of the story for us is that it shows that the Ceras were already *a sea-power* in the south.

---

1. Line 2.

2. Chap. 21.

VIII—Oriental Philosophy.

ŚAṄKARA—THE COMMENTATOR ON THE MĀṆḌŪKYA KĀRIKĀS

BY

MR. T. R. CHINTĀMAṆI, B.A. (HONS.), MADRAS.

One of the traditions amongst Vedāntic scholars is that Śaṅkara, the author of the Śārīraka Bhāṣya has also commented upon the Māṇḍūkya Kārikās of Gauḍapāda. Certain orientalists, like Prof. Jacobi a few years ago [1], and Mr. Vidhuśekhara Bhattācārya of the Viśvabhāratī, recently [2] have seriously disputed Śaṅkara's authorship of the commentary on the Maṇḍūkya Kārikās. The object of this paper is to show that the authority of tradition on this point is genuine and cannot be easily set aside. The arguments they advance [3] and those that may be anticipated to make us doubt Śaṅkara's authorship may be very convincingly answered,

Prof. Jacobi's argument runs as follows :—

In the commentary on the Kārikā

अन्तःस्थानात्तु भेदानां तस्माज्जागरिते स्मृतम् ।
यथा तत्र तथा स्वप्ने संवृतत्वेन भिद्यते ॥ [4]

we find a reference to the various members of an *anumāna* explained in the terms of Naiyāyika principles. On this point Prof. Jacobi remarks, " I am inclined to think that this Śaṅkara is not the same as the author of the Śārīraka Bhāṣya. The latter would hardly have stated the argument in the form and terms of an *anumāna* according to Nyāya principles." [5]

Mr. Vidhuśekhara Bhattācārya's argument is based on the word अस्पर्शयोग occurring in the Kārikā

अस्पर्शयोगो वै नाम दुर्धर्षः सर्वयोगिभिः ।
योगिनो बिभ्यतिह्यस्मात् अभये भयदर्शिनः ॥ [6]

and its commentary which runs as follows :—

अस्पर्शयोगो नाम वै स्मर्यते प्रसिद्धं उपनिषत्सु । [7]

---

1. Journal of the American Oriental Society, Vol. XXXIII, p. 52 foot note.

2. Proceedings of the Second Oriental Conference.

3. Mr. Vidhuśekhra Bhattācārya's paper (Sir Asutosh Mukerjee Silver Jubilee volume) wherein he claims to have proved that Śaṅkara is not the commentator on the Māṇḍūkya Kārikās has not been available for reference.

4. Maṇḍukya Kārikā II-4.

5. J. A. O. S. Vol. XXXIII, p. 52 foot-note.

6. Māṇḍukya Kārikā III-39.

7. Śaṅkara's Commentary on the Māṇḍūkya Kārikās p. 148 of the Ānandāśrama Edition.

It has not been possible he says, to find out any reference to the अस्पर्शयोग in the early Upaniṣads. Śaṅkara whose knowledge of the Upaniṣads was very minute and comprehensive would not have been bold enough to say प्रसिद्धं उपनिषत्सु when as a matter of fact it is actually not the case. So Śaṅkara could not have commented on the Māṇḍūkya Kārikās.

The following arguments may be anticipated in addition :—1. That the commentator on the Māṇḍūkya Kārikās has composed two benedictory verses at the beginning of the commentary.[1] It was not usually so with Śāṅkara, the great Advaitic master and thinker. So, the author of the Śārīraka Bhāṣya and the author of the commentary on the Māṇḍūkya Kārikās cannot be identical.

2. That in the second[2] of the two verses there is a metrical slip. Śaṅkara is a master poet and it is impossible for us to believe that he would have committed this slip.

3. Lastly, that the commentator on the Māṇḍūkya Kārikās differs from Śaṅkara in the interpretation of a passage that is extracted from the Īśāvāsya Upaniṣad and commented upon in the Kārikā Bhāṣya.[3] The passage runs thus :—

अन्धं तमः प्रविशन्ति ये (ऽ)? संभूतिमुपासते ।[4]

Śaṅkara here takes the word to be असंभूति in his commentary on the Īśāvāsya Upaniṣad in consonance with what follows in the next half of the verse. The commentator on the Māṇḍūkya Kārikās takes the word to be संभूति and comments upon it. There is also another difference of opinion between them regarding the explanation of

विद्यां चाविद्यां च यस्तद्वेदोभयं सह ।[5]

Śaṅkara says[4] that two kinds of *upāsanās* are described in the context, that of विद्या and अविद्या together and that of संभूति and असंभूति together whereas the commentator on the Māṇḍūkya Kārikās is of opinion

1. Ānandāśrama edition, of the Māṇḍūkya Upaniṣad, pp. 1 & 3.

2 यो विश्वात्मा विधिजविषयान् प्राश्य भोगान्स्थविष्ठान्
पश्चाच्चान्यान् स्वमतिविभवान् ज्योतिषा स्वेन सूक्ष्मान् ।
सर्वानेतान्पुनरपि स्वात्मनि स्थापयित्वा
हित्वा सर्वान्विशेषान् विगतगुणगणः पात्वसौनस्तुरीयः ॥

3. Refer to the Bhāṣya on the Māṇḍūkya Kārikās III. 25—p. 133 of the Ānandāśrama Edition.

4. Īśāvāsya Upaniṣad, Ānandāśrama Edition.

5. *Ibid.*

that only one kind of *upāsanā*, of विद्या, अविद्या, संभूति and असंभूति, (all together) and not two. In virtue of this inconsistency the authors of the Śārīraka Bhāṣya and the commentary on the Māṇḍūkya Kārikās cannot be equated with each other.

Prof. Jacobi's argument that Śaṅkara would hardly refer to an *anumāna* in the form and terms of Nyāya principles cannot stand. Prof. Jacobi could not have meant that Śaṅkara was unaware of the Naiyāyika terminology and ideas, for they had been developed long before his days. If he had meant that Śaṅkara as a staunch upholder of Uttara-Mīmāṁsā-thought would not have countenanced the five-membered-syllogism of the Naiyāyikas, since a valid syllogism in the opinion of the Vedāntins following the view of the Pūrva-Mīmāṁsakas should consist of only three members, then, he is right to some extent. But we should note that Śaṅkara and most of the Advaitins after him do no not set their faces against the five-membered-syllogism. True it is that among the Advaitins there is this current saying व्यवहारे भट्टनय: but there is no hard and fast rule binding the Advaitins to this view. They have not made it a principle that they should argue only according to Mīmāṁsaka logic. In many places in his Śārīraka Bhāṣya, Śaṅkara refers to all the five members though he does not specify the names of each of them.'[1]. In fact he favourably looks upon their terminology as is evident from his remarks in the Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad Bhāṣya.

From these it follows that Śaṅkara was not against the five membered syllogism of the Naiyāyikas. If so, the mere fact that we find the five members of a syllogism explained in the commentary or the Kārikās cannot lead us to conclude that Śaṅkara could not have been its author. Apart from this it is to be noted that he is commenting on a passage wherein the five members are plainly set forth. In explaining them Śaṅkara candidly refers to what the author of the passage could have kept in view. If he faithfully interprets the words before him it is not his fault.

Let us now examine the argument based upon the word अस्पर्शयोग and its commentary प्रसिद्धं उपनिषत्सु. It should be noted that the word अस्पर्शयोग

---

1 परमाणूनां अणुत्वनित्यत्वविपर्ययः प्रसज्येत ।
कुत एवं ? लोके दृष्टत्वात् ।
यद्धि लोके रूपादिमद्वस्तु तत् स्वकारणापेक्षया स्थूलं अनित्यं च दृष्टम् यथा पटः तन्तूनपेक्ष्य स्थूल: अनित्यश्च भवति ।
तथाचामी परमाणवः रूपादिमन्तः ।
तस्मात्तेऽपि कारणवन्त: स्थूला अनित्याश्च प्राप्नुवन्ति ॥ Brahmasūtra Bhāṣya page. 514 Nirṇaya Sāgara Edition of 1917.

is no technial term. In other words, it is not a रूढशब्द. It is only यौगिक This word occurs in the Kārikās twice [1]. And in both these places we find it to be only यौगिक. And it has been so explained also. When the commentator wroteप्रसिद्धं उपनिषत्सु he could have had only the derivative sense in view. In other words, the commentator wishes to indicate that the idea conveyed by the phrase अस्पर्शयोग is to be often met with in the Upaniṣads and the Bhagavadgītā. And a careful and thorough searching of the Upaniṣads shows how the idea is hinted at in passages like.

न लिप्यते कमर्णा पापकेन ।[2]
न लिप्यते लोकदुःखेन बाह्यः ॥[3]
मात्रास्पर्शास्तु कौन्तेय शीतोष्णसुखदुःखदाः ।
आगमापायिनो नित्याः तान् तितिक्षस्व भारत ॥ [4]

The meaning of अस्पर्शयोग is :—

स्पर्शनं स्पर्शः संबन्धः । न विद्यते यस्य योगस्य
कदाचित् केनचिदपि सः अस्पर्शयोगः ॥ [5]

The very same idea is conveyed by the extracts given above. So, प्रसिद्धं उपनिषत्सु is not wrong. We cannot deny Śaṅkara's authorship of the commentary on the Kārikās because he refers to an idea of the Upaniṣads as found in them.

The first objection anticipated refers to the benedictory verses. It needs only to be pointed out that it is the practice with Śaṅkara to begin his work with a benedictory verse at times and without at other times. To the Bhāṣya on the Bhagavadgītā (which is doubtless Śaṅkara's) is attached a benedictory verse. Śaṅkara has intentionally put that verse there. Again there are three such verses at the beginning of the Taittirīya Bhāṣya; and they are undoubtedly his composition. Śaṅkara's authorship of them is objected to by some. Their objection seems to be based on the word तैत्तिरीयकसार in the verse.

तैत्तिरीयकसारस्य मयाचार्यप्रसादतः ।
विस्पष्टार्थरुचीनां हि व्याख्येयं संप्रणीयते ॥ [6]

1. Māṇḍūkya Kārikās III, 39 & IV, 2.
2. Kāṭhaka Brāhmaṇa III, ix, 8.
3. Kaṭhaka upaniṣad II, ii, 11.
4. Bhagavadgītā II, 14.
5. Māṇḍūkya upaniṣad Bhāṣya p. 148, Ānandāśrama Edition.
6. Taittiriya upaniṣad Bhāṣya—p. 1 (Ānandāśrama Edition.)

The word तैत्तिरीयकसार is taken by some to refer to the Bhāṣya of Śaṅkara on the Taittirīya Upaniṣad. It is consequently argued that the verses were probably composed by a commentator on the Bhāṣya and were later incorporated into the body of the text. But the fact remains that the word तैत्तिरीयकसार does not at all refer to the Bhāṣya. So far, it has not been possible to find out any reference to the Taittirīya Bhāṣya of Śaṅkara as Taittirīyaka *sāra* in which case alone even the possibility of such an opinion may be tenable. It is the practice among the Śāstraic authors to refer to the Upaniṣads as शिरस्, शिखा etc. of the vedas. सार [1] is one such term and the phrase here simply means तैत्तिरीयकोपनिषद्. If there be any misgivings regarding this explanation we are at perfect liberty to take the natural meaning, 'The essence of Taittirīyaka.' The evidence of Āanandagiri, a Vedāntin of the thirteenth century is on our side. He comments on the verses with the firm conviction that they were genuine compositions of Śaṅkara.

Thus it may be established that the mere fact of the existence of the benedictory verses need not disprove Śaṅkara's authorship. If it is true that Śaṅkara does not usually begin with a benedictory verse as some say, then too there can be some reason for doubting Śaṅkara's authorship of the verses alone and not of Śaṅkara's authorship of the whole Bhāṣya.

The fault in the form of the metrical slip has to be answered. The last quarter of the second verse[2]

हित्वा सर्वान् विशेषान् विगतगुणगणः पात्वसौ न स्तुरीयः

has indeed four letters in excess when compared with the other quarters of the same verse. It is true that Śaṅkara is a very great poet. When we do find this fault, we have only three courses to pursue. We should be prepared to say that it is no fault , or it should be said that the fault crept in unwittingly ; or failing either we have to adopt the last course and say that the composition is to be seriously doubted whether it belongs to Śaṅkara. Ānandagiri adopts the first course and defends Śaṅkara saying,

न च द्वितीयश्लोके चतुर्थपादे वृत्तलक्षणाभावात् असाङ्गत्यमाशङ्कनीयं गाथालक्षणस्य तत्र सुसंपादत्वादिति द्रष्टव्यम् ॥

The field of गाथा is very wide and we can bring under it any number of metres. Moreover even if the गाथा लक्षण cannot be applicable to the

1. Compare.

सर्वोपनिषदां मध्ये सारं अष्टोत्तरं शतम् ।

Muktikopanisad I, 44 where the word *Sāra* means *upaniṣad.*

2. Anandagiris comments on p. 4 (Ānandāśrama Edition of the Māṇḍukya upanisad).

present case we can argue thus. Definitions are based on the existing facts and not vice-versa. When we find verses written by great poets we have to find out a definition which will be applicable to the instance under question. If so, we can find out a definition for the present instance also. It is not also wrong to suppose that great men commit certain faults unknowingly. Or we may allow even the last alternative. In any case there is no room to suspect Śaṅkara's authorship of the Bhāṣya. The verse might or might not have been written by him.[1] But the commentary is surely his.

Now to the difference in the interpretation of the same passage between the author of the commentary on the Māṇḍūkya Kārikās and the author of the Śārīraka Bhāṣya, Śaṅkara himself interprets particular passages of the Upaniṣads in one way in the Upaniṣad Bhāṣyas themselves and differently in the Brahmasūtra Bhāṣya. Of such there are many instances but a few may be noted here. Moreover the nature of vedic passages is such that they lend themselves to a variety of explanations. Many of the vedic mantras occur in a number of places and when we read them we understand them in a particular way. In the Brāhmaṇas we find them explained in one way, in a certain context and differently in another. While Śaṅkara attempted to comment upon such passages he had perforce to explain in all possible ways and hence the inconsisteny in explanation. The Mantra

चत्वारिश्रृङ्गा त्रयो अस्य पादा द्वे शीर्षे सप्तहस्तासो अस्य ।
त्रिधा बद्धो वृषभो रोरवीति महो देवो मर्त्याँ, आविवेश ॥

has been interpreted in more than four or five ways. The Mantra

ऋतं पिबन्तौ..................

has been explained in three different lights; similarly the Mantra,

हँस: शुचिषद्वसुरन्तरिक्षसत् होता वेदिषदातिथिर्दुरोणसत्.

So also in the present case the difference in interpretation is due to the fact that Śaṅkara was at liberty to comment as he liked, when he was dealing with the verse in the Īśāvāsya-Upaniṣad. But in the Kārikās he had to explain them as understood and set forth by Gauḍapāda. The latter takes the word to be संभूति in "अन्धं तमः प्रविशन्ति ये संभूतिमुपासते" । as we find in संभूतेरपवादाच्चसंभव: प्रतिषिद्ध्यते ॥ [2] and hence Śaṅkara thus comments. But Īśāvāsya refers to संभूति apart and so he takes this to be असंभूति. For the difference in the meanings Gauḍapāda alone is responsible.

---

1. The possibility of a corrupted text is the most probable under the circumstances.

2. Māṇḍūkyakārikās, III, 25 (Ānandāśrama Edition.)

After thus answering the objections we may note the evidences that prove the identity of the authors of the Śārīraka Bhāṣya and the commentator on the Māṇḍūkya Kārikās. There is a long and uninterrupted tradition. It is kept up by traditional scholars. The commentary does not lack the fine touches which are characteristically Śaṅkara's. The language of the Māṇḍūkya kārikā Bhāṣya compares well with the rest of his Bhāṣya. Śaṅkara is the student of Govinda Bhagavatpāda who in turn is a student of Gauḍapāda. To Gauḍapāda, Śaṅkara had a great respect and regard as the leading exponent of Advaitic thought. He was his Guru; and if we say that Śaṅkara did not comment on a masterly treatise produced by one to whom he had an innate respect and reverence and who was considered by him as by the rest of the world to be the leading exponent of a system of philosophic thought it would argue presumption on the part of Śaṅkara. Why should we, without reason, then discredit Śaṅkara by saying that he did not comment on his master's work?

———

YOGA PSYCHOLOGY

BY

PROF. SURENDRA NATH DAS GUPTA, M.A., Ph. D.
CHITTAGONG.

The word 'Yoga' occurs in the earliest sacred literature of the Hindus in the Ṛgveda (about 3000 B.C.) with the meaning of effecting a connection. Later on in about 700 or 800 B.C., the same word is used in the sense of yoking a horse. In still later literature (about 500 or 600 B.C.) it is found with the meaning of controlling the senses, and the senses themselves are compared with uncontrolled spirited horses. The word probably represents a very old original of the Āryan stock, which can be traced also in the German *joch*, O.E. *geoc*, Latin *jugum*, Greek *zugon*.

The technical sense of the term in the system of philosophy which I am to discuss, is not only that of restraining the senses but of restraining the mental states as well, so as to bring the mind into absolute quiescense. Yoga in this sense is used only as a substantive and never as a verb. It probably therefore, came into use as a technical expression to denote the quiescence of the mind, when people came to be familiar with the existence of such mystical states. Analogically and etymologically, however, it is related to the older sense of 'yoking'.

In the Maitrāyaṇa Upaniṣad, dating about 500 B.C. or so we find a curious passage, a part of which I quote from Max Müller's translation as follows :—

" All that we call desire, imagination, doubt, belief, unbelief, certainty, uncertainty, shame, thought, fear, all these make up the mind. Carried along by the waves of qualities (*gunas*) thickening into imaginations, unstable, fickle, crippled, full of desires, vacillating, he enters into belief believing 'I am he,' 'this is he', he binds himself by his self, as a bird with a net. Therefore a man being possessed of will, imagination and belief is a slave; but he who is the opposite is free. For this reason let a man stand free from will, imagination and belief; this is the sign of liberty this is the path that leads to Brahman, this is the opening of the door, and through it he will go to the other shore of darkness. All desires are there fulfilled. And for this the sages quote a verse; 'When the five instruments of knowledge stand still together with the mind and when the intellect does not move, that is called the highest state."

The testimony of early Hindu and Buddhist writings goes to show that probably about five or six hundred years B. C. the sages who were engaged in asceticism and the acquirement of highest virtue of self control

had discovered that by intense concentration the mind could be reduced to an absolutely quiescent or unmoved state, and that at this stage the highest metaphysical truths flashed forth intuitively in a way quite different from what was ordinarily the case from inferential processes of thought. This state was thus regarded by them as leading to the highest that man could aspire to achieve. When this experience had been testified to by many sages, its place in the system of human knowledge and its value began to be discussed. The quotation given above represents one of the earliest specimens of such speculation. Later on, about 150 B.C. or so, Patañjali collected some of these floating arguments and speculations and gave them the form of a system of thought, which closely resembled the Sāṅkhya system of philosophy which was said to have been promulgated by Kapila. The resemblance of the Yoga way of thought with that of Sāṅkhya is so great that they are regarded as representing two schools of the same system. The Yoga system has undergone much elaboration and improvement at the hands of Vyāsa (200-300 A. D.) Vācaspati (900 A. D.) and Vijñāna Bhikṣu (1500 A. D.). It has associated with it its own metaphysics, cosmology, physics, ethics, theology and mystical practice. I propose to discuss in this paper mainly some aspects of its pyschology. But as its pyschology is very intimately connected with its metaphysics, I am afraid it may be impossible to avoid brief reference to some of its metaphysical doctrines also.

The Yoga system admits the existence of separate individual souls, of individual minds, of an objective world of matter and of God. It holds that both matter and mind are developed by the combination of an infinite number of ultimate reals (*guṇas*). These reals are of three different classes: forming the energy-stuff (*rajas*), the mass-stuff (*tamas*) and the intelligence-stuff (*sattva*). As space does not allow us of entering into any detailed account of them, it may briefly be noted that the combination of these three different types of reals in different proportions and different modes is said to produce both mind and senses on the one hand and the objective world of matter on the other. Minds are said to differ from matter only in this that they contain a very large proportion of the reals of the type of intelligence-stuff and energy-stuff, whereas the world of matter is formed by a large preponderance of the reals of mass-stuff and energy-stuff. The souls are distinguished from the minds and the matter as being principles of pure consciousness; they are said to be absolutely passive and inactive and devoid of any other characteristics. There is an inherent 'blind' purposiveness in the reals such that they tend to relate themselves to the principles of pure intelligence or consciousness and allow themselves to be interpreted as experience. This is rendered possible by the hypothesis that one of the classes of reals, the intelligence-stuff, is largely akin to the souls or principles of pure intelligence. The reals classed as the intelligence-stuff cannot, however, of themselves give us

conscious experience, for being always associated with the energy-stuff they are constantly changing. Conscious experience cannot be produced without reference to a fixed or steady purposiveness which should run through all the reals and unite them into a system referring to a person. What we perceive when we analyse mind is but a fleeting series of mental states. These are passing in quick succession. They will not stop for a moment, but are rapidly consuming themselves like a burning flame; percepts, images, concepts, are all continually appearing and passing away. When, however, we notice carefully our conscious experience, we find that, though these are present in all our mental states, they imply a unity, a distinct purposiveness, without which they themselves become as blind as any physical phenomenon of inanimate nature can be. To take an example: I know that I have experienced a world of events during the last thirty years. Those are all in me or in my memory; but if I am asked of how many of these I am now conscious, I can hardly mention any except what are directly uppermost. If, however, I should try to think how many of Browning's love-poems I can remember, I find that I can recall a number of them. Only then can I say that I am directly conscious of these. There can be no doubt they were existing in the mind; but we say that they were existing in a sub-conscious state (*saṁskāra*). During deep sleep I cannot say that my waking experinces are destroyed; I can say only that I was then unconscious of them. This shows that our mind-states can exist in a condition in which they cannot be called awarenesses. Consciousness does not belong to them as their innate and intrinsic property; but they come to consciousness somehow under certain circumstances. The condition under which our mental states are rendered conscious is due to their association with our self (*puruṣa*).

It must, however, be noted that this real self is never objective to us in our psychological experience. When in accordance with ordinary perceptual experience I say I see my book on my table, there is indeed in me a notion of self which connects itself with this experience. But this self forms a part of the act of cognition, and it associates itself differently with different experiences, and as such it is but a part of our thought. Each and every definite mental state shows itself to be associated with some notion of ego or 'I'. This notion is an indispensable stage through which the mental state must pass in order to get themselves fully expressed.

But this notion of an 'I' is not a direct experience of pure self. It is simply a necessary stage in the process of the completing of the cognitive act, and as such its nature is not different from the nature of the cognitive experience. When I see my book on the table and think 'this is my book', there are at least three elements involved in the judgment there is the sense-object; there is the definite apprehension of the

book as such; and there is also the association of the book with the notion of 'I' to which it appears to belong. This interpretation of the experience as my experience in connection with the notion of an age, varies with each different experience; for the nature of this association of the sense-objects with this age has a different character in accordance with the change of the sense-objects. My experience of a part of my body as being mine is obviously more intimately mine than my experience of a book as my book. When I speak of my pen and my book, I am disposed to think that the notion of 'mine' is more or less of a homogeneous nature, and the only difference here is the difference of the object of cognition. But when I compare the notions of my honour, my son and my stick, I see that the association of three objects of cognition with the sense of 'mine' is very different on these three occasions. It may be objected that there is an ambiguity in the use of the word 'mine' on these three occasions. I agree, and this is precisely what I was trying to show. The main point is that our notion of 'mine' is no simple homogeneous and fixed element, but varies largely with the variety of experiences with which we have to deal. The notion 'mine' thus does not point to the experience of a permanent self in consciousness, but to the existence of a separate categery of an agehood which represents a confused mass of feelings, having its root far into the depths of the sub-conscious elements of our nature.

The self (*puruṣa*) in Yoga is thus not directly demonstrated in experience and cannot be found by an analysis of interspection. The existence of the self (*puruṣa*) is a matter of implication and not an object of direct apprehension in consciousness. The existence of the self is held to be implied on teleological grounds, and on grounds of moral responsibility and moral endeavour. If there be not a separate self for each of us behind all our experience, what would give the unity to our experiences? This unity is not given by any notion of 'mine', for we have already seen that the notion 'mine' is a variable element, and hence is as much of a changeable nature as are the mental states. On the other hand we cannot say that our experiences have no unity and system in them. This unity thus presupposes a permanent subject with reference to which or in unison with which our experiences become systamatized into a whole. There is an order and a purposes running through all our experiences, though the full meaning and value of them are not indeed clear to us. This much, however, we can understand, that probably our experiences, are connected in such a way that something like a blind destiny runs through them, and that this blind destiny refers to some entity which is beyond them and within which they are somehow mysteriously associated. There is a difference between our sub-conscious and conscious mental states, and this is inexplicable except on the supposition that our conscious experiences are made conscious by some entity other than themselves.

There is in us a sense of moral responsibility and a sense of striving after the good and this also would be inexplicable except on the supposition of a self. The only psychological ground on which the self can be inferred is the necessity of accounting for the peculiar trait of consciousness, *viz.*, of its illuminating, which cannot be said to belong to the mental states themselves.

The existence of the mental states in potential forms in the sub-conscious is the root-idea of Yoga-psychology. The sub-conscious mental states resemble the conscious mental states so far as the substance, stuff or constituents of which they are made up, is concerned, but still there is an essential difference between the two: *viz.*, that the one are unconscious, while the other are conscious. Why, if their substance be the same, should be mental states at one time be conscious and at other times be unconscious? This seems to imply the association with some other element different from the mental states. So in Yoga the self has to be admitted, and its association with the mental states has also to be somehow admitted. This is, however, the obscurest part of Yoga-psychology.

But we here tend to digress from the field of Yoga-psychology to Yoga-metaphysics. Leaving aside the question of the transcendent influence of a pure intelligence by which the mental states are somehow electrified into consciousness, let us come to the consideration of these states.

Mind (*buddhi*) according to the Yoga-system is a product of certain super-sensuous and super-subtle reals which are in essence characterised as feeling-substances. It is indeed difficult to understand what the Yoga-thinkers understood by calling them feeling-substances. But since feelings are not treated separately from cognitive acts, it appears that the whole of the mind-stuff was regarded more or less in the light of a melted mass of feeling stuff. We are generally accustomed in these days to think that feelings are mental experiences, whereas substances are things which have a non-mental or physical existence. There is therefore for us some confusion when we are told that the mind in Yoga is regarded as a product of the combination of three types of reals which are in essence but feeling-substances. But we should remember that according to the Yoga-theory, with the exception of a transcendental element of pure consciousness or pure intelligence, all forms of cognition, volition and feelings are regarded as super-subtle, substantive entities or reals. Feelings are regarded as the ultimate forms into which both the cognitive and volitional modes return and out of which they differentiate themselves under certain conditions. If we should think of the mind-substance as apart from cognitive or volitional states, we should call it according to Yoga an indeterminate stuff of feeling-complexes. The cognitive form of the mental states no doubt constituted the

only stage in which the feelings or the volitions could find themselves interpreted and expressed, for it was with this form alone that the light of the transcendent self in a person could become associated. The substance of these cognitive states, however, are but the stuff of feeling complexes, and so each cognitive state has a feeling-tone inseparably connected with it, as pleasurable, painful, or dull. A cognitive state in fact in Yoga means nothing but that state of the combination of the feeling-essences in which these could copy the objects of cognition and get the light of the self reflected on it. The energy which characterizes volition is already presupposed in the feeling-reals, and hence the volitional element is also present in every state of mind. We shall see below that a well-regulated volitional control was the chief thing in which the Yoga system was interested.

It is thus, I hope, clear that the special nature of the hypothesis of the mind-stuff is such that there is no room for considering feeling, willing and knowing as three distinctly separate mental functions. These according to Yoga are as the three aspects of the particular states of the same substances.

But it may be asked: If the mind-stuff is made up of so many diverse reals, how is any unity of action possible? We have already observed that there is postulated an inherence teleology in the mind-stuff such as to serve the purpose of the self. Blindly guided by this teleology the reals conglomerate in such a manner as to render the experiences of the self possible. It is said that as fire, wick and oil, though altogether different, combine together to form the flame, so the different types of reals combine together for the formation of the stuff of the experiences of the self. The three different kinds of reals which, from the mind-stuff, can by no means remain uncombined, or separated from one another. Moreover these combinations are continually changing form like the flame of a lamp. During our waking state our senses are continually coming into contact with all sorts of objects, and as an effect of this, these objects are automatically being copied or photographed in the mind, and at every moment a phase is formed in the mind which duly represents them. Moreover, as any perception passes away from the field of operation of the senses and another new perception comes in, the phase of the mind which represented the old perception passes away and a new one comes in its place. But the old phase in not wholly destroyed; it is only shifted into the region of the sub-conscious and may be revived partially or completely later on. Disappearance from the field of direct consciousness should be on no account be regarded as destruction, any more than external things should be regarded as having ceased to exist when there is no perceiver to perceive them. And just as the physical objects, though to all appearance they may sometimes seem to have reminded the same, may yet undergo considerable changes in the shape of atomic displacements

unperceived by us, so is it the case with the mental states which passes into the sub-conscious. All physical objects are wasting away every moment, some rapidly and others slowly. The changes of those which waste away slowly can be remarked only after a long time; nevertheless it has to be admitted that they have been wasting all the while. This wasting does not mean that they have been completely destroyed, but only that there has been disintergration in one form and reformation into another. There is nothing which comes into being from nothing, and there is nothing which is absolutely destroyed. So the mental states also as they exist in the sub-conscious are continually wasting; nevertheless the waste in some mental states takes place so slowly that they may be said to exist more or less the same even after long intervals of time. There are other mental states however, which waste away so quickly that even after a short interval they cannot be revived except in distorted forms. According to Yoga some of these mental states reduced to mere impressions or modes of mind continue to exist even through the lapse of many births. They cannot be directly re-called into consciousness, but they still exist and mould or influence the nature of our thought. These semi-effaced mental states often determine the mode and nature of our choice. In most cases, when we think that we are acting freely, we are in reality being determined by these hidden experiences of the past operating unseen. These semi-effaced mental states which reveal themselves as unaccountable tendencies of the mind, are technically called *vāsanā*. It is said that the mind is netted with innumerable knots of the *vāsanās*. They represent the result of a host of experiences, the detailed features of which are often lost, but which have produced such deep impressions that they can largely determine the course of our choice and the nature of our enjoyments. The perceptual and other forms of our conscious mental states, including all the volitional and feeling aspects, when they are continually active and repeated, constitute potencies in the sub-conscious state of the mind. These potencies are in a large measure the determinants of the modes and the habits of our thoughts and volitions. These unseen potencies are according to Yoga, of a twofold character: those which are the results of the experiences of past lives and operate as innate tendencies or instincts of this life; and those which are the results of repeated experiences of this life.

Ordinary mental processes are said to be of five kinds: *pramāṇa*, *viparyaya*, *vikalpa*, *nidrā* and *smṛti*. *Pramāṇa* includes valid states, the states of perception, inference and belief in valid testimony. *Viparyaya* means illusory knowledge, which is produced by the operation of the defects of the senses, the rousing of wrong memories, causing non-observation of the distinction between the right thing and the wrong. *Vikalpa* means the processes of abstraction and contraction employed by us in following an argument or sometimes in using language. Thus when

I say 'conscious of the self' I make an unreal abstraction, for the self according to Yoga is identical with consciousness ; but for the convenience of language I separate them as though they were different from each other and then unite them. This state of the mind is of a distinctly differently type, and without it thought and language are not possible. Sleep (*nidrā*) is also regarded as a separate type of mental process, when the volitional control of a man is absent and as a result thereof, by the loose play of the suppressed mental state of the sub-conscious dreams are produced. In the state of deep sleep there is not a cessation of mental states ; the state represented therein is one of negation of all positive appearances, but though a negation it is considered as a mental process (*vṛtti*). Memory (*smṛti*), is also regarded as a separate mental process. Memory is produced by the recalling of the old *saṁskāras* or impressions in the sub-conscious by similarity, contrast, contiguity of time or place, etc. It is said that memory may also be produced by the random working of the *saṁskāras*, in which case it is said to be determined by time.

But if in the perpeptual state of our consciousness we are determined by the influx of sensations, and in our thought processes, choice and volition by the accumulated experiences of the past acting as tendencies we seem in no way to be our own masters and to have, no power for moral endeavour at our disposal at all. Such a view, however, Yoga cannot admit ; for the whole theory of its psychology aims at explaining the fact that we can by the exercise of our will and concentration attain final emancipation from the bonds of all worldly experience. It therefore holds. that there is a power (*śakti*) inherent in the mind by virtue of which it can endeavour (*ceṣṭā*) in any particular direction. It can react against the forces of the past tendencies, repress them and concentrate upon states which may appear desirable to it. Undoubtedly the force of the tendencies of the accumulated experiences of the past in the sub-conscious cannot easily be overcome. Whenever there is any slackening of the will, these will try to have their own way and distract us into paths hostile to our best wishes. If we are with full consciousness exerting our will, there will be a constant fight between the sort of conscious states which we are trying to have, and the sub-conscious tendencies pulling us the other way. But if as said above, none of our experienced states can be destroyed, it would seem that we can never hope to succeed in having our own way entirely.

Here, however, comes in the theme of the law of contrary mental states (*pratipakṣabhāvanā*). Ordinarily no mental states are destroyed ; even when they seem to be destroyed, they work in a cumulative manner as tendencies of particular kinds. But the law of contrary mental states holds that any sub-conscious mental state or tendency can be ultimately destroyed by generating opposite mental states. Thus if I am jealous of

a man, I shall naturally be led to think of his evil deeds; but I can fight against this tendency and try to think of some of his good traits. In the first stages it will hardly appear pleasant to shake off my ill-will against the man; but I may try it again and again and each attempt will make the task easier for me. For each good thought that I may be having at different times is being stored and accumulated in the sub-conscious. Here another law comes into operation: *viz.*, the law that the repetition of any mental state will strengthen the corresponding impression of it in the sub-conscious. Thus in accordance with this law the power of the sub-conscious impression of good thoughts will gradaully gain strength. The evil thoughts come now only at random moments, and hence, however strong originally, they may be destroyed eventually, by continually thinking of the opposite good thoughts.

When any particular evil thought ceases for a time to present itself before us, we are not to suppose that the evil tendency has been removed. In reality it is still existing and, if it is to be completely uprooted, the root of the impression of the opposite thought in the deepest parts of the sub-conscious has to be strengthened. There are different levels of the sub-conscious, and even when an impression has been destroyed in the shallower ones, it may still have roots in the deeper and may in time grow up again. So there is no permanent safety from any impression of an evil thought unless the root of the opposite good thought may be made to run as deep as the roots of the impressions of evil thought, as a good impression in the subconscious grows stronger, its roots go deeper and deeper into the utmost levels of the sub-conscious, and as it spreads there, it destroys the roots of the opposite evil thought which have been already enfeebled by its growth. The significance of the Yoga-theory of psychology with regard to ethical conduct is that it is possible to control not only our external conduct but also our inner thought. Though the workings of the sub-conscious are apparently unknown to us, we may by directing the workings of the conscious determine the growth of the sub-conscious in a way helpful to our purposes. We may cease to be disturbed by any evil thought or propensity, not by simply negating it, but by the acquirement of positive good thoughts and ideals. Thus we may so develop the habit of thinking of universal love and compassion and the tendency to overlook others, defects and of feeling happiness at the happiness of others, that it will become impossible for us to have a single evil thought against any fellow being.

It should be noted, however, that the Yoga-ideal is not satisfied by a man's becoming solely moral. A Yogin seeks deliverence from every bondage, even from the bondage of his mind. The attainment of perfect morality and self control by acquiring the virtues of universal non-injury, truthfulness, celibacy, purity, contentment, fortitude, etc. (technically called *yama* and *niyama*), is of course indispensable for him.

But this is not all. This cannot give him full liberation. He would be a pure and free 'spirit' untrammelled even by his 'mind'. Thus when his mind has been sufficiently purified and is no longer disturbed by ordinary moral strivings, he endeavours to engage himself in a higher work, *viz.*, that of staying the movement of the mind states.

We have already said that the mind is always changing as the flame of a lamp. So long as this change of mind, this continual succession of mental states continues, a man is, as it were, for ever being tosed upon the crests of the waves of thought. He is not master of himself. The Yogin therefore, in order to suppress the ever-changing nature of the mind, tries to restrain his mind from the many different objects of thought and to hold one object only continually in his attention. The former process is called *dhāraṇā* and the latter *dhyāna*. In the first stages it is difficult to fix the mind on one object, and the object has to be continually replaced before the mind. By this process of continually presenting the same object to the mind a habit is generated and a potency of fixation is acquired in the sub-conscious, and gradually the changeful character of the mind ceases and the mind becomes one with the object. At this stage there are no fluctuations of mental states : the mind becomes one with the object of thought, absolutely still and motionless. This state is called *samādhi*. When the mind becomes thus fixed on one object, it is said that immediate cognitions of the real nature of the object dawn before the mind. This is called *prajñā*-knowledge. In its character as immediate and direct it resembles perception, but it does not fluctuate and so the nature of the reality of the object appears in one undisturbed flash. The mind is at this state one with this reality. It is this knowledge alone which the Yogin considers to be supremely real. As the Yogin advances in his path of meditation the impressions of this tendency to meditation grow stronger, so that to get into meditation becomes an easy thing for him ; and as at each stage of meditation he meets with new flashes of true wisdom, the potencies and impressions of his old phenomenal knowledge are gradually destroyed, and there comes a time when he is able to perceive the true nature of the self a distinguished from the mind. As this stage is persisted in, the ignorance through which the mind was being falsely identified with the self is ultimately destroyed, and as a result of this the connection of the mind with the self ceases and the soul (*puruṣa*) remains in itself in its own absolute pure intelligence.

In this part of the Yoga-theory there seem to be three things which may appear to us as assumptions, but which the Yogins affirm to be undeniable facts of experience. These are ; firstly that the changeful processes of the mind can at a certain state be brought to a stand-still ; secondly, that such a state can give us a new grade or dimension of knowledge ; and thirdly, that, as a culmination and highest advancement

of this knowledge, the pure individual self as pure intelligence can be known. This kind of knowledge will not of course be knowledge in the familiar sense; for all *samādhi*-knowledge is said to be non-conceptual knowledge and so of a different order. This difference in kind refers not only to the fact that *prajñā* knowledge gives us a knowledge of reality, whereas perception gave us phenomenal knowledge only, but also to a difference in their essential nature or character. The *prajñā*-impressions tend to loosen the mind from the self. They represent a different dimension of knowledge completely foreign to phenomenal knowledge. We can never recall the knowledge gained by *prajñā* in our normal consciousness, for it is opposed to the letter, and the former can never be translated in terms of the latter; the memory we recall is a phenomenal state of consciousness. This new dimensions of knowledge is thus said to supersede scientific knowledge and not to supplement it. We should also remember that this *prajñā*-knowledge has nothing to do with telepathy, dual or multiple personality or the like, which are all but varieties of phenomenal knowledge.

If we do not believe the testimony of the Yogin, there is probably no way for us either to prove or disprove its reality.

FRAGMENTS OF BHARTṚ-PRAPAÑCA

BY

PROF. M. HIRIYANNA, M.A., MYSORE.

I—INTRODUCTION.

By the courtesy of the Editors of the *Indian Antiquary*, I was able to publish in that Journal for April last, an article giving a tentative account of the doctrine of Bhartṛ-Prapañca, a Vedāntin who lived long before the time of Śaṅkara, but of whose works none has so far been recovered. The material for the article was derived chiefly from the discussions of the views of this ancient thinker found in the commentary of Śaṅkara on the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka-Upaniṣad* and in Sureśvara's masterly *Vārtika* on it. In his gloss on the latter, Ānanda-jñāna gives several extracts from Bhartṛ-Prapañca's *bhāṣya* on the same Upaniṣad. Many of these he refers explicitly to that *bhāṣya* and the others which are introduced by expressious like *yathāhuḥ* or *uktam hi*, it is clear from the context, are taken from it. The majority of the extracts are quite short and do not therefore serve by themselves as a basis for drawing any definite conclusions; yet they are too precious to be allowed to lie scattered in a book which is one of the biggest in Vedāntic literature. Besides, these fragments gain somewhat in significance when once the doctrine as a whole has been roughly sketched. They are accordingly brought together here in a form convenient for ready reference and care has been taken to exclude all quotations about which there is the least doubt. They are arranged according to topics and do not therefore always appear here in the order in which they are found cited in the gloss. A few which bear upon the interpretation of particular words or passages have been given under a separate head. As a help to the understanding of the fragments, a brief summary of Bhartṛ-Prapañca's doctrine, as described in the *Indian Antiquary* is added.

II—SUMMARY OF THE DOCTRINE.

(a) *Theoretical Teaching.*

The doctrine of Bhartṛ-Prapañca is monism and it is of the *bhedābheda* type. The relation between *Brahman* and the *jīva*, as that between *Brahman* and the world, is one of identity in difference. An implication of this view is that both the *jīva* and the physical world evolve out of *Brahman*, so that the doctrine may be described as *Brahma-pariṇāma-vāda*. On the spiritual side, *Brahman* is transformed into the *antaryāmin* and the *jīva*; on the physical side, into *avyākṛta*, *sūtra*, *virāj* and *devatā* which are all cosmic; and *jāti* and *piṇḍa* which are not cosmic. These are the

avasthās or 'modes' of *Brahman* and represent the *eight* classes into which the variety of the universe may be divided. They are again classified into *three rāśis*—*Paramātma-rāśi*, *Jīva-rāśi* and *Mūrtāmūrta-rāśi*, which correspond to the triple subject-matter of Religion and Philosophy, *viz.* God, Soul and Matter. Bhartṛ-Prapañca recognised what is known as *pramāṇa-samuccaya* by which it follows that the testimony of common experience is quite as valid as that of the Veda. The former vouches for the reality of variety and the latter, for that of unity (as taught in the Upaniṣads). Hence the ultimate Truth is *dvaitādvaita*.

(b) *Practical Teaching.*

Mokṣa or life's end is conceived as being achieved in *two* stages—the first leading to *apavarga* where *saṁsāra* is overcome through the overcoming of *āsaṅga*; and the second, leading to Brahma-hood when identity with *Brahman* is realised through the dispelling of *avidyā*. The means of reaching either stage is *jñāna-karma-samuccaya* which is a corollary on the practical side to *pramāṇa-samuccaya* on the theoretical side.

III—EXTRACTS.

Note.—The pages refer to the *Ānandāśrama* Edition of the *Vārtika* and the figures within brackets, to the number of the *śloka*, in the gloss on which the extract occurs. Dots placed between two extracts do not signify that they are not consecutive, but only that it is *not certain* they are so.

(a) *Theoretical Teaching.*

(1) *Brahman* is the permanent unity underlying all diversity.

P. 572. (693) विशेषाणां ह्यविशेष एकता भवति यथा समुद्रे समुद्रोर्मीणाम् ॥

P. 623. (948) या तस्मिन्नन्तर्णीते विशेषणे बुद्धिस्सान्तर्णीताविशेषणैव कृत्स्नग्राहिणी भवति ॥

P. 661. (1139) सर्वैकत्वं परं ब्रह्म परमात्मा यः...स आत्मा (1140) अनेनात्मनात्मवन्ति...

P. 664. (1154) तत्र परमात्मा नित्यः ॥

P. 670. (1184) द्वैतविषयेऽन्यस्यान्येनात्मनाभिसंपत्तिः । (1185) इह पुनरद्वैते सर्वभावानामनन्यत्वात्सर्वमञ्जसैवात्मत्वेनाभिसंपद्यते ॥

P. 769. (1703) या त्वविशेषावस्था अनभिव्यक्ता परमात्मावस्थैव सा ॥

(2) The three *rāśis.*

P. 1011. (113) तान्येतानि त्रीणि वस्तूनि मूर्तामूर्तं माहाराजनादिरूपमात्मतत्त्वामिति ॥

(3) The *jīva* cannot be the same as *Brahman* as, for instance, is indicated by their treatment in separate sections of the Upaniṣad—*Adhyāya* III, *Brāhmaṇas* IV and V.

Pp. 1241—2 (9) *पूर्वः प्रश्नः परमात्मविषयोऽयं विज्ञानात्मविषयः । (11) एकस्मिन्प्रकरणे द्वयोरुक्तेरन्तरतमत्वं परमात्मन्युच्यमानं विज्ञानात्मनि सिद्धं भविष्यति । (12) तस्य तद्धर्मतया तेनैव संबन्धाच्छोकमोहाद्यतीतता प्रकाशमात्ररूपता च विज्ञानात्मन्युच्यमाना परमात्मनि सिद्धा भविष्यति । (13 पञ्चमाध्यायशेषेण परमात्मनो निर्णयो वक्ष्यमाणः...षष्ठेन विज्ञानात्मनः (14) अपुनरुक्तेन हि द्वितीयेन प्रश्नेन भवितव्यम् ॥

(4) The *jīva* is a transformation of *Brahman* and is other than the body which is only its support.

P. 890—1 (22) भोक्त्र्यश्च देवताः करणाधिष्ठात्र्यश्च । किमन्यद्विज्ञानात्मना कार्यमस्ति । एतस्मिन्दर्शने स्थितो गार्ग्यः पूर्वपक्षपरिग्रहायोत्थाप्यते । (24) काश्यात्मना श्रुतिस्सिद्धान्तमुक्तवती ॥

Pp. 1008—10. (93—4) तत्संबन्धात्प्राणास्सत्यम्...तत्र प्राणा विज्ञानात्मानोऽनामरूपास्तेन्यसंयोगात्कार्यकरणवन्तो नामरूपवन्तो निर्देशाय कल्पन्ते । (95) तदेतत्सत्यं परिशोधितम् । (96) सत्यान्निष्कृष्य विज्ञानात्मस्वरूपं वक्तव्यम् । (97) एतस्यामवस्थायामयं भोक्ता अमी विज्ञानात्मानः प्राणा इत्ययं विशेषो नास्ति । (98) आधारगतो ह्ययं नामरूपकृतो विशेषः । (99) तदिह सर्वं सत्यं परिशोध्यान्तरानुप्रविश्य विज्ञानात्मा निर्दिश्यते । (100) तदेतत्सर्वं विज्ञानात्मनां सामान्यमेव लक्षणार्थं भवति । (101) तस्य हैतस्य पुरुषस्य विज्ञानात्मनो रूपं निर्दिश्यते...उपक्षीणमेव सर्वं रूपं मूर्तामूर्तविषये । (103) इह तु परमात्मनः परिच्छिद्यमानस्य येन विशेषेण विज्ञानात्मत्वलाभस्तद्रूपं निर्दिदिक्षितमपाञ्चभौतिकम् ॥

P. 1433. (318) विज्ञानं परं ब्रह्म । तत्प्रकृतिको जीवः विज्ञानमयः ॥

Pp. 1450—51. *Objection* (425) सालक्षण्येऽपि सत्येव बुद्धेरेव धर्मो विलक्षणोऽस्य भोक्तृत्वम् (426) तत्र कथं व्यतिरिक्ततोपपद्यते ।

---

* This order is in reference, not to the *Kāṇva* but to the *Mādhyandina* recension to the Upaniṣad on which Bhartṛ-Prapañca commented.

(*Answer*) (428) स एष यदि व्यतिरिक्तो न स्यादुभयोरपि लोकयोर्भूतसमुदायाविशेषादुभयत्रापि भोग उत्पद्येत । न तु भवतीत्यतोऽवगम्यतेऽस्ति किंचिद्वयतिरिक्तं यद्भावाद्भवति यदभावान्न भवति ॥

Pp. 1578—83. *Objection:* (1118—20) यथैव बाह्यचक्षुषः प्रकाशार्थयोस्संसर्गाद्विशेषप्रकाशनाभिव्यक्तिरेवं बुद्धीन्द्रियसंसर्गादुपलब्धिविज्ञानाभिव्यक्तिः ।

Answer: (1122) यदि व्यतिरिक्तो विज्ञाता न स्यात्तेन स्वप्नकाले भौतिकस्यैव ज्योतिषोऽविशेषारम्भे सति स्वप्नबुद्धान्तयोर्भूतमात्राणामविशेषेण विद्यमानत्वाद्यौगपद्येनोभयत्रोपलब्धिस्स्यात् । (1123—4) न तु भवति ।...उभयोरप्यनयोः कुलाययोस्स्वप्नबुद्धान्तयोरन्यो व्यतिरिक्तः परिद्रष्टा ॥

Objection: (1127) तासां चाधिष्ठात्रीणां पर्यायेण वृत्तिरुपपद्यते ।

Answer: (1131) देवताया विभुत्वात्प्रयत्नकार्येषु यौगपद्यं न तु विज्ञानात्मनः । (1133) अनेन भोक्तृत्वप्रयुक्तेन हेतुना प्रयत्नायौगपद्येन व्यतिरिक्तद्रष्टृग्रहणासिद्धिः । (1134—5) तस्य हि स्वप्नान्तबुद्धान्तयोर्ज्योतिष्ट्वेऽ [illegible] ष्टृत्वेन कर्तृत्वं प्रति यत्नो न स यौगपद्येन संभवति । तस्मात्तस्य पर्यायेण द्रष्टृत्वे प्रवृत्तिरित्यवस्थितं भवति । (1136) उपलब्ध्ययौगपद्यमात्मास्तित्वे, लिङ्गम् । (1146) उभयोः कालयोर्व्यतिरेकाद्व्यतिरिक्तो द्रष्टा । न भौतिकं दर्शनम् । नापि देवताकृतम् ॥

(5) The *jiva* is both a *karta* and a *bhoktā*.

P. 1012—3 (115) स एष विद्याकर्मपूर्वप्रज्ञारूपोऽस्य कर्मणो बाह्यं मूर्तामूर्तसाधनं यदुपादाय कार्यकरणवतो भोगसिद्धिः । (120) स परमात्मैकदेशः किल...स कर्ता ॥

(6) The state of *Hiranyagarbha* is due to *avidyā*. He is the cosmic soul revealing himself in all beings.

P. 661. (1141) ततः प्रच्युतानामविद्याकृतो हिरण्यगर्भ आत्मा सर्वसाधारणस्तेनात्मना सर्वसत्त्वान्यात्मवन्ति ॥

P. 669. (1177) स इदं जगदात्मत्वेनाभिसंपन्नोऽभूदविद्यया ॥

P. 1001. (53) यो ह्येतस्मिन्मण्डले विज्ञानात्मा...एष खल्वविद्याकर्मपूर्वप्रज्ञापरिष्कृतः विज्ञानात्मत्वमापद्यते ॥

(7) *Hiraṇya-garbha* is the creator of the world in the form in which it serves as environment to the *jīvas* in it.

Pp. 1001—2 (54) विज्ञानात्मनस्तद्वाय्वन्तरिक्षप्रयोक्तृ भवति ।....अन्तरिक्षाधारस्य वायुपरिस्पन्दस्य कर्मणो वाय्वन्तरिक्षद्वारेणैव तेजसस्संभवः । (55) तैजसे इतरे भूते । (56) तद्यस्मात्पौरुषेण कर्मणा रसभूतेनाविष्टयोर्वाय्वन्तरिक्षयोः प्रवृत्तिः । (57) "मेधया तपसाजनयत्पिता" इति ह्युक्तम् ॥

P. 1008. (91—2) यावान्बाह्यो विकारो विज्ञानात्मपरिवेष्टनोऽध्यात्मं वाधिदैवं वा नामरूपविभागेन व्याकृतस्सर्वोऽप्येष मूर्तो वा भवत्वमूर्तो वा सच्च त्यच्च...॥

(8) Distinction between *avidyā* and *āsaṅga* which together condition the *jīva*. *Vāsanās* really belong to the *antaḥ-karaṇa* but are transmitted from it to the *jīva*.

P. 665 (1156) कदाचिद्दर्शनमनित्यं...कदाचिदविद्यातिरस्कृतं भवति । (1157) साविद्याहमेवेदं सर्वमित्येतस्यार्थस्यासंबोधः । (1158) स एष संबोधो नित्यः परमात्मनि...अनित्य इतरस्मिंस्तिरस्कृतविज्ञाने सांसारिके । (1159) तत्रैवं सति योऽविद्यया सर्वभावमित्वा विद्यया सर्वात्मत्वदर्शनेन सर्वभावमभिसंपन्न....॥

Pp. 1156—7. (54) अत्यन्तं हि कर्म विकर्त्रेव केवलमाकारपरिणामावस्थाविशेषेषु...विज्ञानं परिच्छेत्तृ । (55) सैषाविद्या परिच्छेदकं विज्ञानम् ॥

Pp. 1295—6. (32) सर्वान्तरं विज्ञानात्मस्वरूपं महारजनादिलक्षणं त्रयमप्येतत्कर्मैव । (34) विनाशोत्तरकालं परेण सौक्ष्म्येण व्यवतिष्ठतेऽस्तित्वमात्रेण । (36) तस्मिन्नेतीतिव्यपदेशो नोपपद्यते विशेषतोऽविद्यमानावात्...नापीदं तादिति व्यपदेशोऽस्ति विशेषस्यागृह्यमाणत्वात् ॥

Pp. 1573—4. (1089) अस्य हि पुरुषस्य बाह्यं कर्म बुद्ध्यादिप्रयोगाश्रितम्...ततः कर्मणो भावना समेत्यैनमास्कन्दति । तयोर्विवेको व्याख्यातः । (1090) अविद्या पुनरस्यविज्ञानाश्रयैव । (1091) तदेव विज्ञानं विकृत्य विपरीतग्रहाय प्रकल्पयति । (1093) स विज्ञानविशेषः बुद्ध्यादिपरंपरया स्थूलीभूतो बाह्यः प्रकाशो व्यवहाराय कल्पते । (1094) य आसङ्गकृतस्संसर्गस्तेन विवेको व्याख्यातः । यस्त्वविद्याकृतस्संसर्गस्तेन विवेको व्याख्यातव्यः । (1097) आसङ्गस्तु विषयेन्द्रियद्वारेण बहिष्ठस्समागम्यात्मानमनुप्रविशति ॥

Pp. 1590—2. (1189) तत्र कामः कर्मणः फलं कर्मण एव तु वासना। (1190) यथालक्षणयैव भावनया तत्कर्म कृतं तथालक्षणमेव फलं तस्य विज्ञानात्मनंस्सा भावना तदेव स्वप्रयुक्तं प्रत्येकीभूता भवति। (1191) तदनुरञ्जितो विज्ञानात्मा कामं कामयत इत्येतद्भवति। (1193) विज्ञानं पुनर्भावनापरिच्छेद्विनिर्मातृ विज्ञानानुविधायिनी हि कर्मणो विक्रिया...विज्ञनमप्येताद्विपरीतदर्शनमविद्या। (1194) स एष बाह्यो विज्ञानात्मन इत्युक्तम्। (1195) तत्र प्रयोक्त्री भावना कर्म विकर्तृ। (1196) एवं कामकर्मभावनाविज्ञानानां परस्परापेक्षत्वादेकार्थता। (1197) तत्र भावनया कामयतेऽविद्यया (?) पश्यति द्वैतविषयम्॥

P. 1786. (396) कामाः पुनर्माहारजनादिरूपाः। (397) तद्धे माहारजनादिलक्षणाः कामविशेषास्ते बाह्ये हृदये श्रिताः। (399) ततो हि तेषां प्रसूतिर्भवति। (401) यथा बीजगतस्याङ्कुरस्य पृथिवीमाश्रित्य प्रसूतिरेवं प्राज्ञाश्रितानां हृदयं योनिः॥

(9) The *jīva* being the subject cannot be *known*. It only *knows*. It is also the *kartā* of the *jnāna-phala i.e., saṁvedana*.

Pp. 1236—7. (171) दृष्टिः क्रिया। तस्या यद्रूपं तत्कर्म। तद्धीप्सिततमम्।....चक्षुर्मनोबुद्धिरिति करणानि। (172) विज्ञानात्मनिर्वृत्ताया दृष्टिक्रियायाः फलं रूपोपलब्धिः। (173) क्रियासाधनत्वेन विनियुक्तः। ...क्रियासिद्ध्युत्तरकाले फलं कस्यापि भविष्यति। (174) तद्दर्शयितव्यम्। न कर्ता॥

P. 1653. (1546) तत्रापि बुद्धिप्रत्ययस्य घटादेश्च ग्राह्यग्राहकभावेन संबन्धात्क्रियान्तरनिर्वृत्तौ द्रष्टैव। (1547) तत्र यस्मिन्पुरुषे दृक्शक्ती रूपग्रहणादिसंबन्धिनी...(1548) विज्ञानात्माधीनो यो दृशिक्रियाभावः कर्तृगतः...॥

P. 1666 (1625) तृजन्तेन कर्तृत्वमेवाचष्टे।... कस्य द्रष्टा। दृष्टेः। (1626) दृष्टिरिति भावः क्रियासमाप्त्यर्थः फलाश्रितो निर्दिश्यते। (1627) किं पुनः फलम्। प्रकाशनम्....तदेतत्प्रकाशनं च ज्ञानकर्तृत्वं चेति धर्मद्वयं प्रत्येकमुपदिश्यते॥

(10) The *indriyas* are *bhautika*.

P. 1728. (28) प्रकाशः पुनरयं भौतिको न जात्यन्तरं भूतेभ्यः॥

(11) Dreams and *suṣupti*.

P. 929. (252) तस्य हि ज्ञानात्मनो या च स्वप्रकाशवृत्तिस्सा हृदयद्वारेण व्युच्चरतीति हृदयं विशेषायतनम् । (254) तत्र हि भावनाविज्ञानं विशेषेणाभिव्यक्तमास्ते यत एवंकृत्वा तस्मिन्शेते इत्युच्यते ॥

Pp. 1581—2. *Objection* : (1137) न हि देवतानां स्वप्रकाले स्वव्यापारः । ता उत्विक्रमिषोर्लोकान्तरं प्रति विशेषकार्याण्याध्यात्मिकानि हित्वा स्वानि स्थानानि प्रतिपद्यन्ते "अग्निं वागप्येति" इत्यादिश्रुतेः । तथा स्वप्रकार्यं प्रतिपित्सोर्देवता अपक्रान्ता भवन्ति ।

Answer : (1140) न हि देवता कदाचिल्लिङ्गं जहाति । सा त्वनभिव्यक्ते लिङ्गे नालं विशेषकार्याय ॥

P. 1591—3. (1192) तत्र कामतस्स्वप्ननिर्माणं सुखदुःखं दर्शयति । (1200) विद्यापि विपरीतस्य प्रविभक्तस्य ग्राहयितव्यस्याभावन्न विशेषविज्ञानाय कल्पते ॥

Pp. 1625—9. (1387—8) अशोकान्तरमित्युक्तं तदेवास्मिन्काले स्वेनात्मना ज्योतिर्मात्रेण भवति ।...व्यतिरेकेण स्वयं ज्योतिष्ट्वम् । (1389—90) तद्विशेषज्ञानमविद्यापक्षस्यैव । (1392) नानात्वदर्शनकार्यरूपं हि भयमविद्येत्युक्तम्.... अहमेवेदं सर्वमस्मीति प्रतिपक्षभूता विद्या । (1393) तदेतदेकत्वदर्शनं मथ्यमानं सदाशुद्धं प्रसन्नं भवति । (1394) स्वेन विशेषविज्ञानात्मना देदीप्यमानो भवति ....विशेषज्ञानानुत्पत्तिरसंबोधः ।

Objection : (1399) तम एवैतद्रूपं स्यात् न ज्योतिः ।

Answer: (1399) ज्योतीरूपत्वस्य महता प्रयत्नेन विभावितत्वात् । (1400) स्थितत्वाच्च सिद्धान्तस्य । (1406) स्वात्मनैव ज्योतिषावस्थानम् ॥

Pp. 1652—6. (1541) पश्यन्नेवायं तस्मिन्काले भवति । (1543) न चास्य विशेषज्ञानं प्रादुरस्ति (1549) यावद्गुणिभाविनो हि गुणाः । यावदग्निस्तावदौष्ण्यम् । (1550) यावद्द्रष्टा तावद्दृष्टिरित्यपरिलोपः । (1551) नित्यो हि द्रष्टा । (1552) न ह्यस्य विनंष्टु श्रीलं विद्यते । (1553) सर्वात्मभावादद्वैतत्वात् (1554) योऽयं ह्यस्यान्येन द्वितीयेन नाश आशङ्क्येत न तदस्ति । तेनाविभक्तत्वात्तस्य । (1555) न च तेनैव तस्य विनाशोऽस्ति । (1556) अविनाशित्वाच्चि-

त्यस्तस्य नित्यस्य द्रष्टुर्नित्यो गुणो दृष्टिरवस्थितैवास्ते । (1557) स तया दृष्टयाविपरिलुप्तया पश्यन्नेवास्ते । (1558) इति स्थितम् ।....द्वितीयं पदार्थं निर्णेतुमुपादत्ते ।

Objection: (1559) यदि पश्यन्नेवास्ते कथं न पश्यति ।

Answer: (1560) शृणु यथा पश्यति न पश्यति च....पश्यति तावदयम् । (1561) तत्तु द्वितीयं नास्ति यत्संबन्धात् विशेषविज्ञानं प्रादुःष्यात् (1562) स्याद्विभक्तम् । नत्वन्यत्वतः । (1563) यदि हि ततोऽन्यद्विभक्तं स्यात्पश्येत् । न तु तद्द्वितीयमस्ति (1564) तस्माद्दृक्शक्तेर्विद्यमानत्वात् पश्यन्नेवास्ते । न तु द्रष्टव्यं प्राप्नोति यतोऽतः नोपलभते । (1565) तद्यथा अग्निर्ज्वलन्नपि नानभ्याहितं दहति तद्वत् ॥

(12) Reality of the physical world.

P. 1590—1. (1188) अस्य हि द्वैतविषये विशेषविज्ञानमादित्यरश्मिवद्विकीर्णं जागरितदेशवत्समन्तादवभासते । (1194) सापि सति द्रष्टव्ये विपरीतं ग्राहयेत् ॥

(13) Parallelism between the *adhyātma*, the *adhi-bhūta* and the *adhi-daiva* phases of the universe.

Pp. 827—8. (171) वाचोऽधिदैवं पृथिवी शरीरं काठिन्याद्घनत्वात्तामसम् (172) सैषा द्विविधेन रूपेण पार्थिवेन तैजसेन चावस्थिता । (173—4) एकैव देवताग्निरध्यात्ममधिभूतं च....अधिदैवं च सर्वमग्निरेकां देवतामुपाददेकैकः कृत्स्नां देवतामुपादत्ते....तत्र....(175) यावत्येव वागध्यात्ममधिभूतं वा तावती ....(176) सैव हि पृथिवीदेवता तत्र तत्र तेन तेन व्यवतिष्ठते । (177) स एवायमग्निः पृथिव्यात्मना वागात्मना वैकैकस्मिन्नधिकारस्थले कार्त्स्न्येन द्रष्टव्यः ॥

Pp. 1369—71. (67) सैषा सूक्ष्मा देवतान्तर्हृदये कदम्बगोलकवद्धृदयानाडीषु समन्तान्निस्सृतासु विषक्ता । (68) एवमेकैका देवता । (68) सर्वेषां कार्यकारणस्य साधारणत्वात् । (69) यस्या देवताया यदा यद्दर्शनादिकार्यं तदा सर्वासामितरासां तदङ्गत्वम् । (70) नाड्यन्तरेऽपि या यदा देवतापेक्ष्यते सा तदा कृत्स्नदेवताविभवमङ्गीकृत्योपतिष्ठते । (73) प्रत्यवयवं कृत्स्नस्य परिसमाप्तत्वात्सैषा यथाध्यात्ममेवमधिभूतमाधिदैवं च....यथाध्यात्मं नाड्यस्समन्ताच्छरीरवर्तिन्य एवमस्यैव पुरुषस्याध्यात्मिकस्याधिदैवात्मना वक्ष्यमाणस्य प्राणनाड्यो वायुमय्यः । (74) एतस्मादेव शरीरादभिनिस्सृत्य सर्वं जगदापूर्यावस्थिताः । (77) यथैवाध्या-

त्मिकस्य प्रत्ययवं कार्त्स्न्येन समाप्तिरेवं वैराजस्याध्यात्मनः प्रत्ययवमाध्यात्मिकाधिभौतिकाधिदैविकेषु ॥

(b) *Practical Teaching.*

(1) Conception of *mokṣa.*

P. 1241. (10) अस्य हि विज्ञानात्मनः परमात्मन्यप्ययो वक्तव्यः ॥

P. 1375. (101) प्राप्तमभयं याज्ञवल्क्येन। नाप्राप्तम्। न तु साक्षात्कृतम्। (102) द्विविधो मोक्षोऽस्मिन्नेव शरीरे साक्षात्कृतब्रह्मा मुक्त इत्युच्यते न ब्रह्मणि लीनः। तस्य शरीरपातोत्तरकालं ब्रह्मणि लयो द्वितीयो मोक्षः स त्वाशासितव्यः ॥

(2) Need for practical discipline before attaining Brahma-hood.

P. 1361. (16) यज्जनको वेद तत्त्वं न तत्प्रतिपत्तौ मार्गम्। स तु तद्दर्शनेन परिशोध्यः (18)...जानन्नपि परमात्मानं दर्शनमार्गस्य परोक्षत्वादिह ॥

(3) *Vairāgya*, a necessary preliminary.

P. 639. (1025) नामरूपासक्तमेवास्य दर्शनं बाह्यविषयासङ्गि प्रीतेर्गृह्यमाणत्वात्। तन्निविवर्तयिषुरतश्चात्मनि प्रविवर्तयिषुः प्रकरोति ॥

P. 1785. (392) यथा पूर्वस्मिन्कामैर्बन्ध इति श्लोकेनोद्भावितमेवमेवेहापि निष्कामोऽपि मुच्यत इति श्लोकेनोद्भिभावयिष्यति ॥

(4) Obligatory character of *agni-hotra.*

P. 851. (302) स एष संप्रत्तिं कृत्वा यावज्जीवति न तावदग्निहोत्रमुत्सृजेत् ॥

(5) Nature of meditation.

Pp. 663—4. (1150) ता एता दर्शनावस्थाः। एतदेव चासां कार्यम्। (1151) पिण्डात्मदर्शी पिण्डात्मानमेवाभिसंपद्यते प्रेत्य। (1154) एवं परमात्मदर्शनावस्थायाः परमात्मभाव एव कार्यम् ॥

(6) *Jñāna-karma-samuccaya* leads to *mokṣa* through an intermediate stage of *apavarga.*

P. 724. *Objecton* : (1467) भोज्यतया कृत्स्नं जगदुपात्तम्।

Answer : (1469) द्वैतविषये हि तेषामधिकारः।....अयं पुरद्वैतावस्थितो भवति ॥

Pp. 762—9. *Objection*: (1667) अग्निनैव देवतया ब्रह्मप्राप्तिस्स एवैनं ब्रह्म वक्ष्यति ।

Answer: (1693) देवतास्तावत्कर्माधिकृताः कर्मस्वेवैनं नियच्छन्ति । (1694) ताभ्यो व्युत्थायात्मदर्शनं नोपपद्यते । (1695) आत्मापि त्वसंदृश्यमान आत्मत्वेन नोपतिष्ठते । (1704) यः पुनरद्वैतावस्थामुपास्ते तस्यात्मैव कर्म भवति ॥

Pp. 838—40. *Objection*: (225) योऽयमेवंवित्पुरुषस्स एष प्रजापतिः ।

Answer: (227) समुच्चितानि पुत्रवित्तदर्शनानि सर्वात्मभावाय । (232) विद्ययैव सर्वभावापत्त्या लोकत्रयोपपत्तिरिति न । पृथक्कारणत्वात् ।

Objection: (236) न हि पुत्रोत्पादनादन्येन मनुष्यलोकजयोऽस्ति । (238) किमिदानीं तत्प्रतिषिध्यते ।

Answer: (238) तत्र मनुष्यलोकप्राप्तिर्जयोऽभिप्रेतः । इह तु ततो व्यावृत्तिः ॥

Pp. 1155—8. *Objection*: (47) द्वैतदर्शनेन कृत्स्नद्वैतकार्यमुच्छिन्नं न भूतमात्रोपादाने बीजम् । (48) तेनैवापवृक्तः पुरुषः कृतार्थश्शास्त्रान्नेदानीमद्वैतदर्शने प्रयोजनमस्ति ।

Answer: (51) द्वैतदर्शनेनासङ्गकार्यमुच्छिन्नं.... आसङ्ग उपादानं भूतानाम् । (52) स एष कामपक्ष उच्छिन्नः । कामश्च कर्मपक्षस्यैव । (53) विज्ञानात्मनः किमवशिष्यत इति । विज्ञानमवशिष्यते । (56) यस्मात्परिच्छिन्नः परमात्मनः पृथग्भूत आस्ते स एष संसारविषयस्थ एव द्वैतात्मा । अस्य ब्रह्मणि लयः कर्तव्यः । (57) तस्य प्रलयः कर्तव्यः इत्यनवसितार्थमेव वाक्यं प्रवर्तेत आ प्रलयात् । (58) इत्येकवाक्यता । (59) अविद्योच्छेदे हि परिच्छेदकं स्यान्निवृत्तं न तु कर्मणो विकर्तृत्वमासङ्गश्च । (60) ते आसङ्गकर्मणी अनिवृत्ते पुनर्विज्ञानं प्रयुञ्जीयातां तेषां परस्परेणाविनिर्भागवृत्तित्वात् (61) न चाशुद्धेऽद्वैतदर्शनं शक्यम् ॥

(c) Extracts bearing upon interpretation.

(1) General plan of the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka-Upaniṣad.*

P. 648. (1067) एतेषां यथोपन्यस्तानां वृत्तिस्थानीय उत्तरो ग्रन्थ आरभ्यते आ परिसमाप्तेश्शास्त्रस्य ॥ (See gloss on stanza 1066)

(2) Introduction to *Bṛ* : *Up* : I-iv-9.

P. 666. (1164) एष विचारः किमु तद्ब्रह्मावेद्यस्मात्तत्सर्वमभवत् ॥

(3) *Bṛ* : *Up*. I. iv. 10.

P. 668. (1175) ब्रह्मेति ब्रह्मभावी पुरुषो निर्दिश्यते । (1176) इदमिति नामरूपव्याकृतं जगन्निर्दिश्यते ॥

(4) Connection between *Bṛ* : *Up* I-iv-7 and 10.

P. 758. (1646) तद्धेत्याद्यविद्यासूत्रम् । तद्व्याख्यानमथ योऽन्यामित्यादि ॥

(5) *Bṛ* : *Up*. I. v. 3.

P. 822. *Objection* : (137) यथा रूपमात्मनैवात्मानं व्याकुरुते शब्द आत्मानमेवं व्याकुर्यात् । न परम्

Answer : (138) एषा ह्यत्यन्तं प्रकाश्यविषया न कदाचित्प्रकाशयितव्यमन्तरेणोपलभ्यते ॥

(6) *Bṛ* : *Up*. I. v. 12.

Pp. 829—30 *Objection* : (180) सर्वत्र हि मनश्चन्द्रो भवति ।

Answer : (181) मनोबुद्ध्योरभेदेनात्मभूतत्वात् । (183) यत्र हि मनश्च बुद्धिश्च भेदेन विवक्ष्यते तत्र कामसंकल्पादिविषयस्य मनसश्चन्द्रमा देवता । अथ पुनर्यदा क्रियाप्रसवादिषु व्याप्रियते तदा प्रसवकर्म व्याप्नुवन्मनस्सवितृदैवतं भवति ॥

(7) *Bṛ* : *Up*. II. i. 16.

P. 919. (196) भोक्तुर्ज्ञानस्वभावत्वे करणेषु विद्यमानेषु कथं कदाचित्प्रतिबोधः । (197) अथ पुनर्विहायैतदसंनिहितोऽभूद्विनष्टो वा कुतः प्रत्यागमनम् । (198) तदेतद्गार्ग्येण प्रष्टव्यमासीत् । स हि शिष्यश्चोदयिता...यदा चोदयितुश्शिष्यस्य प्रतिपत्तिर्नभवत्याचार्यश्च तमर्थं व्याचिख्यासुर्भवति तदा स्वयमेव चोद्यमुत्थाप्य व्याचष्टे ॥

(8) *Bṛ* : *Up*. II. i. 17.

P. 929. (251) उभयत्रापि करणसाधन एव विज्ञानशब्दः ॥

(9) *Bṛ* : *Up*. II. ii. 1. ("प्राणः स्थूणा")

P. 989 (15) प्राण उच्छ्वासनिश्वासकर्मा वायुश्शारीरः शरीरपक्षपाती गृह्यते । एतस्यां स्थूणायां शिशुः प्राणः करणदेवतालिङ्गपक्षपाती गृह्यते । स देवः प्राण एतस्मिन्बाह्ये प्राणे संबद्धः ॥

(10) *Br̥ : Up.* IV. ii. 3 · Meaning of इव in "प्रविविक्ताहारतर इवैव"॥

P. 1369. (65) यथा खलु बाह्यस्य पिण्डस्योपचयार्थमाहारस्तथा तस्यात्येतस्मात्सामान्यात्प्रविविक्ताहारतर इवैव ॥

THE DEVAYĀNA AND THE PITṚYĀṆA

BY

PROF. R. D. KARMARKAR, POONA.

The Devayāna and the Pitṛyāṇa are described in the Upaniṣads (which call them also the *Arcirādi mārga* and *Dhūmādi mārga* respectively) and in later literature as the two paths by which the souls of the deceased pass on, the former leading to the Highest or Brahmaloka from which there is no return and the latter only to the Moon from which the souls return after their stock of merit is exhausted, and are again plunged into the whirlpool of this *saṁsāra*. It is proposed in this essay to deal in an exhaustive manner with the original signification of the two terms Devayāna and Pitṛyāṇa and the later ideas imported in connection with them.

Both the Devayāna and the Pitṛyāṇa are referred to in the Ṛgveda. Thus in I-72-7, [1] and X-98-11, [2] Agni is said to know the Devayānas (in the plural). In X-2-7, [3] Agni is said to know the Pitṛyāṇa. In I-183-(184)-6 [4] the Āśvins are requested to come by the Devayānas. In VII-76-2, [5] Vasiṣṭha talks of the Devayāna-paths being visible to him. In X-18-1, [6] where the path of Death is said to be different from the Devayāna, obviously a reference to the Pitṛyāṇa is intended. In A.V. XII-2-10, [7] the *kravyād* Agni is sent away by the paths used by the fathers and is asked not to come again by ways whereon Gods travel. In the funeral hymn X-14-2, [8] a reference is made to the paths by which the early ancestors travelled.

Mr. Tilak thinks that [9] by Devayāna and Pitṛyāṇa are meant the two portions into which the oldest Vedic year appears to have been divided,

---

1. I-72-7—अन्तर्विद्वाँ अध्वनो देवयानानतन्द्रो दूतो अभवो हविर्वाट् ।

2. X-98-11—विद्वान्पथ ऋतुशो देवयानानप्यौलानं दिवि देवेषु धेहि ।

3. X-2-7—पन्थामनु प्रविद्वान् पितृयाणं द्युमदग्ने समिधानो वि भाहि ।

4. I-183-(184)-6—एह यातं पथिभिर्देवयानैः ।

5. VII-76-2—प्र मे पन्था देवयाना अदृश्रन् ।

6. X-18-1—परं मृत्यो अनु परेहि पन्थां यस्ते स्व इतरो देवयानात् । The same occurs in Atharva Veda XII-2-21, with the reading यस्त एष for यस्ते स्व.

7. A.V. XII-2-10—क्रव्यादमग्निं शशमानमुक्थं प्रहिणोमि पथिभिः पितृयाणैः । मा देवयानैः पुनरा गा अत्रैवैधि पितृषु जागृहि त्वम् ॥

8. X-14-2—यत्रा नः पूर्वे पितरः परेयुरेना etc.

9. The Arctic Home in the Vedas pp. 78; Orion, 28 page.

and that the two paths originally corresponded with the Uttarāyaṇa and the Dakṣiṇāyana, or the day and the night of the gods. And further Devayāna and Pitṛyāṇa represent the two divisions of the year, one of continuous light and the other of continuous darkness at the North Pole. Mr. Tilak finds a corroboration for the above thesis in passages from the Bṛh. Up. VI. 2-15-16 [1] and Ch. Up. IV-15-5, [2] V, 10, 1-2 and the Gītā VIII-24-25 [3] where a reference is made to the Uttarāyaṇa and Dakṣiṇāyana, in a detailed description of the two paths. He again discusses in detail the passage from the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (II-1, 3-1-3) [4] where the three seasons, Vasanta, Grīṣma, and Varṣā are said to be the seasons of the Devas, and the sun, when he turns to the north is said to be amongst the Devas and protecting them; the Śarad, Hemanta and Śiśira are the seasons of the Pitṛs, and the sun turning to the south is said to be amongst the Pitṛs and protecting them. He infers from the above [5] that Devayāna in those days was understood to extend over

1. Ch. Up. V-10, 1-5. तद्य इत्थं विदुर्येचेमेऽरण्ये श्रद्धा तप इत्युपासते तेऽर्चिषमेवाभिसंभवन्त्यर्चिषोऽहरह्न आपूर्यमाणपक्षमापूर्यमाणपक्षाद्यान्षडुदङ्ङेति मासांस्तान्। मासेभ्यः संवत्सरं संवत्सरादादित्यमादित्याच्चन्द्रमसं चन्द्रमसोविद्युतं तत्पुरुषोऽमानवः स एनान्ब्रह्म गमयत्येष देवयानः पन्थाः । [In. IV-15-5 for देवयानः पन्थाः, we have देवपथो ब्रह्मपथ एतेन प्रतिपद्यमाना इमं मानवमावर्तं नावर्तन्ते नावर्तन्ते ।] अथ य इमे ग्राम इष्टापूर्ते दत्तामित्युपासते ते धूममभिसंभवन्ति धूमाद्रात्रिं रात्रेरपरपक्षमपरपक्षाद्यान्षड्दक्षिणैति मासांस्तान्नैते संवत्सरमभिप्राप्नुवन्ति । मासेभ्यः पितृलोकं पितृलोकादाकाशमाकाशाच्चन्द्रमसमेष सोमो राजा तद्देवानामन्नं तं देवा भक्षयन्ति । तस्मिन्यावत्संपातमुषित्वाथैतमेवाध्वानं पुनर्निवर्तन्ते etc

2. In Bṛ VI-2-15, the passage तेऽर्चिरभिसंभवन्त्यर्चिषोऽह etc. occurs with slight variations. मासेभ्यो देवलोकं देवलोकादादित्यमादित्याद्वैद्युतं तान्वैद्युतान्पुरुषो मानस एत्य ब्रह्मलोकान्गमयति ते तेषु ब्रह्मलोकेषु पराः परावतो वसन्ति तेषां न पुनरावृत्तिः । अथ ये यज्ञेन दानेन तपसा लोकाञ्जयन्ति ते धूममभिसंभवन्ति धूमाद्रात्रिं....मासेभ्यः पितृलोकं पितृलोकाच्चन्द्रं ते चन्द्रं प्राप्यान्नं भवन्ति...य एनौ पन्थानौ न विदुस्ते कीटाः पतङ्गा यदिदं दन्दशूकम् ।

3. Gītā VIII. 24-25 अग्निर्ज्योतिरहः शुक्लः षण्मासा उत्तरायणम् ।
धूमो रात्रिस्तथा कृष्णः षण्मासा दक्षिणायनम् ॥
शुक्लकृष्णे गती ह्येते जगतः शाश्वते मते ।
एकया यात्यनावृत्तिमन्ययावर्तते पुनः ॥

4. Śata Br. II. 1 3,1-3' वसन्तो ग्रीष्मो वर्षा । ते देवा ऋतवः शरद्धेमन्तः शिशिरस्ते पितरो य एवापूर्यते तेऽर्धमासः स देवा योऽपक्षीयते स पितरोऽहरेव देवा रात्रिः पितरः पुनरह्नः पूर्वाह्णो देवा अपराह्णः पितरः । ... स यत्र उदगावर्तते देवेषु तर्हि भवति देवांस्तर्ह्यभिगोपायत्यथ यत्र दक्षिणावर्तते पितृषु तर्हि भवति पितृंस्तर्ह्यभिगोपायति ।

5. *Orion* page 25.

the six months of the year which comprised the three seasons of spring, summer and rains, and that when the Vedic Āryans became settled in India they made a change in the old order of seasons to make them correspond with the real aspect of nature, so that the Winter-Solstice falls at the end and not in the middle of Hemanta which would be the case if Devayāna or Uttarāyaṇa commenced with the Winter-Solstice which is impossible as in neither hemisphere, the Winter-Solstice marks the beginning of Spring, the first of the Deva seasons.

Mr. Tilak's explanation of Devayāna as being the same as Uttarāyaṇa or as the continuous day of six months obtaining at the North Pole can easily be shown to be absolutely unconvincing. How can Mr. Tilak with this interpretation explain for instance the passages where Agni is said to know the Devayāna paths? According to Mr. Tilak, the passage ought to mean 'Agni knows, the paths of the Uttarāyaṇa or the continuous day of six months. 'Now the paths of Uttarāyaṇa,' is obviously a meaningless expression, neither can the paths be associated in an intelligible manner with the continuous day of six months. Again, what is more important is, that the Ṛgvedic passages which speak of Devayāna and Pitṛyāṇa often speak of the paths in the plural. Sufficient attention does not seem to have been paid to this point. As the gods are many, so are the paths naturally by which they travel to attend the sacrifices of their worshippers. Similarly the souls of the deceased also seem to pass by different paths. Agni is often described as carrying the oblations to the gods (the epithet *Havyavāha* is characteristic of him) and for this purpose it is necessary that he should know the paths leading to the respective gods. Mr. A. C. Das says, [1] that the Devayāna and Pitṛyāṇa mean simply, the Path of Light and Life, and the Path of Darkness and Death, and that the Devayāna is an invisible path located in mid-sky which only becomes visible when the Gods of light travel by it. We however doubt very much whether the additional meaning read into the expressions by Mr. Das, was really present in the minds of the Vedic bards. To them Devayāna meant simply 'leading to the gods' [2] and 'Pitṛyāṇa 'leading to Pitṛs? The Devayāna again does not appear in the Ṛgveda to be open to men though in VII. 76-2, the Ṛṣi talks of the Devayāna paths being visible to him and in VII 86 2 Vasiṣṭha wishes to be in the presence of Varuṇa. That idea seems to have been evolved later. In the Vājasaneyī saṁhitā (19-47) the two paths are described as being open to mortals.

Mr. Tilak's interpretation of the passage in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa is equally unconvincing. The passage in question refers certain divisions of the year and the day to the gods and certain others to the Pitṛs. Thus

1. Ṛgvedic India P. 380.

2. Strictly speaking Devayāna itself should mean 'the path of the Gods.' The passages quoted above invariably speak of the 'Devayāna path' and the Pitṛyāṇa path, in the same way as we now speak of the 'city of Nāgapura' for instance.

Gods.	*Pitṛs.*
1. Vasanta, Grīṣma and Varṣā (Seasons).	1. Śarad, Hemanta and Śiśira (Seasons).
2. The Bright fortnight.	2. The dark fortnight.
3. Day.	3. Night.
4. The first part of the day.	4. The latter part of the day.
5. The period of time when the sun goes to the north.	5. The period of time when the sun goes to the south.

Mr. Tilak's mistake lies in his understanding Numbers 1 and 5 of the above series as referring to one and the same phenomenon, hence his suggestion that the Vedic Āryans seem to have made a deliberate change in the order of seasons. But if we understand No. 1 as referring to the continuous day of six months at the North Pole, how are we to explain No. 2? It is ridiculous to talk of a bright fortnight which depends for its existence upon the rise of the moon, which cannot obviously be thought of, when there is a continuous day for six months. No. 4 again assigns only the Pūrvāhṇa to the Pitṛs. To be logical therefore, we must understand all the five factors in the series as mutually modifying one another. Are we to understand then that the latter part of the day in the Uttarāyaṇa belongs to the Pitṛs and that the first part of the day in the Dakṣiṇāyana belongs to the gods? The true interpretation of the passage therefore is that which has been given by Mr. Das [1] *viz.*, each of the factors in the series has to be taken independently by itself. The first three seasons of the year, in which the power of the sun grows are assigned to the Gods: the last three when the power of the sun diminishes, to the Pitṛs. The bright and dark fortnights are assigned to the gods and the Pitṛs respectively because the power of the moon increases and decreases at those periods. Similarly the days when there is light belong to the Gods and the nights when darkness reigns to the Pitṛs. The fore-part of the days when the Gods are usually worshipped belongs to the Gods and the latter part of the day belongs to the Pitṛs as the Śrāddha ceremony in honour of the Pitṛs is performed at that time. The northern journey of the sun when the sun's heat increases thus belongs to the Gods and the southern journey when his heat decreases, to the Pitṛs. Or alternatively, the North being regarded as the direction sacred to the gods, the sun's course to the north might have been described as belonging to the gods. Whatever in short is suggestive of light or increase of power is ascribed to the gods and the reverse of it to the Pitṛs. There cannot therefore possibly be any reference in the

1. Ṛgvedic India, P. 383.

passage to the two-fold division of the year at the North Pole as Mr. Tilak suspects.

The original signification of the Devayāna and the Pitṛyāṇa in the Vedas seems to be as follows : (1) The Devayāna-path is restricted only to the gods who alone are privileged to travel by it, and that (2) there are many such paths. The (1) Pitṛyāṇa paths are also many and (2) every-one who dies travels by the path taken by his ancestors [1]. The corpse-eating fire leads him by this way. Pitṛyāṇa paths are the only ones that are open to mortals and there is no idea of the departed returning to this world again. A vague idea about evil-doers being thrown into darkness or hell is referred to in some stray passages. In R.V. IV-5-5 [2] an abysmal station is said to have been devised. In R.V. VII-104-3 [3] Indra and Soma are requested to plunge the wicked into darkness that has no support. In R.V. VII-104-17 [4] the singer wishes the wicked fiend to fall downward into endless caverns. The Upaniṣads betray a great advance made on the above original notions about the Devayāna and the Pitṛyāṇa. The passages quoted above from the Ch 10. and the Bṛ. 11. Upaniṣads which obviously take their cue in this matter from the Śatapatha and other Brāhmaṇas clearly point out to this fact. First, we find that both the Devayāna and the Pitṛyāṇa paths are thrown open to the mortals. Secondly, all without discrimination after death are not entitled to travel by these paths. Good people are divided into two classes (1) those who practise penance and Śraddhā in forests, and (2) those who lead a holy life in their houses and perform many acts of charity. Those belonging to the first class reach by passing through various stages the Brahmaloka, and do not return to this world ; those belonging to the second class go to the Moon and return to this world when their merit is exhausted. The wicked are not entitled to go by any of these two paths, and are born again as worms, insects. Thirdly, an elaborate description of the Devayāna and Pitṛyāṇa paths, with their various stages is given. Fourthly, there is only one Devayāna path and one Pitṛyāṇa path.

We thus have here a pretty complete scheme evolved describing the after-life condition of mortals. It is beyond the scope of the present essay to trace this evolution from the scattered ideas in the Atharva Veda and the Brāhmaṇas. We are concerned only with the evolution of the ideas about the Devayāna and the Pitṛyāṇa. Thus, according to the Chapter the Devayāna path is as follows :—

1. The Ṛgveda refers to the custom of burying the dead also. But when the funeral hymn 14 was composed, cremation seems to have been regarded as the only proper method of disposing of the dead.

2. पापासः सन्तो अनृता असत्या इदं पदमजनता गभीरम् ।

3. इन्द्रासोमा दुष्कृतो वव्रे अन्तरनारम्भणे तमसि प्र विध्यतम् ।

4. वव्राँ अनन्ताँ अव सा पदीष्ट ग्रावाणो घ्नन्तु रक्षस उपब्दैः ।

Ch. U (V-10-1-6)—(1) *Arcis* (2) Day (3) The bright fort-night (4) The six months of the Uttarāyaṇa (5) Year (6) Āditya (7) Moon (8) Vidyut (9) Brahma where a non-human being carries the departed soul.

That is, the Devayāna consists of eight stages, the ninth Brahma being the destination.

Br. U. VI. 2. 15—The first four stages are the same, (5) Devaloka (6) Āditya (7) Vidyut (8) Brahmalokas (Plural) where a Mānasa (mind-born) being leads the departed souls.

That is, the Devayāna consists of seven stages, the eighth Brahmalokas being the destination. This passage speaks of a Mānasa being. It is possible that पुरुषो मानस is a misprint for पुरुषोऽमानव spoken of in the Ch. passage. In Bṛ V-10-1, the soul is also said to go to Vāyu from this Loka.

Kau. . U I-3.[1] This passage does not give all the stages. (1) Agni-loka (2) Vāyu-loka (3) Varuṇa-loka (4) Indra-loka (5) Prajāpati-loka (6) Brahma-loka.

That is, only five stages are mentioned. It is not clear from the passage however, whether we are to regard Agni-loka, etc., as the stages on the path or as the different destinations, one after another, as the passage speaks of the Agni-loka being reached after one has taken to the Devayāna path.

Śaṅkarācārya comments in detail on the Vedāntasūtras IV-3. 1—6 [2] referring to some other passages as well. Taking into consideration the various conflicting passages in this connection, Śaṅkara declares the Devayāna path to consist of the following stages :

Devayāna :—(1) *Arcis*, flame (2) Day (3) Bright fort-night (4) The six months of the Uttarāyaṇa (5) Year (6) Devaloka (7) Vāyu (8) Āditya (9) Moon (10) Vidyut (11) Varuṇa (12) Indra (13) Prajāpati (14) Brahman.

---

1. स एतं देवयानं पन्थानमापद्याग्निलोकमागच्छति स वायुलोकं स वरुणलोकं स इन्द्रलोकं स प्रजापतिलोकं स ब्रह्मलोकम् ।

2. The Vedāntasūtras in IV-3. 1-6 discuss all these conflicting passages and try to reconcile them. The sūtras are :—

अर्चिरादिना तत्प्रथितेः ॥
वायुमब्दादविशेषविशेषाभ्याम् ॥
तडितोऽधि वरुणः संबन्धात् ॥
आतिवाहिकास्तल्लिङ्गात् ॥
उभयव्यामोहात्तत्सिद्धेः ॥
वैद्युतेनैव ततस्तच्छ्रुतेः ॥

See the Bhāṣya of Śaṅkara on these sūtras.

From the Vedāntasūtras themselves, however, it appears that only Vāyu and Varuṇa have to be provided for in the list found in the Ch. or the Bṛ-Upaniṣads, as those only are referred to by name in Sūtra IV, 3-2 and IV-3-3 respectively. In view of the fact that the moon is referred to as the destination to which the Pitṛyāṇa leads, it seems queer that the moon should have been mentioned as one of the stages on the Devayāna. The Bṛ-Up. rightly drops the moon in its list. It substitutes [1] Devaloka for the Saṁvatsara in the Ch. list. We think that Saṁvatsara is the right stage after the six months spoken of, and that all those stages containing the word ' Loka', which are specially mentioned in the Kau-Upaniṣad should not be regarded as stages on the Devayāna. It is possible to interpret the passage in the Kau. To mean that a person on going by the Devayāna path reaches Vāyu-loka or Vāruṇa-loka or Indra-loka or Prajāpati-loka or Brahma-loka according to his merits, and Vāyuloka, etc. need not be taken as intermediate stations that lead to Brahma-loka. If this view is accepted then the Devayāna should consist of only the following stages (1) *Arcis* (2) Day (3) Bright fortnight (4) Six months of the Uttarāyaṇa (5) Year (6) Vāyu (7) Āditya (8) Vidyut [(8-*a*) Varuṇa] (9) Brahma-loka. The Bhagavadgītā undoubtedly refers to the Devayāna and the Pitṛyāṇa when it refers to the Śukla and the Kṛṣṇa sṛtis in VII-25. It does not apparently refer to all the stages on the two paths, but mentions only the *time* when the yogin should die to reach the Brahma-loka or the Pitṛ-loka. It refers only to five stages (1) Agni (2) *Jyotis* (3) Day (4) Bright fortnight (4) Six months of the Uttarāyaṇa. Agni might be said here to refer to the *Arcis* of the Upaniṣads. Śaṅkara also in his commentary on Vedāntasūtra IV. 3-2, referring to the Agni-loka referred to in the Kau passage says that Agni-loka and *Arcis* mean one and the same thing [2]. If so the Gītā inserts one more stage between *Arcis* and day.

The Pitṛyāṇa path has the following stages (1) Dhūma (2) Night (3) Dark fort-night (4) Six months when the sun goes to the south (5) Pitṛ-loka (6) Ākāśa (7) Moon who is identified with Soma. Both the Ch. and Bṛ. Upaniṣads mention the same stages. The Gītā mentions the first four and also the Moon. Those who go by this path are described as being the food of the gods and they return to the world after enjoying the fruits of their merits. In Vedāntasūtras III. 1 7, [3] the expression 'They become the food of the Gods' is explained as having only a metaphorical sense *viz.*, that they enjoy themselves in the company of the Gods.

1. Apparently to correspond to the मासेभ्यः पितृलोकम् in the description of the Pitṛyāṇa.

2. तत्वार्चिरग्निलोकशब्दौ तावदेकार्थौ ज्वलनवचनत्वादिति Śaṅkara on IV. 3-2.

3. III—1-7. भाक्तं वानात्मवेत्त्वात्तथाहि दर्शयति.

The Nirukta [1] in the Pariśiṣṭādhyāya (which is rightly regarded as a later addition) gives a similar description of the two paths. Those who giving up Vidyā and taking to (sacrificial) Hiṁsā, practise great penance or perform rites described in the Vedas, go by the Pitṛyāṇa, and those who giving up Hiṁsā and taking to Vidyā, practise great penance or perform actions associated or described in connection with jñāna, go by the Devayāna and do not return.

The question then arises:—what are we to understand by the various stages described above on the two paths? Are we to take the different stages in their literal sense or only metaphorically? The Vedāntasūtrakāra answers the question in Sūtrā IV. 3-4 आतिवाहिकास्तल्लिङ्गात् । by saying that by the stages are to be understood the human guides associated with them. The Upaniṣadic passages mention a non-human Puruṣa from Vidyut onwards, so before the Vidyut stage, a human Puruṣa may be taken to be the guide. The question crops up again in Sūtras IV. 2-18-20, [2] where the soul is said to pass by the Nāḍīs connected with the rays of the sun. Now a person dying at night time would not have this Nāḍīraśmi connection and he would be prevented from going by the Devayāna path. The Sūtrakāra replies that such a relation exists as long as the body exists and so irrespective of the time when he dies,—it might be even in the Dakṣiṇāyana,—still the person is entitled to travel by the Devayāna path. Obviously the Sūtrakāra believes in the popular notion about the merit of dying in the Uttarāyaṇa and Saṅkara in his Bhāṣya actually refers to the case of Bhīṣma who refused to die till the Uttarāyaṇa set in. Śaṅkara himself dismisses this reference to Bhīṣma by saying that it has no philosophical significance. Bhīṣma waited for some time to proclaim to the world his powers of ending his life at his sweet will and also

---

1. Nirukta p. 886, Venkatesvara Press edition. (Adhyāya XIV).

अथ ये हिंसामाश्रित्य विद्यामुत्सृज्य महत्तपस्तेपिरे चिरेण वेदोक्तानि वा कर्माणि कुर्वन्ति ते धूममभिसंभवन्ति धूमाद्रात्रिम् रात्रेरपक्षीयमाणपक्षम्, अपक्षीयमाणपक्षाद्दाक्षिणायनम् दक्षिणायनात् पितृलोकम् पितृलोकाच्चन्द्रमसम् चन्द्रमसो वायुम् वायोर्वृष्टिम् वृष्टेरोषधयश्चैतद्भूत्वा तस्य संक्षये पुनरेवेमं लोकं प्रतिपद्यन्ते ।

अथ ये हिंसामुत्सृज्य विद्यामाश्रित्य महत्तपस्तेपिरे ज्ञानोक्तानि वा कर्माणि कुर्वन्ति तेऽर्चिरभिसंभवन्ति अर्चिषोऽहः, अह्न आपूर्यमाणपक्षम्, आपूर्यमाणपक्षादुगयनम्, उदगयनाद्देवलोकम्, देवलोकादादित्यम्, आदित्याद्वैद्युतम्, वैद्युतान्मानसम्, मानस. पुरुषो भूत्वा ब्रह्मलोकमभिसंभवन्ति ते न पुनरावर्त्तन्ते शिष्टा दन्दशूका यत इदं न जानन्ति तस्मादिदं वेदितव्यम् ।

2. IV. 2-18-21, रश्म्यनुसारी, निशि नेति चेन्न संबन्धस्य यावद्देहभावित्वाद्दर्शयति च । अतश्चायनेऽपि दक्षिणे, योगिनः प्रति च स्मर्यते स्मार्ते चैते ।

to respect the traditions.[1] Sūtra 21 is taken by Śaṅkara as referring to the passages[12] in the Gītā अग्निर्ज्योति etc. He remarks that the time for death mentioned therein refers to the Yogins only and must not be taken as superseding the passages in similar connection in the Śrutis. As an alternative interpretation, he proposes that the अग्नि etc. mentioned in the Gītā should be taken in the sense of deities acting as guides. The two verses in the Gītā (VIII-24, 25) are extremely obscure and no satisfactory explanation can possibly be given. In verse VIII-23. Śrīkṛṣṇa wants to describe the time, dying at which, people do not return or return to this world. Verses 24 and 25 therefore would naturally indicate this *time* and have thus to be taken apparently in a literal sense. In verse 26, however Śrīkṛṣṇa speaks of the two *paths* obviously referred to in the last two verses. Thus there is a clear discrepancy. Mr. Telang owns that he cannot explain these verses. Garbe regards them as clear interpolations. John Davies says [2]. 'I cannot believe that the enlightened author of the Bhagavadgītā wrote these verses' and remarks that 'the passage is a curious instance of the grotesque folly which so frequently attends Hindu speculations, even of the highest kind. He also takes the Jyotis in the passage to refer to the ray of material light to show the way to the soul with the *liṅga* body, According to Mr. Tilak, [3] Agni is the funeral fire and Jyoti the flames of the fire. He also understands the same funeral fire as leading the Karmamārgin, through the smoke etc. to the Pitṛ-loka. The different stages on the bright path or the Devayāna and the dark path or the Pitṛyāṇa according to Mr Tilak, are the following :—(1) Funeral fire (2) The flames of the funeral fire (3) Day (4) Bright fort-night (5) Six months of the Uttarāyaṇa; these five are on the bright path. Mr. Tilak also remarks that all bright things are referred to in connection with the Devayāna as the Uttarāyaṇa is the bright six months day of the Gods at the North Pole. It appears that Mr. Tilak also regards the above path as commencing strictly speaking with the second stage given above, *viz.*, the flames of the funeral fire. The stages on the dark path or the Pitṛayāṇa, he understands as follows : (1) Funeral fire (2) Smoke of the funeral fire (3) Night (4) Dark fort-night (5) Six months of the Dakṣiṇāyana.

Mr. Tilak perhaps stands alone in regarding Agni also, as commencing the Pitṛyāṇa. There does not seem to be any justification for this view. His idea again, that Agni refers to the funeral fire and that Jyotis and Dhūma are respectively the flames and smoke issuing from the funeral fyre, is quite unconvincing. If Agni represents the funeral fire, what

---

1. भीष्मस्य प्रतिपालनमाचारप्रतिपालनार्थं पितृप्रसादलब्धस्वच्छन्दमृत्युताख्यापनार्थंच ।

2. The Bhagavadgiā p. 101 and 98.

3. Gītārahasya (Marathi) p. 292.

would be the path taken by a Sannyāsin whose body is buried after death and not consigned to the flames. The bodies of some Sannyāsins are again simply thrown into the waters. Are these Sannyāsins to be debarred from going by the Devayāna path? There cannot thus be any reference to the funeral fire or its flames in the Devayāna path. The Kravyād Agni is no doubt referred to as leading the soul to the Pitṛ-loka in the Ṛgveda, and hence the Dhūma *may* refer to the smoke of this fire. If at all Dhūma does have any sensible sense in the passage, it ought more probably to refer to the Dhūma of the sacrifices which the deceased Karmamārgin entitled to go by the Pitṛyāṇa must have performed during his lifetime. In any case, the Dhūma need not refer to the smoke of the funeral fire. Another thing in connection with the two verses in question seems to have been ignored so far. It would be seen that, according to the Gītā passage which undoubtedly has been based upon the Upaniṣads, the Śukla, path gives *five* stages and the Kṛṣṇa-path only *four*, Thus,

Śukla-path—(1) Agni (2) Jyotis (3) Day (4) Bright fort-night (5) Six months of the Uttarāyaṇa.

Kṛṣṇa-path—(1) Dhūma (2) Night (3) Dark fort-night (4) Six months of the Dakṣiṇāyana.

Now there cannot be any doubt that the description of the two paths involves a deliberate correspondence between them. The same number of stages ought to be therefore mentioned in both. Nowhere in the Upaniṣads, except perhaps in the Kau. passage, where Agni-loka is referred to does the Devayāna begin with Agni. It begins with Arcis and Jyotis and Arcis can be easily identified. Is it possible that the true reading in the passage is *Agni-jyoti* and not *Agni-jyoti*? If it is so, there would be only four stages mentioned in the case of the Śukla path, and each one of the stages would have something corresponding to it in the description of the Kṛṣṇa-path as well. *Agni-jyoti* or the flame of fire is undoubtedly the same as Arcis. Garb. and Davies save themselves all trouble by regarding the passage as an interpolated one. But, interpolated or otherwise, the passage surely does need some explanation or other. We too are of opinion that verses VIII. 23—28 in the Gītā do not properly harmonise with the context, and the confusion is worse confounded by the author of the Gītā professing in verse 23, that he would indicate the *time* when the yogins should die, while he describes the *paths* in verses 24 and 25. But one wonders whether one should go as far as expelling the passages out of the Gītā for, verses 24 and 25 simply refer to the old ideas on the subject in the Upaniṣads and verse 23 refers to the popular notion on the matter which is referred to elsewhere in connection with the death of Bhīṣma in the Bhīṣmaparvan itself.

We think that the misinterpretation of the passage in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa has been the root cause of all this confusion in connection with the description of the two paths. When the Devayāna which in the Ṛgvedic times was a path by which the Gods alone travelled was thrown open to the mortals later on, it was naturally found necessary to devise a detailed description of it and the Upaniṣads found a ready-made description by taking the Śatapatha passage in a literal sense and they stuck on to it like a vice. We must thank ourselves that the writer of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa did not go on with his distribution of various things between the Gods and the Pitṛs, still further, as he could have easily done. For instance, he could have spoken of the first half of the bright fortnight, or the first yāman of the Pūrvāhṇa, as belonging to the Gods and the latter half of the bright fortnight or the latter yāman of the Pūrvāhṇa, as belonging to the Pitṛs. In that case, the Devayāna and the Pitṛyāṇa could have been made to contain a larger number of stages. The original intention was to make the Devayāna as bright and shining as possible, to correspond to the bright Devas, and for the sake of contrast specially, everything that was pale or dark came to be associated with the Pitṛs. As a matter of fact, the description of the Pitṛ-loka, given in the Vedas does not warrant this sort of scant courtesy to the Pitṛs, shown to them by the inventors of the Pitṛyāṇa. Not satisfied with these two pāths, later philosophers invented a third place or hell or the convenience of those who were followers neither of the Jñāna-mārga or of the Karmamārga. The Devayāna and the Pitṛyāṇa came thus to be restricted only to the good people of the first class and the second class respectively. As philosophical ideas advanced, and advaitism held its head high, a further change was made. The good people were divided into three classes, the first class referring to the Jñānin proper who becomes Brahman, the moment he knows Brahman (*Brahmavid brahmaiva bhavati*), and who thus is spared the journey on the Devayāna, the second class referring to those who have Jñāna but who are not yet entitled to enter the highest charmed circle, and who thus travel by the Devayāna and secure *krama-mukti*, and the third class referring to sacrificers who go by the Pitṛyāṇa and are not entitled to salvation, but only to godly pleasures as long as their merit lasts. As advaitism forms the high water mark of philosophical speculations, there was no necessity of making any further revision in the notions about the Devayāna and the Pitṛyāna.

It would thus be seen that the successive revisions and changes in the ideas about the two paths are the result of corresponding changes in the philosophical thought and naturally so. Both the Devayāna and the Pitṛyāṇa have deteriorated from their original signification, the former being the greater sufferer. Thus the Devayāna was originally restricted only to the gods ; it then was thrown open to the good people

having knowledge and practising penance, and lastly it became the monopoly of the good people of the second degree only. The Pitṛyāṇa was originally a thoroughfare, the admission to which could be gained only by the simple process of dying ; it then became the privilege of good people belonging to the third class (originally these were the good people belonging to the second class but with the advent of the proper Jñānin on the field, they were sent down).

It would be unfair to ignore two more interpretations,—one the geographical and the other the yogic—advanced in this connection and we would shortly refer to these before we conclude. Pandit Umesh Chandra Vidyaratna, in his Ṛgveda saṁhitā (Part I) commenting on the passage ये पन्थानो बहवो देवयाना अन्तरा द्यावापृथिवी संचरन्ति from the Atharvaveda and चत्वार: पथो देवयाना द्यावापृथिवी वियन्ति from the Kṛṣṇa Yajurveda, says that अन्तरीक्ष is one of Devayāna paths where the two paths, Khyber, and Bolon are situated, the third is the Badrinārāyaṇa path and the fourth is the Durjayalinga (or Darjeeling) path. He takes दिव् to mean Siberia, अन्तरीक्ष Turkey, Persia and Afganistan ; and स्वर् as Mongolia (p. 64). He also understands Saṁvatsara, Ahar, and Rātri as the proper names of countries. The Devayāna path extends from India to Siberia. Agni, Varuṇa, Vāyu, etc., are also proper names of persons who had travelled to and from Siberia. The two Ayanas also represent two countries, being portions of the Saṁvatsara country. Dakṣiṇasaṁvatsara means the region near the Meru mountain, and Uttarasaṁvatsara, southern Siberia, मासेभ्य: संवत्सरम्, means 'that the Meru mountain region is reached after some months.' Ahar country is the northern portion of the Devayāna path and Rātri country, the southern portion of the Pitṛyāṇa path and so on in the same strain. It is needless to say that all this is highly improbable. It is only referred to, to show the extremely obscure nature of the Devayāna passages, and like a drowning man catching at a straw, one is tempted to resort to any interpretation, however fantastic, provided it fits in with the whole passage properly.

The later Yoga-Upaniṣads put a highly technical yogic interpretation on the Devayāna and Pitṛyāṇa passages. The Vedāntasūtra VIV. 2-17 [1] undoubtedly refers to the Nāḍīs and the process of the vital breath leaving the body at the time of death. The Yogasūtras, which one would certainly expect to refer to such a process, are curiously enough quite

1. तदोकोग्रज्वलनं तत्प्रकाशितद्वारो विद्यासामर्थ्यात्तच्छेषगत्यनुस्मृतियोगाच्च हार्दानुगृहीतः शताधिकया। IV. 2. 17.

silent on this point. The Bhagavadgītā in VIII-12 [1] also refers to the same thing and it is quite probable that verses 24 and 25, अग्निर्ज्योति etc. were added later on by some one who wanted to read in them the Yogic theory of ending one's life, on which the future prospects of the Yogin depend. The Agni referred to in the various passages is said to be the one residing in the body. The sun, the moon, the Uttarāyaṇa and Dakṣiṇāyana refer to the Nāḍis and the passage of the vital breath through them. Thus the दर्शनोपनिषत् (p. 166, Yoga-Upaniṣads, Adyar,) says

इडायां चन्द्रमा नित्यं चरत्येव महामुने ॥
पिङ्गलायां रविस्तद्वन्मुने वेदविदां वर ।
पिङ्गलाया इडायां तु वायोः संक्रमणं तु यत् ॥
तदुत्तरायणं प्रोक्तं मुने वेदान्तवेदिभिः ।
इडायाः पिङ्गलायां तु प्राणसंक्रमणं मुने ॥
दक्षिणायनमित्युक्तं पिङ्गलायामिति श्रुतिः ।
इडापिङ्गलयोः संधिं यदा प्राणः समागतः ॥
अमावास्या तदा प्रोक्ता देहे देहभृतां वर ।
....
निःश्वासोच्छ्वासनं सर्वं मासानां संक्रमो भवेत् ॥
इडया कुण्डलीस्थानं यदा प्राणः समागतः ।
सोमग्रहणमित्युक्तं तदा तत्त्वविदां वर ॥
यदा पिङ्गलया प्राणः कुण्डलीस्थानमागतः ।
तदातदा भवेत् सूर्यग्रहणं मुनिपुंगव ॥

On. p. 413, the योगशिखोपनिषत् describes the सुषुम्ना Nāḍis holding the way to मोक्ष

मोक्षमार्गे प्रतिष्ठाना सुषुम्ना विश्वरूपिणी ।

also (p. 450 pp).

एकोत्तरं नाडिशतं तासां मध्ये परा स्मृता ।
सुषुम्ना तु परे लीना विरजा ब्रह्मरूपिणी ॥
इडा तिष्ठति वामेन पिङ्गला दाक्षिणेन तु ।
....
इडापिङ्गलयोर्मध्ये सुषुम्ना सूर्यरूपिणी ॥

1. सर्वद्वाराणि संयम्य मनो हृदि निरुध्य च ।
मूर्ध्न्याधायात्मनः प्राणमास्थितो योगधारणाम् ॥ VIII. 12

also (p. 661).

मनश्चन्द्रोरविर्वायुर्दृष्टिरग्निरुदाहृतः ।

Similar descriptions occur in other Upaniṣads as well. The Śivasaṁhitā (16 pp. The Yoga Sastra, Pāṇini office publication) also says,

मेरुमूले स्थितः सूर्यः कलाद्वादशसंयुतः ।
दक्षिणे पथि रश्मिभिर्वहत्यूर्ध्वं प्रजापतिः ॥

(Meru = the vertebral column)

The reference to the six months in the Devayāna passages etc., is apparently to be understood as referring to the normal period which a yogin takes, to be proficient in various intricacies of the yogic science (Thus on p. 36 we have,

षण्मासमात्रमभ्यासं यः करोति दिनेदिने ।
सर्वपापविनिर्मुक्तो रोगान्नाशयते हि सः ॥

On p. 47, षण्मासाभ्यन्तरं मृत्युं जयत्येव न संशयः ।
On p, 50 षण्मासमभ्यसन्योगी मृत्युं जयति निश्चितम् ॥)

One who knows the Brahmarandhra is liberated

ब्रह्मरन्ध्रं तु तत्रैव सुषुम्णाधारमण्डले ।
यो जानाति स मुक्तः स्यात्कर्मबन्धाद्विचक्षणः ॥

The Gheraṇḍa saṁhitā speaks of three varieties of Dhyāna, the Sthūla, Jyotis and Sūkṣma. The last two are thus described.

मूलाधारे कुण्डलिनी भुजगाकाररूपिणी ।
जीवात्मा तिष्ठति तत्र प्रदीपकलिकाकृतिः ॥
ध्यायेत्तेजोमयं ब्रह्म तेजोध्यानं परात्परम् ।
....
बहुभाग्यवशाद् यस्य कुण्डली जाग्रती भवेत् ।
आत्मना सहयोगेन नेत्ररन्ध्राद्विनिर्गता ।
विहरेद् राजमार्गे च चञ्चलत्वान्न दृश्यते ॥ (P. 54)

It is unnecessary to multiply such passages. This highly technical interpretation could not obviously have been the original one, as it betrays a very great advance in yogic ideas and technique.

BODHĀYANA AND DRAMIḌĀCĀRYA, TWO OLD VEDĀNTINS PRESUPPOSED BY RĀMĀNUJA

BY

PROF. S. KUPPUSWAMI SASTRI, M.A., I.E.S., MADRAS.

PART I—BODHĀYANA.

In the very first sentence of the Śrī-Bhāṣya, Rāmānuja refers to a Vṛttikāra, as Bhagavad-Bodhāyana, the author of a Vṛtti on the Brahma-sūtras; and the same Vṛttikāra is referred to without the name Bodhāyana, in six other places in the Śrī-Bhāṣya. The relevant extracts are given below:—

१. "भगवद्बोधायनकृतां विस्तीर्णां ब्रह्मसूत्रवृत्तिं पूर्वाचार्याः संचिक्षिपुः। तन्मतानुसारेण सूत्राक्षराणि व्याख्यास्यन्ते ॥"

[Śrī-Bhāṣya-Part I, p. 1 Ānanda Press, Madras.]

२. तदाह वृत्तिकारः—"वृत्तात्कर्माधिगमादनन्तरं ब्रह्मविविदिषा" इति। वक्ष्यति च कर्मब्रह्ममीमांसयोरैकशास्त्र्यम्—"संहितमेतच्छारीरकं जैमिनीयेन षोडशलक्षणेनेति शास्त्रैकत्वसिद्धिः" इति ॥

३. वृत्तिरपि "जगद्व्यापारवर्जं समानो ज्योतिषा" इति। *Ibid*, p. 70.

४. तदाह वृत्तिकारः—"सता सोम्य तदा सम्पन्नो भवति इति सम्पत्त्यसम्पत्तिभ्यामेतदवसीयते; प्राज्ञेनात्मना सम्परिष्वक्तः—इति चाह" इति। *Ibid*, p. 164

५. यथाह वृत्तिकारः—"सर्वं खल्विति सर्वात्मा ब्रह्मेशः"—इति। *Ibid*, p. 234.

६. तदाह वृत्तिकारः—"भूमात्वेवेति भूमा ब्रह्म, नामादिपरम्परया आत्मन ऊर्ध्वमस्योपदेशात्" इति। *Ibid*, p. 289.

७. तदाह वृत्तिकारः—"अस्ति हि मध्वादिषु संभवो ब्रह्मण एव सर्वत्र निचाय्यत्वात्" इति। *Ibid*, p. 332.

In some of the footnotes appearing in part I of the Śrī-Bhāṣya, it is found that the Ānanda Press edition erroneously attributes certain extracts from the Vākyakāra's Commentary to the Vṛttikāra. The Viśiṣṭādvaita tradition of the Rāmānujīyas accepts Rāmānuja's identification of the Vṛttikāra with Bodhāyana. The identity of Bodhāyana, to whom a Vṛtti on the Brahmasūtras is attributed, has so far remained one of the obscure problems in the Cultural History of India. There does not appear to be any reliable evidence which would enable us to identify this Vṛttikāra-Bodhāyana with the Bodhāyana of Kalpa-Sūtra fame; nor is there any good reason to equate the former with Bhavadāsa, a Vṛttikāra of the Mīmāṁsā-Sūtras referred to by Kumārilabhaṭṭa as having been presupposed by Śabara-svāmin. (See Kumārila's Śloka-vārtika pages 11 and 21 Benares edition). Śaṁkarācārya presupposes in several places in his Bhāṣya on the Brahmasūtras, a Vṛttikāra, who seems to have written a Vṛtti on the Pūrvamīmāṁsā-Sūtras and Brahma-Sūtras; and this Vṛttikāra seems to be Upavarṣa, who is definitely referred to by Śabara-svāmin in his Bhāṣya on the Pūrva-Mīmāṁsā-Sūtras. In the Brahma-Sūtra-Bhāṣya, Śaṁkara refers to a Vṛttikāra, according to commentators, under I-i-19 (Sūtra), I-i-23 (Sūtra), I-i-31 (Sūtra), and I-ii-23 (Sūtra); and unmistakably refers, at the beginning of his Bhāṣya on 3-3-53 (Sūtra), to Upavarṣa as having written a commentary on the Brahma-Mīmāṁsā-Sūtras and Karma-Mīmāṁsā-Sūtras, this Upavarṣa being identified with Vṛttikāra, both by Ānandagiri and Rāmānanda. The subjoined relevant extract from Śaṁkara's Brahma-sūtra-Bhāṣya deserves careful consideration.

"इहदेहव्यतिरिक्तस्यात्मनः सद्भावः समर्थ्यते बन्धमोक्षाधिकारसिद्धये। न ह्यसति देहव्यतिरिक्तात्मनि परलोकफलाश्चोदना उपपद्येरन्; कस्य वा ब्रह्मात्मत्वमुपदिश्येत? ननु शास्त्रमुख एव प्रथमे पादे शास्त्रफलोपभोगयोग्यस्य देहव्यतिरिक्तस्यात्मनोऽस्तित्वमुक्तम्। सत्यमुक्तम् भाष्यकृता, न तु तत्रात्मास्तित्वे सूत्रमस्ति: इह तु स्वयमेव सूत्रकृता तदस्तित्वमाक्षेपपुरस्सरं प्रतिष्ठापितम्; इत एव चाकृष्य आचार्येण शबरस्वामिना प्रमाणलक्षणे वर्णितम्। <u>अत एव च भगवतोपवर्षेण प्रथमे तन्त्रे आत्मास्तित्वाभिधानप्रसक्तौ शारीरके वक्ष्याम इत्युद्धारः कृतः।</u>"

(Śaṁkara's Brahmasūtra-Bhāṣya under 3-3-53.)

Upavarṣa is referred to in the following extracts also:—

"अथ गौरित्यत्र कः शब्दः? गकारौकारविसर्जनीया इति भगवानुपवर्षः"

Śābara-Bhāṣya p. 10, Chowkhāmba edition.

"वर्णा एव तु शब्द इति भगवानुपवर्षः"

(Śaṁkara-Bhāṣya on the Brahma-Sūtras I-iii-28).

II. It can be clearly made out from these extracts that Upavarṣa was the Vṛttikāra presupposed by Śaṁkara and that Upavarṣa-the Vṛttikāra was decisively in favour of treating the Karma-Mīmāṁsā and Brahma-Mīmāṁsā as forming the former and latter parts of an integral whole. Those who are sufficiently acquainted with the Vedānta-darśana know well that the interpretation of the first word 'अथ' in the first Sūtra of the Brahma sūtras depends largely upon agreement or disagreement with the view indicated above regarding the interrelation of the Karma-Mīmāṁsā and the Brahma-Mīmāṁsā. While, in this matter, there is striking divergence between the above-mentioned view associated with Upavarṣa-the Vṛttikāra and Śaṁkara's view, Rāmānuja's own view and what Rāmānuja attributes to Bhagavad-Bodhāyana-the Vṛttikāra are in complete harmony with Upavarṣa's view. In this connection, it would be useful, in particular, to compare the extract No. 2 from the beginning of the Śrī-Bhāṣya given above with what Upavarṣa is said to favour in the beginning of Śaṁkara's Bhāṣya under III-iii-53 of the Brahma-sūtras. And it would also be of advantage to note how the particular interpretation of the word 'अथ' refuted by Śaṁkara in the first adhikaraṇa of his Sūtra-Bhāṣya happens to be identical with the view attributed by Rāmānuja to the Vṛttikāra. These facts would naturally lead to the inference that Bodhāyana-the Vṛttikāra and Upavarṣa-the Vṛttikāra presupposed by Rāmānuja and Śaṁkara respectively are identical. Some over-zealous latter-day representatives of the Viśiṣṭādvaita system, however, like the late Paṇḍit Rāmamiśra Śāstrin who edited the Siddhi-traya in the Chwkhāmba series and the Agama-prāmāṇya, Śāstra-Dīpikā and Vedārtha-Saṁgraha in the Paṇḍit series of Benares, would insist that the Bodhāyana-Vṛtti relied upon by Rāmānuja should be differentiated from the Upavarṣa-Vṛtti sometimes relied upon and sometimes refuted by Śaṁkara in his Brahma-sūtra-Bhāṣya. Nevertheless, there are luckily available a few significant data which would enable us to definitely equate Bodhāyana-the Vṛttikāra with Upavarṣa—the Vṛttikāra. Vedānta-dēśika is discovered to clearly suggest this identity in the following sentence, which occurs as lines 7 to 10, at page 149, part II of his learned commentary called Tattva-ṭīkā on Rāmānuja's Śrī-Bhāṣya.

[वृत्तिकारोपज्ञं स्वमतमाह्—शब्दस्येति । अपिर्दूषणसमुच्चयार्थः । अत्र-शाबरम्—"गौरित्यत्र कःशब्दः ? गकारौकारविसर्जनीयाः" इति । वृत्तिकारस्य बोधायनस्यैव हि उपवर्ष इति स्यान्नाम ।] (Tattva-ṭikā Conjīvaram Oriental Library Institution series No. 6, Telugu edition 1906, Sudarśana Press, Conjīvaram.)

III. The Bodhāyana-Upavarṣa-Vṛttikāra equation, suggested as it happens to be by Vedānta-Deśika, one of the greatest authorities of the Viśiṣṭādvaita school, and supported as it is by the other references given above, can easily be pulled up to the level of an historically acceptable fact. And the weight of evidence in favour of the view that Bodhāyana was perhaps the *gotra*-name of Upavarṣa himself would be considerably enhanced by the well-known fact that many an Indian philosopher had two or even three names, one of them being a gotra-name, as, for instance, in the case of (1) Kāśyapa-Kaṇāda-Ulūka (2) Vātsyāyana-Pakṣila Svāmin, (3) Ātreya-Brahma Nandin-Ṭaṅka, and (4) Akṣapāda-Gautama.

PART II

DRAMIḌĀCĀRYA.

IV. Yāmunācārya, the spiritual ancestor and Prācārya of Rāmānuja refers, in the beginning of his Siddhitraya, to a Bhāṣya-Kṛt; and it is rightly believed that this Bhāṣya-kṛt is Dramiḍācārya.

"यद्यपि भगवता बादरायणेन इदमर्थान्येव सूत्राणि प्रणीतानि, विवृतानि च परिमितगम्भीरभाषिणा भाष्यकृता, विस्तृतानि च तानि गम्भीरन्यायसागरभाषिणा भगवता श्रीवत्साङ्कमिश्रेणापि; तथापि आचार्य-टङ्क-भर्तृप्रपञ्च-भर्तृमित्र-भर्तृहरि-ब्रह्मदत्त-शङ्कर-श्रीवत्साङ्क-भास्करादि-विरचितसितासितविविधनिबन्धनश्रद्धाविप्रलब्धबुद्धयो न यथावत् अन्यथा च प्रतिपद्यन्त—इति तत्प्रतिपत्तये युक्तः प्रकरणप्रक्रमः।"

(Siddhitraya-Chowkhāmbā edition, Benares—Pages 5 and 6.)

V. Rāmānuja refers to Dramiḍācārya in several places in his Vēdārtha-saṁgraha and Śrī-Bhāṣya, as the following extracts will show:

१. "तत्त्वमसीतिसद्विद्यायामुपास्यं ब्रह्म सगुणं सगुणब्रह्मप्राप्तिश्च फलमित्याभियुक्तैः पूर्वाचार्यैर्व्याख्यातम्। यथोक्तं वाक्यकारेण—'युक्तं तद्गुणकोपासनात्' इति; व्याख्यातं च द्रमिडाचार्येण विद्याविकल्पं वदता—'यद्यपि सच्चित्तो न निर्भुग्नदैवतं गुणगणं मनसानुधावेत् तथाप्यन्तर्गुणामेव देवतां भजते"—इति।

(Vedārtha-Saṁgraha) Paṇḍit edition, Benares, page 138.

२. भगवद्बोधायन-टङ्क-द्रमिड-गुहदेव-कपर्दि-भारुचि-प्रभृत्यविगीतशिष्टपरिगृहीतपुरातनवेदवेदान्तव्याख्यानसुव्यक्तार्थश्रुतिनिकरनिदर्शितोऽयं पन्थाः।

(*Ibid* page 148).

N.B.—Here the Tātparya-dīpikā of Sudarśanasūri says that Ṭaṅka is Brahmanandin;— टङ्को ब्रह्मनन्दी (*Ibid* Tātparyadīpikā p. 148).

३. वाक्यकारश्च ध्रुवानुस्मृतेर्विवेकादिभ्य एव निष्पत्तिमाह—" तल्लब्धि-विवेकविमोकाभ्यासक्रियाकल्याणानवसादानुद्धर्षेभ्यस्संभवान्निर्वचनाच्च "—इति। विवेकादीनां स्वरूपं चाह—" जात्याश्रयनिमित्तादुष्टादन्नात् कायशुद्धिर्विवेकः " इति। अत्र निर्वचनम्—आहारशुद्धौ सत्त्वशुद्धिः, सत्त्वशुद्धौ ध्रुवा स्मृतिः " इति। * * * " तद्विपर्ययजा तुष्टिरुद्धर्षः " इति। निर्वचनमपि—" शान्तो दान्तः " इति।]

Madras Ānanda Press edition of the Śri-Bhāṣya Vol. I, pages 11 and 12.

४. [द्रमिडभाष्यकारश्च—" देवतासायुज्यादशरीरस्यापि देवतावत्सर्वार्थ-सिद्धिस्स्यात् " इत्याह।]

(*Ibid* Vol. I, page 70.

५. [यथाह द्रमिडभाष्यकारः—" यथा लोके राजा प्रचुरदन्दशूके घोरेऽनर्थसङ्कटेऽपि प्रदेशे वर्तमानो व्यजनाद्यवधूतदेहो दोषैर्न स्पृश्यते, अभिप्रेतांश्च लोकान् परिपालयति, भोगांश्च गन्धादीन् विश्वजनोपभोग्यान् धारयति; तथासौ लोकेश्वरः भ्रमत्स्वसामर्थ्यचामरो दोषैर्नस्पृश्यते, रक्षति च लोकान् ब्रह्मलोकादीन्, भोगांश्चाविश्वजनोपभोग्यान् धारयति "।]

(*Ibid*. Vol. II, page 23.)

६. तथाह द्रमिडाचार्यः—" फलसंविभक्तयाहि कर्मभिरात्मानं पिप्रीषन्ति स प्रीतोऽलं फलायेति शास्त्रमर्यादा " इति।

(*Ibid*. Vol. II, page 75.)

From the foregoing extracts it may be made out that Dramiḍācārya wrote a Bhāṣya on the Chāndogya and perhaps also on certain other Upaniṣads and that he also commented on the text of the aphoristic Vākyas of the Vákya-kára, otherwise known, according to the Viśiṣṭādvaita tradition, by the names of Brahmanandin and Ṭanka. Vêdánta-Deśika also refers to Dramiḍácárya in the following places in Part I of his Tattva-ṭīkā :—Page 7, lines 8 to 10 (The Sudarśana Press, Telugu edition of the Tattvaṭīkā-above referred to); Page 34 Vákya and Dramiḍa-Bhāṣya and Vāmanaṭīkā on the latter are referred to *Ibid*; page 60, lines 1 and 2 *Ibid*; and page 138—" अत्र भाष्याकरो ब्रह्मनन्दिवाक्यव्याख्याता द्रमिडाचार्यः-*Ibid*.

VI. According to Ānandagiri, Śaṁkarācārya presupposes Dramiḍācārya, the author of a lengthy and learned commentary on the Chāndogyopaniṣad, in his introductory statement at the beginning of his Bhāṣya on the Chāndogya :—

" ओमित्येतदक्षरमित्यष्टाध्यायी छान्दोग्योपनिषत् । तस्याः संक्षेपतोऽर्थजिज्ञासुभ्य ऋजुविवरणमल्पग्रन्थमिदमारभ्यते ॥ "

(Śaṁkara's Bhāṣya on the Chāndogyopaniṣad—page 1). Ānandagiri has the following note in this connection :—

ऋजुविवरणमिति—ऋजु पाठक्रमानुसारि विवरणम् अर्थस्फुटीकरणं प्रकृतोपनिषदः यस्मिन्भाष्ये तत्तथेति यावत् । अथ पाठक्रममाश्रित्यापि द्राविडं भाष्यं प्रणीतम्, तत्किमनेनेत्याशङ्कयाह ॥

At the end of Śaṁkara's Bhāṣya on II-32 of the Maṇḍūkya-kārikās, the following quotation is found, from Dramiḍācārya's work according to Ānandagiri :—"सिद्धं तु निवर्तकत्वादित्यागमविदां सूत्रम् "..............................
Again in the Śāṁkara-Bhāṣya on III-8 to 10 of the Chāndogyopaniṣad, Śaṁkara is found relying upon Dramiḍācārya's explanation to meet a difficulty arising from an inconsistency between the Chāndogyopaniṣad and the Paurāṇika account of the time of sunrise and sunset in the different parts of the world of Gods.

" अत्रोक्तः परिहार आचार्यैः "

Śaṁkara-Bhāṣya on the Chāndogya—Ānandāśrama edition page 145.

In this connection Ānandagiri says—

" यद्यपि श्रुतिविरोधे स्मृतिरप्रमाणम्, तथापि यथाकथंचिद्विरोधपरिहारं द्रविडाचार्योक्तमुपपादयति " (*Ibid*—page 146.)

It may be observed here that the names द्रमिडाचार्य and द्रविडाचार्य occur as variants in Vedānta literature. Again, on page 34, part I of Vedānta-Deśika's Tattva-ṭīkā (Telugu edition), the following quotations are found :—

तथा च वाक्यम् " उपनिषण्णत्वाद्वोपनिषत् " इति । तत्र द्रमिडभाष्यम्—" गहने ह्रीयं विद्या संनिविष्टा " इति । तस्य च वामनटीका—" गहने ब्रह्माणि उपनिषण्णा " इति ।

Careful scholars cannot miss the unmistakable echo of the above extract in the following passage from Śaṁkara's Bhāṣya :—

" उपनिषदिति विद्योच्यते : तच्छीलिनां गर्भजन्मजरादिनिशातनात्, तदवसादनाद्वा, ब्रह्मणो वोपनिगमयितृत्वात् ; उपनिषण्णं वास्यां परं श्रेय इति । तदर्थत्वाद्ग्रन्थोऽप्युपनिषत् " ।

(Śaṁkara's introduction to his Bhāṣya on the Taittirīyopaniṣad.)

VII. It will be seen from page XVI of the introduction to the Tarka-saṁgraha, Gaekwad's Oriental Series No. III, that some scholars, like my friend, the late Mr. T. M. Tripāṭhi, are inclined to differentiate the Dramiḍācārya presupposed by Śaṁkara from the Dramiḍācārya presupposed by Rāmānuja and to identify the latter with the great Śrī Vaiṣṇava saint Nammāḷvār otherwise known as Śaṭhagōpa. There are, however, two conclusive evidences which would show that Śaṁkara's Dramiḍa and Rāmānuja's Dramiḍa should be held to be identical and that Dramiḍa cannot be equated with Nammāḷvar. The sub-joined extracts from the third chapter of Sarvajñātmamuni's Saṁkṣepa-Śārīraka may be perused here with advantage :—

" आत्रेयवाक्यमपि संव्यवहारमात्रं कार्यं समस्तमिति नः कथयां बभूव ।
सत्कार्यवादविषयो न हि दोषराशिर्मायामये भवितुमुत्सहते विरोधात् ॥

Chap. III, 217.

काणाददर्शनसमाश्रयदोषराशि दूरान्निरस्त इह संव्यवहारमात्रे ।
वेदान्तभूमिकुशलो मुनिरात्रिवंश्यस्तेनाह कार्यमिह संव्यवहारदृष्ट्या ॥

Ibid, 218.

षष्ठप्रपाठकनिबद्धमुदीरितं यत् तत्सत्यमेव खलु सत्यसमाश्रयत्वात् ।
अत्रैव यत्पुनरुवाच समुद्रफेनदृष्टान्तपूर्वकमदो व्यवहारदृष्ट्या ॥

Ibid, 219.

पूर्वं विकारमुपवर्ण्य शनैःशनैस्तद्दृष्टिं विसृज्य निकटं परिगृह्य तस्मात् ।
सर्वं विकारमथ संव्यवहारमात्रमद्वैतमेव परिरक्षति वाक्यकारः ॥

Ibid, 220.

अन्तर्गुणा भगवती परदेवतेति प्रत्यग्गुणेति भगवानपि भाष्यकारः ।
आह स्म यत्तदिह निर्गुणवस्तुवादे संगच्छते न तु पुनः सगुणप्रवादे ॥ "

Ibid, 221.

VIII. In the commentaries published in the Poona Ānandāśrama edition of the Saṁkṣepa-Śārīraka and in Nṛsiṁhmāśramin's commentary on this work, available in manuscript, the Vākyakāra referred to by Sarvajñātman as Ātreya is identified with Brahmanandin, and the Bhāṣyakāra, in verse 221 quoted above, is taken to be Dramiḍācārya, the author of a lengthy Bhāṣya on the Chāndogyopaniṣad-vārtika consisting perhaps of the aphoristic vākyas of Brahmanandin, otherwise known, in the Viśiṣṭādvaita tradition, as Ṭaṅka, the Vakyakāra. The last of the verses quoted above (221) requires particular attention, in this connection, as it is discovered to incorporate in the first pāda, an important part of the quotation from Dramiḍācārya's Bhāṣya, which is set forth above as occurring at page 138 of Rāmānuja's Vedārtha-Saṁgraha, Paṇḍit edition, Benares. Sarvajñātman was Sureśvarācārya's disciple and contemporary, as may be made out from the eighth and penultimate verses of the Saṁkṣepaśārīraka; and Sureśvara was one of Śaṁkara's (788—820 A.D.) disciples. If, as the late Mr. T. A. Gopinātha Rao says at page 21 of his history of Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas, published by the Madras University in 1923 at the Government Press, Madras, the first half of the ninth century A.D. is the time when Nammāḻvar lived and wrote his memorable Tiruvāymoḻi, Dramiḍācārya, the author of the old Bhāṣya on Brahmanandin's Vākyas and the Chāndogyopaniṣad, presupposed by Rāmānuja, Sarvajñātmamuni and Śaṁkara, must, for obvious reasons, be held to be different from Nammāḻvār.

IX. A critical investigation of the hagiographic accounts of the Āḻvārs and Ācāryas in the literature of Śrī-Vaiṣṇava-Sampradāya, like the Guruparamparāprabhāva by Pinbalabiya-perumāl-jīyar, has led historians of Śrī-Vaiṣṇavism to the conclusion that Tirumaḻiśai-Āḻwār, who produced the Tiruccanta-Viruttam and the Nānmukan-Tiruvantāti and was contemporaneous with the three Mutalāḻvārs, was born in Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam and flourished there during the period of Pallava supremacy; and that he might, with good reasons, be assigned to the first quarter of the 8th century A.D (See the late Mr. T. A. Gopinath Rao's history of Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas already referred to—pages 16 and 17). A careful examination of all the details relating to Tirumaḻiśai Āḻvār in the Śrī-Vaiṣṇava Sampradāya literature, in comparison with the material gathered by me about Dramiḍācārya, also known as Draviḍa, from Vedāntic literature in Sanskrit, has revealed to me three striking correspondences between Tirumaḻiśai and Dramiḍa—(1) a biographic correspondence (2) a textual correspondence, and (3) a phonetic correspondence.

X. In the traditional accounts of Śrīvaiṣṇavas, it is stated that Tirumaḻiśai was born as the son of the sage Bhārgava, and afterwards became the foster-son of Tiruvāḻan, a Śūdra. After critically studying all

the systems of philosophy, Tiruvāḷan's foster-son found complete satisfaction in Vaiṣṇavism. A reference to the Tirumaḻiśaippirān-vaibhavam in Pinbaḷahiya-perumāl-Jīyar's Guruparamparā and Periyavāccānpillai's introduction to his commentary on Tirumaḻiśai's Tiruccantaviruttam would show how Tirumaḻiśai was born of a sage, and thrown into the slums by adverse fate and reclaimed later by some great Ācārya. There is an interesting parallelism between this aspect of Tirumaḻiśai's life and an illustrative story which is known in the Vedānta-literature in Sanskrit as व्याधसंवर्धितराजपुत्राख्यायिका and which is found narrated *in extenso*, in verses 506 to 527 at pages 970 to 972, in part II, Sureśvara's Bṛhadāraṇykabhāṣyavārtika (Poona edition) and at pages 152 to 154 in Haradatta's Ujjvalā on Āpastamba's Dharma Sūtras, Mysore Government Oriental Library edition. Ānandagiri, in his commentary on verse 506 of the Sureśvara-vārtika above referred to, definitely attributes the authorship of the व्याधसंवर्धितराजपुत्राख्यायिका to Dramiḍācārya. Would it require any great strain on imagination to see that, if Dramiḍācārya and Tirumaḻiśai Āḻvār should be identical, the *ākhyāyikā* in question could easily be taken to strike an autobiographical note?

XI. The textual correspondence is such as might well support the suggestion that Dramiḍācārya should be identified with Tirumaḻiśai. At page 75, Part II of the Madras Ānanda Press edition of the Śrī-Bhāṣya, Rāmānuja gives from Dramiḍa-Bhāṣya the extract:—फलसंविभक्तया हि कर्मभिरात्मानं पिप्रीषन्ति, स प्रीतोऽलं फलायेति शास्त्रमर्यादा"

Any scholar who has fully understood the meaning of this extract can easily realise how the same idea is reproduced in a slightly amplified from in the seventy second verse of Tirumaḻiśai-āḻvār's *Nānmukan tiruvantāti*:—

"இல்லற மில்லேல் துறவற மில்லென்னும்
சொல்லற மல்லனவும் சொல்லல்ல—நல்லறம்
ஆவனவும் நால்வேத மாத்தவமும் நாரணனே
ஆவதீ தன்றென்பாரார்."

XII. Would it now be felt a far-fetched suggestion that the phonetic parallelism between *Dramiḍa and Tirumaḻiśai* should be taken to be, not merely accidental, but full of significance? It should be borne in mind, in this connection, that the Dramiḍācārya who is presupposed by *Sureśvara* and *Sarvajñātman* and who is identical with the Dramiḍa presupposed by *Śaṁkara* and *Rāmānuja*, may well be assigned, on historically acceptable grounds to the first quarter of the eighth century A.D., to which period historians of Śrīvaiṣṇavism would assign Tirumaḻiśai Āḻvār.

FURTHER LIGHT ON THE PRĀBHĀKARA-PROBLEM.

BY

PROF. S. KUPPUSWAMI SASTRI, M.A., I.E.S., MADRAS.

In continuation of the paper read by me in 1922 at Calcutta, as President of the philosophy section of the second Oriental Conference, it is proposed in this short paper to draw attention to a few noteworthy points which would throw further light on the Prābhākara-problem in the history of the Mīmāṁsā-Śāstra.

(2) In a Prābhākara-work called the Mīmāṁsānyāya-kośa, of which an incomplete manuscript is available in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras, it is clearly stated on page 10 that the *Vārtika-kāra* has given *ten* interpretations *in one place* and *six* in *another place*, for the introductory passage (लोक इत्यादि भाष्यम्) in the Bhāṣya of *Śabarasvāmin* :—

"लोके येष्वर्थेषु-इत्यादेराद्यस्य भाष्यस्य वार्तिककारैरेकत्र दशार्थाः संभावितत्वेनोक्ताः; तत्र दशमोऽर्थ औचित्यानुभाषणम् । तथा अन्यत्र षडर्थाः; तत्रापि षष्ठमौचित्यानुभाषणम् । ततश्च औचित्यानुभाषणरूपोऽर्थ उभयत्रानुवर्तमान एक एवेति संकलने पञ्चदशैवार्थाः । पृथग्गणने तु षोडशत्वव्यवहारयोग्यता । तदभिप्रायो 'गुरुः सप्तदशमर्थमाह' इति विवेकग्रन्थः । तत्र पञ्चदशस्वप्यर्थेषु औचित्यानुभाषणमेव स्वीकृतं वार्तिककारैः । तदप्यनुवादमात्रपरत्वात् वाक्यान्तरार्थत्वात् अथपदमात्रदोषपरत्वात् मन्दमिति परव्याख्यानमयुक्तम्—इति मत्वा 'लोक इत्यादिभाष्यस्य अथात इत्येतस्मिन् पदद्वये अलौकिकार्थशङ्कानिवृत्तिः प्रयोजनम्' इति गुरुणा व्याख्यातम् ।"

page 10 मीमांसान्यायकोश manuscript in the Government Oriental MSS. library, Madras.

A careful consideration of this extract, beside the corresponding portion in the Tarkapāda of Bhavanātha's Nayaviveka and the introductory passage at the beginning of the Ṛjuvimalā by Śālikanātha, would leave no alternative except to admit :—

that *the Paramata* referred to by Bhavanātha in this connection is Vārtikakāra's view ;

that *the same Vārtikakāra gives six* interpretations *in one place* and *ten* interpretations *in another place* ;

that the *identity of this Vārtikakāra with Kumārilabhṭṭa* is strongly supported by the text of Kumārila's Śloka-Vārtika beginning with the following verse :—

लोक इत्यादि भाष्यस्य षडर्थान् संप्रचक्षते ।
भाष्यकारानुसारेण प्रयुक्तस्यादितः पृथक् ॥

verse 26 on pp. 8 & 9 Benares edition.

that, as interpreted in the Mīmāṁsā-nyāya-kośa, both Śālikanātha and Bhavanātha assume that Prabhākara's Bṛhatī presupposes Kumārilabhaṭṭa's Vārtika ;

and that एकत्र in the above extracts from the Mīmāṁsānyāya-kośa refers to some work by Kumārilabhaṭṭa which is not at present known to be available anywhere even in manuscript ; and अन्यत्र in the same extract undoubtedly refers to the Ślokavārtika of the same author.

(3) At present only three of Kumārila's works in Mīmāṁsā are accessible to scholars—*viz.* the Ślokavārtika, the Tantravārtika and the Ṭup-ṭīkā. In addition to these three, two other works named Madhyamaṭīkā and Bṛhaṭṭīkā are attributed to Kumārila by Mādhavasarasvatī in his Sarvadarśanakaumudī, a manuscript of which is available in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras. The relevant extract is given below :—

"तत्र सहस्राधिकरणद्वादशलक्षण्या मीमांसायाश्चतुर्विंशतिसहस्रं शबरस्वामिकृतं भाष्यम् । तदुपरि प्रस्थानद्वयम्—भाट्टं प्राभाकरमिति । तत्र भट्टाचार्याणां पञ्च व्याख्यानानि भाष्यस्य ; एका बृहट्टीका, द्वितीया मध्यमटीका, तृतीया टुप्टीका, चतुर्थी कारिका, पञ्चमं तन्त्रवार्तिकमुक्तानुक्तदुरुक्तचिन्तकम् । तत्र बृहन्मध्यमटीके संप्रति न वर्तेते" ।

(Page 121 of the MS. of the Sarvadarśana-kaumudī in the Government Oriental MSS. library, Madras.)

Of the two lost works of Kumārilabhaṭṭa, *viz.* :—Bṛhaṭṭīkā and Madhyamaṭīkā, extracts from the former are found quoted by Bhaṭṭa-someśvara in his Rāṇaka (Nyāyasudhā) in several places (*vide*, for instance, pages 201, 329, 330 and 393 of the Benares edition of the Nyāyasudhā). In all probability, the *daśapakṣī* referred to in the beginning of the Nayaviveka, or in other words, the ten interpretations attributed to Vārtikakāra in the above extracts from the Mīmāṁsānyāya-kośa, were given by Kumārilabhaṭṭa in one of his two lost works—Bṛhaṭṭīkā or Madhyamaṭīkā.

(4) At page 56, line 7, and page 77, line 1 of the manuscript of the Bṛhatī in the Madras Government Oriental Library, Prabhākara is

discovered quoting, in a felicitous manner, the quarter—अविवेकः परमापदां पदम्, which forms part of the first half of the following oft-quoted verse 30 in the second canto of Bhāravi's Kirātārjunīya.

"सहसा विदधीत न क्रियामविवेकः परमापदां पदम् ।
वृणते हि विमृश्यकारिणं गुणलुब्धाः स्वयमेव संपदः ॥"

This famous verse is generally recognised to be characteristic of the gnomic verses in the Kirātārjunīya and is sometimes brought into relation with an anecdote as to how Bhāravi once very narrowly escaped committing a most heinous sin. Prabhākara quotes the second quarter of this verse in a context which is inseparably bound up with what is usually considered one of the fundamental doctrines of the Prabhākara epistemology *viz.*:—*akhyātivāda*. The name *Prabhākara* is almost synonymous with the name *Bhāravi*. In the second verse, at page 1 of the Ślōkavārtika, Kumārilabhaṭṭa does homage to his revered teacher in these terms:—

अभिवन्द्य गुरूनादौ शिष्यधीपद्मिनीरवीन् ।
तत्प्रसादात्करिष्येऽहं मीमांसाश्लोकवार्तिकम् ॥

There is a story which makes out Kumārilabhaṭṭa as having been guilty of academical treason by his avowed and determined attack of his *guru* and as having atoned for this sin by some kind of self-immolation. And the veteran scholar of Allahabad, Dr. Gangānāth Jha, more than thirteen years ago, suggested that Prabhākara's works must be assigned to the *ante-Kumārila* period of Mīmāṁsā. The cumulative effect of all these points is very likely to make itself felt in a strong temptation to equate *Prabhākara* with the poet *Bhāravi*, whom the Aihole inscription of 634 A.D. refers to as a famous poet, and to assign Prabhākara to the earlier part of the seventh century A.D. in agreement with Dr. Keith. (see Dr. Keith's Karma-Mīmāṁsā, page 9, the Heritage of India series). There is, however, conclusive evidence which makes it impossible for careful scholars to yield to this temptation. At page 84 of the Madras Government Oriental Library manuscript of the Bṛhatī, in lines 13 and 14, the following quotation is found:—

"तदुक्तम्—ऋषीणामपि [यज्ञानां(?)] (यज्ज्ञानं) तदप्यागम पूर्वकम् ।"

This represents the second half of 1-30 of Bhartṛhari's Vākyapadīya. The full text of the verse is:—

"नचागमादृते धर्मे स्तर्केण व्यवतिष्ठते ।
ऋषीणामपि यज्ज्ञानं तदप्यागमपूर्वकम् ॥"

Page 15, Benares edition of Vākyapadīya.

In fact, Prabhākara is discovered using in a somewhat waggish way, the very name of Bhartṛhari's famous work—*Vakāyapadīya*, in connection with his exposition of the *Anvitābhidhāna* doctrine; and this will be evident from the following extract:—

"अत एते पदार्थाः, एषामभिधानानि, तदिदं वाक्यपदीयम्; अन्यथा-ह्यवगम्यमानः पदार्थविवेकोऽपहृतो भवति"

lines 3 & 4 at page 89 of the Madras Government Oriental Library manuscript of the Bṛhatī.

It seems to me obvious that Prabhākara is referring, at page 35 of his Bṛhatī (Madras manuscript), to the Sphōṭa-doctrine as stated by Bhartṛhari; and at page 55, lines 12 and 13, and at the end of page 58 and beginning of page 59, in the same manuscript, that phase of the Advaita system is referred to, which, in the pre-Śaṁkara stage, should be specially associated with Gauḍapāda. According to the Chinese pilgrim, I-tsing, Bhartṛhari's death took place about 650 A.D.; and Prabhākara, who makes use of Bhartṛhari's Vākyapadīya should certainly be considerably later than 650 A.D.

(5) In the Madras manuscript of the Sarvadarśana-Kaumudī by Mādhava-sarasvatī, referred to above, it is stated that Prabhākara wrote two commentaries on the Śābara-bhāṣya, *viz.* Vivaraṇa and Nibandhana. The following extract gives this information and some interesting particulars about the Prābhākara literature.

"प्राभाकरप्रस्थानं तु—भाष्यस्य प्रभाकरकृतं व्याख्यानद्वयम्। एकं विवरणं षट्सहस्ररूपं। अपरो निबन्धनसंज्ञः द्वादशसहस्रम्। विवरणस्य ऋजुविमला, निबन्धनस्य दीपशिखा, टीकाद्वयं शालिकनाथकृतं प्रकरणं शालिकानाम। नयविवेको भवनाथकृतं प्रकरणं द्वादशसहस्रम्। तट्टीका वरदराजकृता अष्टाचत्वारिंशत्साहस्री।"

(Page 122 of the Sarvadarśanakaumudī manuscript).

From the foregoing extract, it is clear that Prabhākara's Bṛhatī should be identified with the *Vivaraṇa*; and the *Nibandhana*, which Dr. Jhā identifies with the Bṛhatī (see lines 18 and 19 at page 9 of Dr. Jha's book—Prabhākara school), turns out to be different from the Bṛhatī; for the commentary on the Vivaraṇa, called Ṛjuvimalā, by Śālikanātha, deals with the Bṛhatī and not with the Nibandhana. The colophon 'इति प्रभाकरमिश्रकृतौ मीमांसाभाष्यविवरणे' reported by Dr. Jha as found at the end of the second pāda of the second Adhyāya in the Bṛhatī manuscript belonging to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, supports the identification of the Bṛhatī with the *Vivaraṇa*. On page 413 of the Benares edition

of Maṇḍanamiśra's Vidbiviveka with Vācaspatimiśra's Nyāyakaṇikā, while commenting upon the text "नह्येष प्रयोगविधेर्विषयः, अननुष्ठेयत्वात्, अशब्दार्थत्वात्, क्रमवद्व्यतिरेकेणेदन्तया अनिरूपणात्।" Vācaspatimiśra observes—"तत्र विवरणकृतो हेतुमाह—अननुष्ठेयत्वात् । निबन्धनकृतो हेतुमाह—अशब्दार्थत्वात्।"

With reference to the same question relating to *krama*, as dealt with in the 3rd and 5th chapters (तार्तीयक्रम and पाञ्चमिकक्रम), Pārthasārathimiśra says at page 148 of his Nyāyaratnamālā, Benares edition—

"तस्मात्सर्व एव तार्तीयः पाञ्चमिकश्च क्रमो न विधेयः—इति विवरणकारः। निबन्धनकारस्त्वाह—भवतु तार्तीयक्रमस्य संख्यायाश्चैकादशादिकाया अभिधानसंभवात् ग्रहणेन विध्यैदमर्थ्ये सति विध्याक्षिप्तानुष्ठानतया विधेयत्वम्, नत्वेवं पाञ्चमिकस्य क्रमस्य संभवति; न हि तस्य किंचिदभिधानमस्ति।"

Prabhākara's remarks at the beginning of the first adhikaraṇa of the 5th chapter of the Bṛhatī are in perfect agreement with what is stated by Vācaspatimiśra and Pārthasārathimiśra in the above extracts as the view held by Vivaraṇakāra.

(6) Śālikanātha is the oldest commentator on Prabhākara's works, who is definitely known to us. He could not have been removed from Prabhākara by a long interval. In fact, he seems to have been one of Prabhākara's pupils. In this connection, the following extract from page 31 of the Benares edition of the Prakaraṇa-Pañcikā may, with advantage, be considered, beside the first verse of the Nītipatha—section 2 of the Prakaraṇa-pañcikā—

"अर्थासंस्पर्शिताशङ्का यथा शब्दस्य वार्यते।
प्रभाकरगुरोः शिष्यै स्तथा यत्नो विधीयते॥"

(Page 23 Prakaraṇa-pañcikā, Benares edition).

"यच्च बह्वीषु ज्वालास्वेकवर्तिवर्तिनीषु ज्वालात्वं सामान्यं प्रत्यभिज्ञागोचरः कैश्चिदिष्यते, तदपि गुरुरस्माकं न मृष्यति"

(Page 31, lines 20, 21 *Ibid*).

Maṇḍanamiśra quotes at page 109 of his Vidhiviveka (Benares edition), the following extract appearing at page 10, line 18 of the Madras manuscript of the Bṛhatī:—

" कर्तव्यताविषयो नियोगः न पुनः कर्तव्यतामाह "

While commenting upon this extract, Vācaspatimiśra makes these remarks :—

" अत्रैव जरत्प्राभाकरोन्नीतार्थं गुरोर्वचः सङ्गच्छत इत्याह......... नवीनास्तून्नयन्ति—अनिरूपितनियोगव्यापारस्येदं चोद्यमित्युपक्रम्येदमुक्तम् । कर्तव्यताविषयः.........इति । यागकर्तव्यतानुष्ठानं विषयो यस्य नियोगस्य स तथा । तेनहि नियोगः साध्यते, न पुनर्नियोगो यागस्यानुष्ठानं ज्ञापयति "

Page 109, Benares edition of the Nyāyakaṇikā, with the text of the Vidhiviveka.

The above extract from the Bṛhatī quoted by Maṇḍana is found explained as follows in the Madras Government Oriental Library manuscript of the Ṛju-vimalā--

" टीकार्थस्तु अनिरूपितनियोगव्यापारस्य—न निरूपित उपादानलक्षणो नियोगव्यापारो येन तस्य—इदं चोद्यम् । यागकर्तव्यतानुष्ठानं विषयो नियोगस्य, तेन नियोगः साध्यते न तु नियोगो यागस्यानुष्ठानं ज्ञापयति । "

[Ṛju-vimalā-Tarkapāda page 24—lines 14 to 17].

From these extracts it will be seen that what Vācaspatimiśra attributes to the *navyās* is identical with what Śālikanātha says in this connection in his Ṛju-vimalā. Probably the जरत्प्राभाकर referred to by Vācaspati in the above extract from the Nyāyakaṇikā was but an older contemporary of Śālikanātha and an earlier commentator on Prabhākara's Bṛhatī, such references to older and younger contemporaries as *prācyās* and *navyās* being very common in Indian tradition, as, for instance, in the case of Jagadīśa and Gadādhara in the history of Nyāya. It must be remembered that Vācaspati's date is 841 A.D. and he presupposes both Śaṁkara (788-820 A,D.) and Maṇḍana. Śālikanātha quotes from Kumārila in several places in his Prakaraṇapañcikā and Ṛju-vimalā. The following quotation, for instance, occurs at page 64 of the Madras manuscript of the Ṛju-vimalā, Tarkapāda

तदाहु वार्तिककारामिश्राः—

गम्यमानस्य चार्थस्य नैव दृष्टं विशेषणम् ।
शब्दान्तरैर्विभक्त्या वा धूमोऽयं ज्वलतीतिवत् ॥ " इति

[See page 858 lines 4 & 5 of the Ślokavārtika Benares.]

On pages 5, 114 and 122 of the Benares edition of the Prakaraṇa-pañcikā, quotations from the Ślōkavārtika occur, as already pointed out by me elsewhere. (See page 408 of the proceedings of the second Oriental Conference). At page 178 of his Prakaraṇa-pañcikā, Śālikanātha quotes the following verses from Maṇḍana's Vidhiviveka :—

" पुंसां नेष्टाभ्युपायत्वात्............... ।। "

page 243 Benares edition of the Vidhiviveka.

" कर्तुरिष्टाभ्युपाये हि............... .. ।। "

page 302 *Ibid.*

From a perusal of the text of Maṇḍana's *Brahmasiddhi*, (my edition of which, under the auspices of the Madras Government, is nearing completion and will be issued shortly) it will be seen that Śālikanātha in the course of his refutation of the *Advaitasiddhānta* at pages 154 and 155 of the Prakaraṇapañcikā quotes the second verse of the Tarka-kāṇḍa of the Brahmasiddhi. That Śālikanātha definitely presupposes *Maṇḍana's advaita, and not Saṅkara's* is a fact which is full of significance in this connection. In my critical introduction to my edition of the *Brahmasiddhi*, to be issued shortly, it will be proved beyond any reasonable doubt that *Maṇḍana-Sureśvara* equation in the history of *Advaita* is a myth ; that Maṇḍana is a representative Advaitin of the pre-Śaṁkara stage in the history of *Advaita*, who closely follows, whenever possible, Bhartṛhari's *Śabdādavitasiddhānta* ; that Vācaspatimiśra, only slightly later than Śaṁkara, reconciles, as far as possible, the views of *Maṇḍana and Saṁkara*, who have shown sharp divergences in many respects ; and that Maṇḍana is not, but Sureśvara undoubtedly is, a disciple of Śaṁkara.

(7) Bhaṭṭomveka, already referred to by me elsewhere (see pages 410 and 411 of the Proceedings of the Second Oriental Conference) is found to be the author of a commentary on Maṇḍana's Bhāvanāviveka, which was edited by Dr. Jhā and published recently as No. 6 of the Princess of Wale's Sarasvatī Bhavana Texts, in Benares. A careful consideration of the independent discussion closing with the verse " बहुवगर्वतमश्छन्नं........" in the commentary at page 76 of the Bhāvanāviveka and of the *Varia Lectio* "प्राधान्यं तन्निबन्धनादिति (न) समीचीनः पाठः" noted in the commentary at page 77, line 18 of the same work, renders highly dubious the identity between Maṇḍana and Bhaṭṭomveka, which is found to be proposed by Dr. Jhā in his introduction to the Bhāvanāviveka ; for, it would be absurd to suppose that the author of the Bhāvanāviveka is himself referring to a variant reading in his own work. It is worthy of note that, at page 43 of the Bhāvanāviveka, in lines 16 and 17 (Benares edition),

Bhaṭṭomveka refers to Kumārila as Bhaṭṭapāda and as *Guru*, while quoting the following verse from the Tantravārtika page 351 Benares edition :—

"यथोक्तं भट्टपादैः-"अन्यदेवहिधात्वर्थ (यागादौ) सामान्यं करणात्मकम् ।
यथोक्तं गुरुणा—अन्यच्च भावना नाम साध्यत्वेनव्यवास्थितम् ॥"

Would it be too much to say, at this stage, that it would follow as a legitimate conclusion from the above data considered in relation to the data already furnished by me elsewhere (see pages 408 to 412 of the Proceedings of the Second Oriental Conference), that Prabhākara, Maṇḍana and Umveka (Bhavabhūti) might have been younger contemporaries of Kumārila, who might safely be assigned to the beginning of the 8th century A.D., that *Śālikanātha and Umveka* might have been younger than *Prabhākara and Maṇḍana*, and that all these Mimāṁsakas might well have preceded *Śaṁkarācārya* ?

THE BUDDHIST CONCEPTION OF MĀRA

BY

DR. BIMALA CHARAN LAW, PH.D., M.A., B.L., CALCUTTA.

Introduction.

Māra, the spirit of evil of the Buddhists, the enemy of the Good Law, appears to have been the personification of an abstract conception of the Buddhist religion. The Buddha-carita-kāvya of Aśvaghoṣa tells us that he who is called in the world Kāmadeva, the owner of the various weapons, the flower-arrowed, the Lord of the course of desire, is the Buddhist Māra, the enemy of liberation (Book 13). In other words, Māra is the personification of Kāma that thwarts the aspirant after the highest stage, Nibbāṇa. Māra is of different kinds:—Khandha Māra (Māra of the elements of being), Kilesa Māra (Māra of sin), Maraṇa Māra (Māra of death), Devaputta Māra (Māra of the gods), and Abhisaṁkhāra Māra (Māra of the accumulation of Kamma) (Childers' Pāli Dictionary, p. 241). The Śikṣā-samuccaya of Śāntideva mentions the four, except abhisaṁkhāra Māra (Tr. Bendall & Rouse, p. 192). In the Mahāvaṁśa, he is described as one having thousand hands (Ed. Geiger, Ch. 35, Verse 75). Woman is not competent to acquire the state of Māra (Vibhaṅga, p. 337). It is interesting to note on the authority of the Buddhist and Jaina texts that Māra is the originator of Māyā or attachment. (cf. Sūtrakṛtāṅga, Jaina Sūtras, pt. II, S. B. E., Vol. XLV, p. 244) and the person who falls a victim to Māyā is conquered by Māra. His daughters are desire (*taṇhā*), discontent (*arati*), and passion (*rāga*), [1] the ultimate categories of civil in its psychological system. The fight of the Bodhisattva with Māra is a struggle against the fetters and hindrances that stand in the way to Nibbāṇā. He does not resemble the evil spirit of the Zoroastrian, Ahriman, who is a spirit of equal power with Ormuzd, the principle of good. In the Zoroastrian system every good is opposed by its corresponding evil, and Ahriman, the spirit of evil, has existed opposed to Ormuzd since the commencement of the world. With the Satan of the Old Testament, Māra has not much in common, though there are some points of resemblance. Like Māra, Satan goes forth to tempt Job, to test his loyalty to God whose permission he obtains before commencing his evil activities.

1. Dhammapada Commentary, Vol. I, p. 202, Samyutta Nikāya, Vol. 1, p. 124.

Previous works in the field.

Scholars like Windisch,[1] Beal,[2] Kern,[3] Rockhill[4] and Sir Charles Elliot[5] have given us very little information regarding Māra and his activities. Oldenberg's treatise on Māra is indeed the pioneer work in this field. In the following pages an attempt has been made to collect from the Buddhist literature materials which have hitherto remained unnoticed and which throw some new light on the subject. The Buddhist conception of Māra is in many respects the same as that of the Hindu Kāmadeva. Like Kāmadeva, Māra has his flowery arrow and there are many more points of resemblance; in fact, Māra is one of the names by which Kāmadeva is designated in Brahmanical literature. Māra bears many names in Pāli literature, he is called, for example, *Kaṇha* (black), *adhipati* (chief) *antagu* (destroyer), *namucī* (non-deliverer), *pamattavandhu* (friend of the passionate)[6] and at the same time he is also designated *maccu* (death),[7] perhaps because death and ruin overtake one who is caught in the snares of Māra. *Anattakāma* (wishing ill), *ahitakāma* (wishing injury) and *ayogakhemakāma* (wishing unsafety) are the epithets of Māra. (Majjhima Nikāya, Vol. I, p. 155).

Various epithets of Māra.

Māra's army.

Kāma (sensual pleasure) forms the first army of Māra; *arati*, (discontent) is his second army; *khuppipāsā* (hunger and thirst), the third; *taṇhā* (desire), the fourth; *thīnamiddha* (sloth and torpor) the fifth; *bhiru* (fear) the sixth; *vicikicchā* (doubt) the seventh; and *makkho* (disdain to others) *thambho* (self - adulation) the eighth; *lābha* (gain), *siloka* (fame), *sakkāra* (honour), *micchāladdhayaso* (wealth obtained by improper means), *attānaṁsamukaṁsanā* (self-praise) and *paresaṁ avajānanā* (speaking ill of others)—all these constitute Māra's army. (Niddesa, Vol. I, p. 96; cf. Majjhima Nikāya, Padhāna Sutta).

Kingdom and food of Māra.

Diṭṭhadhammika kāmasaññā (i. e. the idea of sensual pleasure in present life), *sampārayika-kāmasaññā* i.e. the idea of sensual pleasure in future life) form the kingdom, state and food of Māra. (Majjhima Nikāya, Vol. II., pp. 261-262).

---

1. Māra und Buddha
2. The Romantic Legend of Śākya Buddha, pp. 36, 199.
3. Manual of Indian Buddhism, pp. 16ff, 20, 31, 42, 101.
4. The Life of the Buddha, pp. 27, 31. 32, 33, 39 and 119.
5. Hinduism and Buddhism, Vol. I, pp. 143, 164, 175; Vol. II, p. 160, Vol. III, pp. 69, 78, 350.
6. Niddesa (P.T.S.) p. 489.
7. Jātaka (Fausboll) Vol. IV, p. 128.

The snare of Māra (*Mārabandhanaṁ*) means that a meditative person through two kinds of meditation, becomes freed from the snares of Māra which consist of births in *kāmāvacara*, *rūpāvacara* and *arūpāvacaralokas* [1]. One is entangled in the snares of Māra if he has any attachment to beautiful form, etc. [2]. Māra is the chief of those who are possessed of *adhipatta* (influence) [3]. He who has attachment is entangled by Māra [4]. In the Dhammapada we read that Māra will certainly overthrow a person who is unrestrained in his senses, immoderate in his food, idle and weak [5]. A person's mind is always attempting to come out of the kingdom of Māra [6]. Those who can restrain their mind and check its propensities can escape the snares of Māra [7]. One should fight with Māra with the weapon of wisdom [8]. One can go beyond the sight of Māra, King of Death, by destroying the flowery arrow of Māra [9]. Māra cannot find those who are pious, leading a strenuous life and emancipated by perfection of wisdom[10]. One can make himself free from Māra if he has attained the noble eightfold path [11]. Those who meditate on the impurities of the body can cut off the snares of Māra. [12] Māra cannot destroy the *Dhammacakka* (wheel of law) [13]. One should destroy the army of Māra with strenuous exertion [14]. One whose mind is not protected, who has false belief and is idle, comes under the control of Māra [15]. The Nettipakaraṇa mentions the fact that Māra could not detect the consciousness of Godhika [16]. Māra went to search for Vakkali's consciousness but he could find no trace of it because Vakkali passed away completely before the quest of Māra[17]. The Visuddhimagga tells us that a wiseman who finds delight in forest hermitage, that is, one who

Snare of Māra-how to get rid of it.

Idle and weak overthrown by Māra.

Pious men not overthrown by Māra.

Dhammacakka not destructible by Māra.

False believer controlled by Māra.

---

1. Dhammapada Commentary, Vol. III, pp. 403-404,
2. Samyutta Nikāya, Vol, IV. p. 91.
3. Aṅguttara Nikāya, Vol. II, p. 17.
4. Samyutta Nikāya, Vol. III, p. 73,
5. Dhammapada, Yamakavagga, verse 7, P.T.S. Ed.
6. Ibid, P.T.S. Edition, p. 5.
7. *Ibid*. 6.
8. *Ibid*. 6,
9. *Ibid*. 7.
10. *Ibid*. 8.
11. *Ibid*. 40.
12. *Ibid*. 50.
13. Nettipakaraṇa, pp. 8, 9.
14. *Ibid*. p. 40.
15. *Ibid*. p. 85.
16. *Ibid*, p. 39.
17. Samyutta Nikāya, Vol. III, p. 124.

has freed himself from the ties of the world, is fit to overcome Māra with his army [1]. A yogi who remains fixed in his seat spending his whole time in meditation, can subdue Māra [2]. The Niddesa relates a conversation that is supposed to have taken place between a bhikkhuṇī named Vajirā and Māra. Vajirā said to Māra thus, "There is no *sattā* (being) here who can come under your control. This is no being but a heap of dirts, (Vol. I, p. 439, cf. Kathāvatthu, Vol. I, p. 6; Abhidhammāvatāra, p. 88). There is a reference to the Buddha's subjugation of Māra at the foot of the Bodhitree at Gaya. (*Ibid*, p. 455). The Buddha assured his disciples thus, "Oh bhikkhus, if you live within the country of your father (*i.e.* the Buddha), you will not be overcome by Māra. (Niddesa, Vol. I, p. 475). Māra has no share in *jarā* (old age), *vyādhi* (disease), *maraṇa* (death) and *pubbakatapāpakammaṁ*, (Kathāvatthu, Vol. II, pp. 457-458). The Itivuttaka tells us that Māra is conquered by a person who is free from attachment and who has risen triumphant over all sufferings and will not be born again (p. 58). A fool, a person devoid of merit, and one who earns his livelihood by following low professions are reborn in hell. (Itivuttaka, p. 59). Those who are under the domain of passion, delusion and anger, are ignorant of the *ariyadhammas* and subject to *Saccāyadiṭṭhi* (heresy of individuality), cannot liberate themselves from the clutches of Māra. (*Ibid*, p. 92). The Aṅguttara Nikāya asserts that one who follows the dhamma can conquer Māra. (Aṅguttara Nikāya, Vol. I, p. 150). The bhikkhu who puts forth the right effort and who has conquered the kingdom of Māra, is not subject to rebirth and death. He can conquer Māra with this army and can destroy the power of Namucī and live full of bliss. (Aṅguttara Nikāya, Vol. II, p. 15).

Yogi unsubdued by Māra.

Māra and Vajirā.

Bhikkhus living within the Buddha's country not overcome by Māra.

Māra conquered by all exerting bhikkhus.

An ariyasāvaka endowed with the seven kinds of *saddhāmma* and the four jhānas, is one who has passed beyond the influence of Māra. (*Ibid*, Vol. IV, pp. 108-9.) In one of the Jātakas, we read that Yudhiṭṭhila and Yuvañjaya passed beyond the kingdom of Māra, which was made up of *rāga* (passion), *doṣa* (fault), and *moha* (delusion). (Jātaka, Fausboll, Vol. IV, p. 123.)

An ariyasāvaka not subdued by Māra.

Māra stood up as an antagonist of the Buddha trying to prevent his attainment of Nirvāṇa. Māra in his great and ineffectual struggle to bring down the Buddha, used all sorts of arms, both physical and spiritual. The Nettipakaraṇa tells us that Māra hurled a huge stone at the Buddha

Māra an antagonist of the Buddha.

1. Vol. I, p. 73. 2. Visuddhimagga, Vol. I, p. 79.

from the top of the Gijjhakūṭa mountain. (Nettipakaraṇa, p. 34). When Siddhārtha was going out of the city of Kapilavastu for the great renunciation, he was met by Māra at the gate. He urged Prince Siddhārtha not to leave the city as he (Buddha) would become an universal monarch on the seventh day if he stayed in it, but all Māra's efforts were in vain. Māra asked him why he was renouncing the world. The Buddha replied that the was doing so in order to obtain the supreme knowledge. Māra then tried the effect of threats on him and pointed out that he would bring him to grief if the least thought of lust disturbed his mind. In vain did he seek for seven long years to detect any defect in the conduct of the Buddha. After the lapse of five years, the Buddha acquired omniscience. When the Buddha was sitting at the foot of the Ajapālanigrodha tree, in the fifth week of his attainment of bodhi, Māra came and told the Buddha that he was now beyond his power. The three daughters of Māra named *taṇhā*, *arati* and *rāga* tried to tempt the Buddha in various ways but all were in vain. (Dhammapada Commentary, Vol. III, pp. 195-196). Again we are told that when the Buddha was going for alms to a Brahmin village, named Pañcasāla, Māra resolved that he should not get any alms there. Māra entered the bodies of the villagers and inclined their minds not to offer any alms to the Buddha who came back to the village-gate with his empty bowl. Māra taunted him by putting the question whether he had received any alms. The Buddha replied that he was fully aware of his mischievous intention. Thereupon Māra urged him again to go and seek for alms with the sinister object that the Buddha might be insulted all the more. The Buddha retorted that he would live on *pīti* (joy) like the *ābhassaradevas* if he received no alms. (*Ibid.* Vol. III, pp. 257-258). The same commentary also records another passage at arms between the Buddha and Māra ; we are told that a god belonging to the Māra world entered into the bodies of five hundred young women of whom the great and wealthy lady of Sāvatthī, Visākhā, Migāramātā, was in charge. As Māra got possession of them, they began to laugh, dance and clap their hands in the presence of the Buddha, who, however, became aware of the fact that all this was the act of Māra. By his supernatural powers the Buddha created darkness and the women were entirely nonplussed and were overtaken by fear. A short while afterwards they came to their senses. Then the Buddha removed the darkness and brought in light and the ladies became ashamed of their light conduct (Dhammapada Commentary, Vol. III, pp. 101-102).

The Dhammapadaṭṭhakaṣṭthā narrates another story recounting how Māra tried to catch the Buddha in his toils. The Buddha said on one occasion that the kings were in the habit of oppressing their subjects, thus causing untold misery to them. He further said that had he been the ruler, he would have ruler his kingdom without any such oppression.

Māra offered him the sovereignty of a kingdom with a view to put him to trouble. The Buddha, however, saw through his evil motive and gave out his intention to him and said, "the four means of obtaining supernatural power have been well meditated on. If necessary, I can even change the Himalaya mountains into gold. Therefore I can rule the subjects well without exacting any tax from them." He further said that Māra need not tempt him (Dhammapada Commentary. Vol. IV, pp. 31, 32), as all such attempts were bound to be fruitless. Once Māra in the shape of an elephant attacked Rāhulakumdara while he was lying down in the latrine of the Buddha, being driven out by the bhikkus in the Jetavana vihāra. Māra's intention was to terrify Rahula and thereby to cause pain to the mind of the Buddha. The Exalted One, however, recognised Māra and told him that he and his son could never be hurt by Māra. (Ibid, Vol. IV. pp. 69—70). On another occasion Māra in disguise met the Buddha and asked him about the sifinificance of *pāra*. The Buddha recognised him at once and retorted, "*pāra* is obtained by sinless arahats. You are Māra and you have nothing to do with *pāra*." (*Ibid*, Vol. IV, pp. 140—141).

The Majjhima Nikāya records that Māra entered into the bowels of Mahomāggallāna who felt his stomach to be heavy. Trying to find out the cause, he sat down to mediate and came to know that Māra had entered into his body. He asked Māra to leave him and not to disturb Tathāgata and his disciples. Māra came out of his mouth and stood on the bar of the door. Mahāmoggallāna related to him (Māra) his deeds in the time of the Buddha Kakusandha, the trouble he gave to Vidura, which ultimately led him to hell where he suffered for many years. (Vol. I, pp, 332, foll).

The Aṅguttara Nikāya records a conversation which the Buddha is supposed to have held with Māra three months before his *pārinibbāṇa*. Māra said, "Let the Blessed One now pass away, this is the time for him to pass away. You said that you would not pass away until your disciples were trained properly, until they had grown restrained, fearless, learned, beholders of dhamma, followers of the dhamma and the right path, till they were able to teach and preach and also to refute the teachings of others. Your disciples are now competent to do all this work and it is time for you to pass away." Māra also said the same thing regarding the bhikkhunīs. The Blessed One replied, "Don't be anxious. The Tathāgata will pass away after the lapse of three months" (Aṅguttara Nikāya, Vol. IV., pp. 310-311). The Saṁyutta Nikāya informs us that Māra in the guise of a devatā named Vetamvarī came to the Buddha and told him thus, "He who hates *tapa* (austerity) and does not like to stay alone, who is addicted to *rūpas* or beautiful forms and wishes to go to the regions of the blessed (*devaloka*), is competent to give

advice regarding the attainment of the next world." The Buddha recognised Māra in the guise of a god and explained to him, "*rūpa* (form) in this world, in the next and in the sky, is praised by Namucī. It is nothing but a bait." (Vol. I, p. 67). One night while the Buddha was at Veluvana, Māra in the guise of a big snake, went to terrify the Exalted One who, however, recognised him at once and said, "He who lives in a solitary place and has self-restraint, has no reason to be afraid of any terrible sight and can bear the bite of snakes, etc." (Saṁyutta Nikāya, Vol. I, pp. 106-107). On another occasion, Māra said to the Buddha, "the term of life of a human being is long. It should be enjoyed to the full extent." The Buddha retorted that the contrary was the truth. (Saṁyutta Nikāya Vol. I, p. 108.) Māra disturbed the Buddha while he was delivering a discourse on dhamma to a large assembly at Jetavana by saying, "You have your opponent, why are you roaring like a lion here? You have not yet conquered your opponent, why should you call yourself a conqueror?" The Buddha replied, "He who has become fearless, does roar in this way. The Tathāgatas who are endowed with ten powers, are veritable conquerors of the world." (Saṁyutta Nikāya, Vol. I, p. 110). Māra came to the Buddha while he was lying at ease after having received injury to the finger of his leg due to the stone thrown at him by Devadatta, and said, "You have no wealth, how is it that you are lying at ease. Are you absorbed in poetry or in indolence?" The Buddha replied, "I have enough wealth, I am lying at ease with compassion for all beings. Those who are pierced with arrows, etc., are lying at ease, why should I not lie at ease being free from all spears?" (Saṁyutta Nikāya, Vol. I, pp. 110-111). Again Māra in the guise of a fiery bull wanted to break the bowls of the bhikkhus, placed outside in the sun while the bhikkhus were attentively listening to the religious instruction given by the Buddha on *upādānakkhandhā* at Sāvatthi. A bhikkhu shouted that a bull had come and it might break the bowls. The Buddha said that it was Māra that had come in that guise and not a real bull (Saṁyutta Nikāya, Vol. I, p. 112). While the Buddha was delivering a discourse on Nirvāṇa at Savatthi Māra in the guise of a ploughman came and told him, "Have you seen my bulls?" By this query Māra disturbed the Buddha and the bhikkhus and their attention was distracted. (Saṁyutta Nikāya, Vol. I, p. 115). Māra told his daughters to overpower and defeat the Buddha. They made every attempt to do so but in vain. (Saṁyutta Nikāya, Vol. I, p. 127).

Māra's attempt to lead astray the therīs-baffled.

Māra tried to lead astray the therīs by painting the picture of the wordly enjoyments in brilliant colours, but here also all his attempts proved unsuccessful. Māra urged Ālavikā, a bhikkhunī thus, "Enjoy sensual pleasures; otherwise you will repent." Ālavikā replied, Kāma is like a spear, I do not find any pleasure in it. (Saṁyutta Nikāya, Vol. I,

p. 128). Māra went to Kisāgotamī, the great therī, and told her, "Why are you crying for a dead son? Go to the forest and select a suitable husband for yourself." She recognised Māra and told him, "I am sorrowful, I have no fear. I do not like to go after a man. I have destroyed all my attachments, the darkness of ignorance has been dispelled. I am now free from sins having conquered you and your army." Saṁyutta Nikāya, Vol. I, p. 130). On another occasion, Māra went to Vijayā bhikkhunī and told her, "You are young, I am also young, let us enjoy ourselves." Vijayā replied, "I do not find any delight in sensual pleasures." (Saṁyutta Nikāya, Vol. I, p. 131). Māra went to a therī named Cālā and told her, "What is it that you don't want?" She replied, "I do not want birth." He rejoined, "If you be born, you can enjoy the pleasures of the senses." She replied, "If one is born, he is subject to death, he will have to suffer much. I wish to have the dhamma preached by the Buddha for overcoming birth." (Saṁyutta Nikāya, Vol. I, p. 132). Māra went to another therī named Selā and addressed her thus, "By whom has this body been made? Who is the maker of it? What is it and how will it cease to exist?" Selā recognised Māra and replied, "I am not the maker of this body which has come into existence owing to some cause and it will pass away after the cause is destroyed." (Saṁyutta Nikāya, Vol. I, p. 134). Similar stories of temptations held out by Māra to many of the therīs are recorded in the Therīgāthā. Sukka therī after having attained arahatship said thus, "Hold the *antimadeha* after defeating Māra and his army." (Therīgāthā, p. 61). Selā therī after having obtained arahatship went to Andhavana for spending the day. Māra in order to prevent her from meditating, said to her, "There is no salvation in this world. What good will you derive by meditation? Enjoy Kāma." The therī in reply told Māra that he was but a fool and that he was not aware that she had acquired arahatship. The therī further said, "Kāma is like a spear, why do you speak of sensual pleasure?" I do not find any delight in it I am free from attachment. You have been killed." (*Ibid*, pp. 64—65) Somā therī attained arahatship and Māra tried to disturb her at Andhavana. Māra said to her, "What is difficult for a ṛṣi to get, how will you get being a little woman?" She replied, "Although I am a woman, if my mind is steadfast, if I have wisdom, I shall see the dhamma perfectly. The state of a woman is no hindrance to my attainment of arahatship. My attachment is destroyed, ignorance is dispelled and you have been defeated." (*Ibid*, pp. 66-67).

Once Khemā therī sat under a tree to spend the day. Māra in the guise of a youngman tried to induce her to enjoy the pleasures of the world and said, "you are young and beautiful, let us enjoy ourselves." The therī became aware that it was Māra who was trying to tempt her in that way and replied him thus, "This rotten body is much hated by

me. I have destroyed Kāmataṇhā. I do not find delight in *Kāma*, I am free from all sins. You have been destroyed." (Therīgāthā, p. 137-138). Māra attempted to prevent Cālā therī from leading a holy life. Cālā told Māra thus, "I have received ordination after listening to the Buddha who has preached the four noble truths to me, I have received three vijjas. I am now beyond your dominion." (Therīgāthā Commentary, pp. 163-164).

Uppalavaṇṇaī therī went to the sālā forest to spend the day. Māra addressed her thus, "If you, being alone, are oppressed by the wicked people, what will you do?" She replied, "If many wicked people come and oppress me, I am not afraid, what will you do being alone? You will not be able to recognise me if I disappear from your presence and enter into your stomach or stand on your eye-brow. My mind is steadfast. I have acquired six *abhiññās*, I have mastered the Buddhasāsana. Thereupon you cannot overcome me." (*Ibid*, pp. 198-199).

Māra's campaign against Buddhist upāsakas and bhikkhus.

In the Sutta Nipāta Commentary we read that Māra tried to prevent Dhaniya and his wife from taking ordination from the Buddha by saying, "One having sons finds delight in them as cowherds find delight in cows. Attachment is the root of happiness". The Buddha refuted it. (Vol. I, p. 44). From the Jātakas we learn that Māra cannot overcome the bhikkhus if they follow the sublime eightfold path. (Jātaka, Vol. III, p. 532) Māra asked a householder not to offer charity. He also told him that if he did so he would suffer in a hell which he pointed out to him and which was full of burning charcoal and he acted according to his advice. (Jātaka, Vol. I, p. 231). Māra also tried to dissuade a banker of Benares from making any gift to a *paccekabuddha* who came to him for charity. With this end in view Māra caused a shower of burning charcoal to fall in front of the gate of the banker's house and there was such a heap of burning charcoal that it looked like the Avīci Hell thereby trying to prevent the *paccekabuddha* from having access to the house and the benefit of the charity but at the intervention of the Bodhisatta, Māra's attempt was baffled. Jātaka, Vol. I, p. 232 foll). Buddha in course of his religious instruction to the bhikkhus told them thus, "Don't walk in an improper place which is not the Buddha's property because Māra would find an opportunity of finding fault with you" (Jātaka, Vol. II, p. 60). A thera named Nandiya after obtaining saintship was once dwelling in a Deer-Park Pācīnavamsa. In order to terrify him Māra went to him after having assumed a horrible appearance. Nandiya having recognised Māra told him, "You can't do any harm to a person who has gone beyond your kingdom. (Therīgāthā Commentary, Sinhalese Ed., p. 82).

Mara's activities as described in the Mahāyāna texts.

The Mahāyāna Buddhist texts contain some references to Māra and his activities. Māra tried to prevent a Bodhisatta named Sadāprarudita from acquiring merit. The Bodhisatta when he heard a divine voice that Dharmodgata would arise and take his seat in the midst of the town to preach the Law, he was elated with joy. The Bodhisattva then went to cleanse the spot and appointed a pulpit adorned with many gems. Then he desired to sprinkle the ground but he did not get water because all water had been hidden by Māra, the Evil One, with the object of causing him to change his purpose and thus his roots of merit might disappear. But the object of Māra was baffled because the Bodhisattva not finding any water drew out blood from his body for the purpose of cleaning the spot. (Śikṣāsamuccaya, translated by Bendall & Rouse, pp. 42 foll). The Buddhacarita Kāvya informs us that when Siddhārtha was sitting at the foot of the Bo-tree to obtain omniscience, Māra with his three sons, Vibhrama, Harśa and Darpa and with his three daughters, Rati, Prīti and Tṛśnā, and himself armed with the flowery arrow, came to the Aśvattha tree to disturb him. Māra tried various ways to tempt the Buddha but in vain. Māra with his army tried to make him impatient but in vain. He then left the Buddha in despair. (Buddhacarita, Ch. 13. cf. Soundarānanda Kāvya Canto III. Ślokas 7-8.) After the Buddha had received Sambodhi, Māra came to him and told him, "Your object has been fulfilled. You obtain *nirvāṇa*." The Buddha replied thus, "After having placed all people in *Dharma*, I shall obtain *nirvāṇa*." At this Māra grew furious and returned home. The daughters of Māra made many fruitless attempts to tempt the Buddha. (Buddhacaritakāvya, pp. 11-36). Māra in the guise of Kaulesvara of the Śākya family, came to the Buddha and requested him to return to Kapilavastu but the Buddha recognised him and asked him to return home. (*Ibid*, pp. 37-45). In the Mahāvastu Avadāna we read that when the Bodhisatta came to the foot of the Bodhi tree, Māra came terrified and began to praise him saying, "You are unparalled in beauty. You are possessed of seven gems. You are endowed with the thirty-two signs of a great man. You enjoy women. The daughters of Māra are singing songs and throwing scented powder to cheer you up. Oh Prince, stay at home and enjoy yourself." The Bodhisatta replied, "I have no desire for *kāma*. I am after salvation. *Kāma* is to be given up. Women are the cause of harm. The Bodhisatta is not attached to women. You don't speak of kāma." Māra's son, Sārthavāha, said to his father thus "Please listen to me. The Bodhisatta will remove the darkness of ignorance. He will be our saviour. He will do good to the world. He will defeat all the army of Māra. You will not be able to move him by any means." At this Māra grew angry with his son. The army of Māra attacked the Bodhisatta but he was not afraid. Māra and his army were thus defeated (p. 357).

The most detailed and elaborate account of the great struggle between Buddha and Māra is narrated in the Lalitavistara. When the Prince Siddhārtha was about to reach Sambodhi, Māra dreamt many inauspicious dreams, and came to know of the great effort that the Śākya prince was making for final emancipation. He at once roused his sons and assistants, his generalissimo, Simhahanu by name and all his friends and relatives, informed them of the activities of Siddhārtha and prepared a mighty host of all arms ; his soldiers were fearful and terrible, of all queer and uncouth forms that the imagination of man can conceive of. His thousand sons were ranged in two battalions to his right and left. Those ranged on the right led by Sārthavāha, urged him to submit to the Bodhisatta while those on the left argued to the contrary, and were determined to fight to a finish. Then commenced the onset of Māra whose army began to strike at him with all sorts of weapons. Huge heaps of flowers, dreadful fires hurled at him, formed an aureole round his body ; dreadful death-dealing weapon formed beds of sweet smelling flowers round about the Bodhi tree and many of them hanging from it in garlands added to its beauty. Then Māra appeared before him and urged him to rule over the earth but failing to tempt the Bodhisattva, he fled with his army. Then Māra urged his fascinating daughters to try all their arts and skill on the Bodhisattva. They tried the effect at first of the thirty-two womanly arts upon him but could not produce the least impression on him. Then they tried to tempt him with sweet *gāthās* to enjoy the pleasures of the senses in their company but the Bodhisattva discoursed to them on the futility of all desires. Then the daughters of Māra, trained and accomplished as they were in all the female arts and guiles, began to exercise on him the full strength of their powers but the Bodhisattva restrained them with soft and sweet words, unmoved alike by all that they said or did. Then they desisted and reported to their father of the futility of female charms against Bodhisattva but Māra would not yet turn back. He now tried threats to frighten away the Bodhisattva but he was no more successful than before. At last he made a final onset with all sorts of offensive weapons and the whole of his army, but he was defeated. At last he had to retreat, unable to turn away the Śākya prince from the great object he had placed before himself.

The Divyāvadāna describes a fight between Māra and the sage Upagupta who succeeded in binding the Satanic enemy and inflicted an insulting defeat on him. (Divyāvadāna, p. 357ff.)

In order to defeat Māra, Lord of the World of desire, one should accept the Law of the Buddha, which causes pain, sorrow and lamentation to Māra, the Evil One. (Śikṣāsamuccaya, Tr. by Bendall and Rouse, p. 44.)

---

line. He was specially advised by his preceptor to popularize the teachings of the Nāthas. Nearly seven (Dīpikā-XVIII-1810) centuries have elapsed since the publication of the said works. Therein sacred secrets of the sect are preached in the language of the people (Dīpikā-XVIII-1805 1780; 1736). By the past generations they were very roughly handled (Dīpikā-XVIII-1812). Besides this, a marked change in the form of the language took place. Hence great caution is required to be exercised in drawing conclusions from a study of the works. In the first place, to grasp the spirit of the writer, it is necessary to enter the heart of the author. The study of the surroundings and the social state of the time are essential in order to became conversant with the facts. Let us proceed with our enquiry along these lines.

IV. Once there was a time when a monopoly of the Vedic education and of the means of obtaining final beatitude had been completely usurped by the so called twice-born castes (Dīpikā-XVIII-1457 to 1458) and a great many privileges were also enjoyed by them in social life (Dīpikā-IX-457 to 483). In the long run this arbitrariness became unbearable to men of honour and justice (Dīpikā-XVIII-1459). The down-trodden classes joined with them to face the opposition (Dīpikā-XVI-52; 58). Some joint efforts were necessary in order to change the outlook of the time. These men wanted to have some scope for their activities. The party in power was mostly of an uncompromising nature. It was firm with its bigoted ideas (Dīpikā-1478 Br. Su. S.B. I-iii-34). The true spirit of the sons of Bharata was dormant and *śama*, *dama*, and *dayā* these elements had become foreign to them (Dīpikā-XVI-316). Neglecting real measures for their own welfare they occupied themselves in the bad business of pulling down others whether by fair means or foul (Dīpikā-XIII-18). The energy of the learned was wasted in shallow literary combats which were the manomania of the day (Dīpikā-XIV-152; 153). This was the case not only with the Vedikś but with their opponents as well, who were committing the same mistake (Dīpikā XIII-21). Harmony between the branches of both the Vedikas and Avedikas seemed impossible of attainment (Dīpikā-XIII-15). This had created an atmosphere of strife in the society and had caused the revolutionary reaction everywhere. There seemed to be no hope, for the light of true knowledge (Dīpikā-XVII-93 to 95). Though it was badly wanted by every-body, it had become very dim. In addition to this in such a chaotic condition of the country imposters were obtaining great success and thus contributing to the completion of the disorder (Dīpikā-XIII-808; 720 to 722; 813; 661). The whole country was groaning under the burden of these sinful wrongs (Dīpikā-XVI-451 to 453). The leaders of the day were groping in the dark (Dīpikā-IX-176; 177). The society had to experience the pinching pains and torments of the mind (Dīpikā-XVI-421 VI-443).

V. In this state of things need of a guiding hand was most urgently felt; some help for the unhappy victims was necessary. Then the Siddhas of Nātha line came forward with their loins girded (Dīpikā-XVIII-1760). They were the pioneers who took into their hands the work of reformation at the opportune moment. They caused the revival of the true spirit of the religion (Dīpikā-XVIII-1765). What they first did was to cut asunder the artificial bonds which were causing religious stagnation in the people. Slavery was rooted out from the province of religion (Dīpikā-XVIII-1714; 1462). The right of all classes, alike of men and women to stand on a common platform was re-established (Dīpikā-XVIII-1464; 1448; Siddhānuvāda, II-5). The teachings of the Vedic seers were unfettered for the first time. They came forth from the obscurity of Sanskrit and saw the light of day. The chains of various restrictions were broken and spiritual truth was made free. Then and there it became available to one and all. By these generous men, the Vedic religion of the Ṛṣis of Ṛgveda with some suitable improvements was given to them in their own tongue (Dīpikā-VIII-1736). Thus they were made capable to attain their perfection independently (Dīpikā-XI-10). It was left in the hands of every one to secure the place aspired. Thus the Siddhas of Nātha line worked strenuously to build up the religious side of the nation in Mahārāṣṭra. They kept nothing secret from the public as Mānabhavās did and taught frankly whatever they knew to the person who went to them with that intention (Dīpikā-XVIII-1508; 1509). The right of enjoying the spiritual domain was granted to every body. (Siddhānu-X-25-28). They worked out a radical change in the social position of woman by their foresight (Dīpikā-XVIII-1751; IX-474). Minor differences of the devotees about the adoration of the deities were skilfully reconciled. (Dīpikā-IX-353). In their moral teaching all were condemned (Dīpikā-XVII-104 to 108) and virtues encouraged (Dīpikā-XVI-199-3; 2095). A way was opened to sinners for the expiation of their wrong doings, (Dīpikā-IX-419) and the hope of reward for the righteous for their meritorious works was kept constantly alive (Dīpikā-VIII-131). This liberal policy on the part of the Siddhas made their teaching popular among the people of every class. The proverb "example is better than precept" was brought into action by them. This produced a good impression on the people and they once again assembled under the bannner unfurled by the Siddhas. With this material at hand they have made enormous efforts in the field of philosophy. Everything sublime and admirable was made use of to rouse the dormant spirit of Mahārāṣṭra. Just as they have their own philosophy, so they have their own songs sung in honour of their God Viṭhobā. They sought by moral instruction to guide the life of people, and set them to do works of piety (Dīpikā-XII-38; III-91; 107.) Now let us see what it was that they actually said and did for our dear Mahārāṣṭra which led to this revolution in the spiritual world of thought and in the society itself.

VI. At this stage some words about Jñāndeo, the last of the Siddhas of the Nātha line, will not be out of place. They are intended to give some clear idea of the value of the opinions he held in his work Siddhānuvāda, the first and last work of its kind. He is to the Nātha teachings what Śaṅkara is to Māyāvāda. The doctrine of devotion was made perfect by him (XVIII-1133; Siddhānu-X-60). The philosophy propounded by Jñāndeo is based on a different ground from the philosophies of other thinkers. His uncommon reason in interpreting the difficult Mantras such as *viśvataś cakṣuḥ* ' (Dīpikā-XIII-874 to 891), etc., has proved his originality of thought. In ascertaining the divisions of the Bhagvad-gītā on the basis of the divisions of the subject made by the author of the work, Jñāndeo has opened a new line in the matter (Dīpikā-XVIII-1433 to 1450). He has made it quite evident that he has justly weighed the past writers on philosophy (Dīpikā-XVIII-1722; 1723). He appreciated the truths ascertained by the Vedas and the other works of the kind (Dīpikā-XIII-1078) but he kept his vision so that he is not clear dazzled by anything else whatever its name or authority may be. The Nāthas have got their independent ideas of God, Soul, World and the final goal. In his Bhāṣya Śaṅkara rightly says " *Yena tvaṁśena na viruddhyete tenesṭameva sāṁkhya yogasmṛtyos sāvakāśatvam*" (S.B. II-i-3.) On this principle the whole structure of their philosophy was built up. At the beginning it is taken by him that there is only one element which becomes everything and does everything, just like ' Light ' that takes the various shapes of all flames of the lamps (Siddhānu-I-18; Dīpikā-XIII-1077). The ideas of qualified God of Viṣṇusvāmi, and of non-qualified Bramhan of Śaṅkara are most skilfully harmonised by him in his idea of the soul (Dīpikā-XII-25) Rāmānuja's idea of " Prapatti " was accepted with some change in it. The Nātha doctrine of ' *Premabhakti* ' is a development of Rāmānuja's *prapatti* combined with the idea of the nature of the soul of Śaṅkara. The Gītā and the Tāmil Āḷvārs had already cleared the way by which the Nāthas took women and others direct to final beatitude which was prohibited to them long ago (Dīpikā-IX-456). The holy teachings of ' Pāñcarātras ' were not left untouched. The ideas of Vāsudeo's Abhigaman, and Ārādhan, it seems, are evidently taken from them (Dīpikā-XVII-202, 210). Some of the principles of Kāṣmīrian Śaivism of Vasuguptācārya' such as ' Samvida ' etc., are also seen in this work of the Nātha line (Siddhānu-X-11). The doctrine of ' Avidyā' is examined in many ways (Siddhānu-VII-11 to 278). The idea of 'Avidyā' is condemned (Siddhānu-VII-277). The world as the production of Avidyā is proved to be an impossibility (Siddhānu-VII-269). The ' Avidyā ' of Śaṅkara being beyond the province of *pramāṇās* ' is proved unfit for consideration (Siddhānu-VII-55). He was willing to receive with any source (Dīpikā-XIII-359). If once his reason is satisfied he is sure to accept it. Words even from God Śaṅkara and Viṣṇu had themselves no value unless they were supported

by logical reasonings (Siddhānu-III-17-18). He had become confident that even the decisions of the Vedas on the points taken by him for consideration do not traverse the conclusions which he arrived at independently (Siddhānu-X-18). With this right confidence in himself, he started to write his works on philosophy. His extraordinary skill in making his subject easy, and charming and his power of producing a good impression on his readers are well known to the scholars of Marāṭhi language (Dīpikā-VI-131 to 135). With all this material at hand the works like '*Siddhānuvāda*' etc., are written by this leading philosopher of the Nātha line, on them we make the following comments :—

VII. He says :—It is a fundamental truth that the 'Upādāna material-cause remains materially unchanged when it assumes the form of a certain thing effected from it (Pāsasti-14, Saddhānu-VII-144). The law of the indestructibility of the matter does not allow a single moment to pass without the world consisting of so many concrete things of undeniable existence (Siddhānu-VII-157-159-160). Naturally the world with its causes proves to be permanent and true (Pāsasti-12, Siddhānu-VII-272). This is possible only when there is total non-existence of a foreign matter. '*Caitanya*' is admitted to be of this nature. (Siddhānu-V-34, Dīpikā-V-137 ; 180). This, '*Caitanya*' is itself a world (Dīpikā-XIV-127 and Siddhānu-VII-289). It being all powerful requires no assistance from without (Siddhānu-VII-134) much less from non-entity like '*Avidyā*'. (Siddhānu-VII-292). This world is the obverse of the coin '*Caitanya*' and with that view it is called qualified (Siddhānu-IX-11). This world of objects and subjects is just like the rays of the Sun, '*Caitanya*' (Dīpikā-IX-251) and this sun '*Caitanya*' cannot be obscured by its rays. (Siddhānu-VII-137-166.). On the contrary they add to the lustre something charming (Dīpikā-XIV-126). The relation between '*Caitanya*' and the world is declared to be similar to that of a diamond and its lustre (Dīpikā-XIV-373-377.).

Vivarta and *Pariṇāma* in this connexion are considered quite unfit to give the correct idea of the nature of the things in question (Siddhānu-VII-19, Dīpikā-IX-64-to-66). This true is also of the soul (Dīpikā-XIII-1063). It is counted as one as well as many from different points of view. It is true that these two contrary qualities cannot exist in one and the same thing at the same time. The riddle has been already solved by Śaṅkara by giving the instance of '*Saṅkocita prasārita hasta-pāda Devdattaḥ*' S. B. II-i-18. To make this point clear, Pāsasti states that just as the whole tablet of camphor is regarded as a camphor in whole. But when a particle of it is separated from the tablet it remains camphor as before (Pāsasti-6, 37 ; Dīpikā-IX-256-257). Thus the souls are proved to be one element that plays many parts.

VIII. So also with '*Caitanya*' and the individual soul. This is what this school calls their Almighty God (Dīpikā-XV-579 ; XVIII-1,

XVI-17). Without any change (*Vikṛti*) in its nature '*Caitanya*' plays the part of world as well as of God (Siddhānu-VII-149). The power of the absolute of becoming all is explained with the apt instance of a rain-bow. There seven colours are displayed by the light of the Sun. God does the same thing (Siddhānu-VII-131). In the play of 'Bahubhavan' Absolute and Qualified are the two aspects of all-pervading '*Caitanya*'. A turban is nothing more than the arranged threads twisted in a particular way. Similarly the world, the soul, and God are nothing else than a concrete '*Caitanya*' (Pāsasti-19-Siddhānu-VII-141-147; Dipikā-XIV-120). In the same manner, just like a soul God is considered both to be absolute and qualified (Pāsasti-15). Now let us see the way of attaining the goal.

IX. It is a general rule established by the 'Upaniṣads that the things thought to be dear are proved to be really so, only when they are able to give something in return. People do not love a single thing for the thing itself. The love for the self is totally disinterested. It is for the self that all else is loved (Bṛhadāraṇyaka-II-iv-5; Dīpikā-XVIII-1346). This unique love of the individual self when properly transmitted to the all pervading soul, *i.e.* '*Caitanya*' is called true love for God (Dīpikā-XIV-388); This pure devotion leads the thinker to final beatitude (Dīpikā-IX-430-Siddhānu-IX-64). This is called '*Premabhakti.*' When the individual soul arrives at this stage of cultivated thought, it actually melts in God and at that stage the God becomes the devotee's own-self in thoughts and deeds (Siddhānu-IX-35-62). In the experience of this state God becomes dearer to him even than his own life iteslf (Dīpikā-XVIII-1421-23). In this state this '*Premabhakti*' goes on without any physical or mental efforts (Dīpikā-XVIII-1153; Siddhānu-IX-58). Here the object of love being pure bliss of an indestructible nature, by the intensity of his thoughts, the lover becomes one with the loved (Siddhānu, IX-6, 35). Then he tastes the unlimited bliss unmixed with any foreign element. For the continuous enjoyment of this, there is the necessity of cultivated mind and thought on a proper line (Dīpikā-I-56 to 62, Siddhānu-IX-60). Singing the praise of God (Dīpikā-IX-200), practice of Yoga (Dīpikā-VI-291) and the study of the scriptures (Dīpikā-XVI-459) are the means prescribed for the preparation of the required powers. These measures of '*Premabhakti*' are also termed as '*Bhakti*' by many writers on the subject. The final state is realised in this life itself (Dīpikā-IX-365).

X. The future progress of the devotees depends on his constant study of the said measures in truth. In order that higher devotion may be excited. It is necessary that there be no duality. It is only possible in *oneness* (Dīpikā-VIII-126). He illustrates this by the example of a carved stone. The stone is one, while the figures carved are different. Siddhas who had already reached the goal observe the rule of

'*Sādhanabhakti*' in their greatfulness (Dīpikā-III-159; Siddhānu-X-6) and for '*Lokasaṅgraha*' also (Dīpikā-III-176). They have something of their own to say on the law of Karma (Dīpikā-III-45 to 63) and practice (Dīpikā-III-130). There are many remarkable principles of ethics (Dīpikā-III-81 to 145) in the said work the description of which is out of our province.

XI. This is the broad out-line of the teaching and the history of philosophy of Jñānadeo a siddha-leader of the Nāthapantha. This philosophy with the accompaniment of '*Premabhakti*,' has opened the royal (Dīpikā-XII-89 to 93; 219) road of bliss to the disappointed millions. So that innumerable innocent persons are relieved from the heavy pains of life of pessimism (Dīpikā-XVI-34; 50). The whole Mahārāṣṭra is singing the praises of this last Nātha who has made human life a joy. This world which was thought to be a hell is turned into heaven (Dīpikā-XVI-37) by the Siddha Jñāndeo with the force of his '*Premabhakti*' (Dīpikā-XV 570); and has set up good example of other benevolent religious reformers to follow, for the good of the country (Dīpikā-XVIII-1795).

PŪRVA-MĪMĀMSĀ IN THE LIGHT OF UTTARA-MĪMĀMSĀ.

BY

PROF. T. V. RAMACHANDRA DĪKSITAR, MADRAS.

अथास्मिञ्जीवलोके कोऽप्यस्ति मनुजानामेव केवलमाजानसिद्धस्स्वभावविप्रकर्षो यदेषामान्तरं करणं किमपि किमपि सङ्कल्पयदन्यान्यच्च विकल्पयद्धावंधावमनाहत्येव वस्तुनो बाह्यमाकारं किमत्रान्तश्छन्नं किंकारणं वैतदिति परीक्षणोत्सुकमेव बम्भ्रमीति । एवमेष्वन्विष्यमाणेषु विमृश्यमानेषु च तत्त्वेषु यान्यादिभुवामृषीणां मनसि प्रादुरासन्, तान्येवाद्य यावद्विलसन्ति वेदमयानि; येषामेव च वयमद्यत्वे भागिनो भवामः । तस्यैतस्य पारम्परीपरिपालितस्यार्थनिर्णयाय भगवन्तौ जैमिनिबादरायणावाचार्यौ प्रावर्तेताम् । तत्रोत्तराचार्योपज्ञभूतायाः **उत्तरमीमांसाया अध्वनि प्रस्थितः कश्चित्पूर्वमीमांसायां कामपि दृष्टिमाबध्नाति** इत्यमुं विषयमधिकृत्य किञ्चिदत्र यथामति निबध्यते ।

उत्तरतन्त्रेण पूर्वतन्त्रस्य प्रत्यासत्तिः ।

सर्वज्ञानाकरश्चेमं वेदं बाह्याः कदाचिदपहत्य प्रामाण्यं स्वोत्प्रेक्षामात्रनिबन्धनैर्वचननिकुरुम्बैर्दुर्निश्चयमूलमपि छिन्नमूलमापिपादयिषवो विचेरुरिति यत्सत्यं मन्यामहे कालो नाम नैकविधस्योच्छृङ्खलप्रवेशः प्रेक्षणकोद्देश एवेति । अथ चैवं बहुतिथं कालमेषां वचनेषु संप्लवमानस्य वेदप्रामाण्यस्य समाजिहीर्षयोपोत्तस्थुस्सर्वे दर्शनकारास्तत्तादृशीभिर्विधाभिः । सर्वेषामेव चैषामुपासनीयस्स एको भगवानाम्नायः । कं कं गुणविशेषमाधायोपासांचक्रिर इति त्वस्माभिरेवोत्प्रेक्षणीयम् ।

तत्र वैशेषिकास्तावत्सर्वथा सुरक्ष्यं वेदप्रामाण्यमङ्गीकृत्यानुद्वेजयन्त एव परानुमानविधया तस्य प्रामाण्यमनुमेनिरे । नैयायिकाः पुनः पृथक् शब्दं प्रमाणं व्यवस्थाप्याप्ततमेश्वरप्रणीता वेदास्तमेवावलम्ब्य प्रामाण्यपदवीमधिरोक्ष्यन्तीति निरचैषुः ।

सांख्या अपि नातिविभिन्नमेवैतस्मात्पन्थानमेकं वितेनिरे । उभयेषामपि वादिनां वेदो यद्यप्यलौकिकेष्वेव धर्मादिषु स्वार्थव्यवस्थापकः; परिनिष्ठितं च वस्तु प्रमाणान्तरगम्यमेवेति तदंशेऽनुवादमात्रमिति मतं समानम् । यदाहुः "अतीन्द्रियश्च धर्मादिर्बुध्यते नागमादृते"[1] इति; "तस्मादपि चासिद्धं परोक्षमाप्तागमात्सिद्धम्"[2] इति च; तथापि साङ्ख्यैराहत्येश्वरसद्भावे न व्यवसितमिति वेदापौरुषेयत्वसङ्गमनात् वेदासिद्धानां च बहूनामर्थानां तर्कैर्व्यवस्थापनात् ते युक्तमेवादर्शयन्ति नैयायिकादीनपेक्ष्यात्मनो वेदप्रामाण्येऽधिकतरविस्रम्भम् ।

भगवतो जैमिनेस्तु मुखादिदंप्रथमावतीर्णं "अर्थेऽनुपलब्धे तत्प्रमाणं बादरायणस्यानपेक्षत्वात्"[3] इति सूत्रमेकमेवालोकासिद्धां कामपि वेदप्रामाण्यस्य सुषमामाविश्चकारेत्यहो ! तस्य भावगरिम्णः परा काष्ठा ।

यस्त्वत्राप्यतिशङ्कते—जैमिनिरपि न साकल्येन तस्य प्रामाण्यमनुजानाति; अनर्थकानेव च अर्थवादादीनभिमन्यत इति । स इत्थं प्रतिनिर्देश्यः—अनिर्भरः खल्वेष आचार्यस्य, सिद्धे वेदस्य निरपेक्षप्रामाण्येऽकारणमर्थवादानर्थक्यविधानमिति ।

यथा च न केवलमाचार्यैरेषां प्रामाण्यं न निजुह्नुवे, माननातिशय एव च समदर्शि, तथोपरिष्टान्निवेदयिष्यामः । तदेवं सिद्धं यथोक्तप्रामाण्यपरीक्षापरम्परापरीवाहपारावारभूतनिरपेक्षप्रामाण्यव्यवस्थापनेनापीतरेभ्यो दर्शनेभ्यो जैमिनीयं दर्शनं प्रत्यासन्नतरं वेदान्तदर्शनस्य न केवलं तदपेक्षिताखिलपदार्थसंशोधनेनैवेति । तथा च वेदान्तशास्त्रेणाभिलषितं यावन्मात्रमिह पदार्थजातमत्यच्छं निरूपितं चकास्ति ।

पूर्वतन्त्रस्योत्तरतन्त्रोपयोगः ।

शास्त्रेऽस्मिन् लक्षणतो[4]ऽत्रभवान्धर्मो द्वादशात्मेव[5] प्रद्योतते । तत्र प्रथमलक्षणार्थश्श्रुतिस्मृत्यादिप्रामाण्यं कृत्स्नेनैवोत्तरतन्त्रेणापेक्ष्यत इति समानम् । द्वितीयलक्षणार्थोऽपि शब्दान्तरादिभिः कर्मभेद आवसनाद्गुणोपसंहारपादेन सङ्गच्छते ।

1. अयं पठनपाठनानुगतः कोऽपि श्लोकः
2. सांख्यकारिका 6.
3. जै. I-i-5.
4. लक्षणतः—अध्यायतः, लिङ्गाच्च ।
5. द्वादशात्मा—द्वादशधा विभक्तस्वरूपः, आदित्यश्च ।

तृतीयं तु श्रुतिलिङ्गादि तद्बलाबलं च समन्वयलक्षणार्थेन संमीयते। चतुर्थः पुनः प्रयोज्यप्रयोजकभावः "फलमत उपपत्तेः"[1] इत्यादौ साहाय्यकमाचरति। तथा पञ्चमषष्ठयोरर्थः क्रमोऽधिकारश्च वियत्पादस्यार्चिरादिमार्गपर्वविचारस्य, अधिकारनिर्णयस्य चोपकरोति। अतिदेशविचारपरं तु उत्तरषट्कं नात्र तादृशोपयोगवत्। तथाहि—अस्याप्युत्तरतन्त्रस्य सामान्यतस्सङ्कल्पितौ द्वावेव विषयौ ज्ञानमुपासनञ्च। यद्यप्युपासनमेतद्विधिकाण्ड एव क्रियारूपसामान्याद्विचार्यं निर्णेतुं सांप्रतम्; तथापि विधिकाण्डे देवताकाण्डे वा नात्मानमलभतेतीह निविशते। सम्भवति चात्राप्यस्य निरूपणे पुष्कला सामग्री। उपासनं नाम भवत्येकप्रत्ययरूपतयात्यन्तसरूपं विद्यया संश्लिष्टोपदिष्टं, अन्तरङ्गसाधनं च तस्या इति। अत एतद्विचारेण मन्दाधिकारिणोऽप्याचार्यैरत्रानुगृह्यन्ते "वशीकृते मनस्येषां सगुणब्रह्मशीलनात्। तदेवाविर्भवेत्साक्षादपेतोपाधिकल्पनम्[2]"॥ इति।

एवं द्वयोरत्र विचिचारयिषितयोरपि निर्भेदत्वाद्विद्याया भेदेऽप्युपासनानामस्पष्टप्रकृतिविकारभावानां दर्विहोमवत्प्राकरणिकैरेवाङ्गैराकाङ्क्षोपशमाच्च कृतमत्रातिदेशकृत्येनेति। अथ वा "यावमुष्य गेष्णौ तावस्य गेष्णौ"[3] इत्यादिस्थले वाक्यार्थविचारन्यायस्य च सर्वत्रैवोपयोगस्सुप्रदर्श एव। सूत्रकारोऽपि "शब्द इति चेन्नातः प्रभवात्प्रत्यक्षानुमानाभ्याम्"[4] "सर्ववेदान्तप्रत्ययं चोदनाद्यविशेषात्"[5] "प्रदानवदेव तदुक्तम्"[6] "विधिर्वा धारणवत्"[7] "औपसदवत्तदुक्तम्"[8] "श्रुत्यादिबलीयस्त्वात्"[9] "लिङ्गभूयस्त्वात्तद्धि बलीयस्तदपि"[10] इत्यादिनात्मनः पूर्वतन्त्रेण नित्यवदपेक्षां स्पष्टमेव जगाद।

तन्त्रयोर्विशेषः।

न चैतावता मिषेण तेनैव गतत्वादुत्तरतन्त्रे वन्ध्यममीषामर्थानां पुनश्श्रवणमिति विभावनीयम्; यत एवमादिषु शङ्कास्पदेषु भाष्यकारादिभिरेव सुदूरं तत्र तत्र पराक्रान्तम्। तथाहि—कणशोऽप्युत्तरतन्त्रस्य पूर्वतन्त्रेणाम्रेडितत्वं प्रत्यादेष्टुमुपजातकौतुका इव श्रीभगवत्पादाः "भेदान्नेति चेन्नैकस्यामपि"[11] इति सूत्रमेभिराशङ्कापदैरवतारयांबभूवुः—

1. ब्र. III-ii-38.
2. वेदान्तकल्पतरुः पृ. 192 निर्णयसागर।
3. छान्दोग्य I-vii-6.
4. ब्र. I-iii-28.
5. ब्र. III-iii-1.
6. ब्र. III-iii-43
7. ब्र. III-iv-20.
8. ब्र. III-iii-33.
9. ब्र. III-iii-49.
10. ब्र. III-iii-44.
11. ब्र. III-iii-2.

"ये तु नामरूपादयो भेदहेत्वाभासास्ते प्रथमे काण्डे 'न नाम्ना स्यात्' इत्यारभ्य परिहृताः। इहापि कश्चिद्विशेषमाशङ्क्य परिहरति"[1] इति। अयमत्र विशेषशङ्कार्थः— एकादशकपालत्वद्वादशकपालत्वयोर्भिन्नशाखागतेऽग्नीषोमीये भवन्विकल्प उत्पन्नशिष्टाभ्यां ताभ्यां भवेत्। इह तु "पञ्चाग्नीन्वेद"[2] इति सङ्ख्याया उत्पत्तिसंबन्धात् "तस्याग्निरेवाग्निः"[3] इति विद्या भिद्येतैव गुणादिति। एवं "एक आत्मनश्शरीरे भावात्"[4] इत्यत्र तन्त्रयोरपौनरुक्त्यं विधान्तरेणोपवर्णयन्ति स्म—"ननु शास्त्रप्रमुख एव प्रथमे पादे देहव्यतिरिक्तस्यात्मनोऽस्तित्वमुक्तं"[5] इति। एतदुक्तं भवति—सत्येव सिद्धान्तपथानुसारेण शास्त्रद्वैधे, अन्यतस्सिद्धं देहव्यतिरिक्तस्यात्मनोऽस्तित्वमनुमानादिप्रामाण्यवदेव नेह व्युत्पाद्यं; अभ्युपेत्यवादेन शास्त्रभेदे तु सुतरामिति। "सत्यमुक्तं भाष्यकृता न तु तत्रात्मास्तित्वे सूत्रमस्ति"[6] इति परिहारस्सुगमः। तदनेन पूर्वतन्त्रमप्युत्तरतन्त्रेण सापेक्षमेवेत्युपक्षिप्तं भवति। तदिदमुक्तं "अत एव च भगवतोपवर्षेण प्रथमे तन्त्रे....अस्यां प्रसक्तौ शारीरके वक्ष्याम इत्युद्धारः कृतः"[7] इति।

अपि च पूर्वतन्त्रात्प्रणीयमानान्यपि श्रुतिलिङ्गादीनि सामान्यस्वभावान्येवेह प्रणीयन्ते, न यथालक्षितस्वभावान्येव, अङ्गत्वघटकीभूतकृतिकारकवाचकशब्दादिरूपाणामेषामाकाशाद्यधिकरणेष्वनन्वयात्। बलाबलमपि चैषामिहस्थितानां प्रायशो व्युत्क्रमेणैव व्यवतिष्ठते। तथा ह्याकाशप्रतर्दनसर्वत्रप्रसिद्धाद्यधिकरणेषु लिङ्गादीनामेव पूर्वस्माद्वैभवमुपलभामहे। अतश्चेमानि इतरव्यावृत्तिप्रयोजकतद्धर्मप्रवृत्तिनिमित्तकश्शब्दः श्रुतिरित्येवमादिना अपूर्वलक्षणान्येव कर्तव्यानि। निमित्तान्तरसंयोगेन बलाबलमप्युत्पाद्यम्।

ननु स्रुवाद्यधिकरणेष्वर्थसामर्थ्यस्य विपरीतमपि बलाबलं दर्शितम्। सत्यं दर्शितम्; तथाप्यानर्थक्यप्रतिहतानामेव तत्। इह तूपक्रमादितात्पर्यलिङ्गसचिवानि तानि प्रबलानि निर्णीयन्ते।

1. ब्रह्म. शांकरभाष्य पृ. 745 (निर्णयसागर 1917).
2. छान्दोग्य V-x-10.
3. छान्दोग्य VI-ii-14.
4. ब्र. III-iii-53.
5. ब्रह्म. शांकरभाष्य पृ. 849 (निर्णयसागर 1917).
6. ब्रह्म. शांकरभाष्य पृ. 850 (निर्णयसागर 1917).
7. ब्रह्म. शांकरभाष्य पृ. 850 (निर्णयसागर 1917).

ननु चैतदपि नापूर्वमिव ; स्थितमेतत्—उच्चैर् ऋग्वेदेन क्रियते इति । अद्धा तात्पर्यलिङ्गोन्मेषाय त्विह पुनरनुक्रम्यन्ते श्रुतिलिङ्गादीनीत्यस्त्यतिशयः । सूत्रकारोऽपि "तत्तु समन्वयात्"[1] इत्युपक्रमादिना वाक्यसमन्वयं लक्षणार्थं प्रतिजानीते न श्रुत्यादिबलाबलम् । एषैव दिक् क्रमप्रमाणेष्वपि सञ्चारणीया । तत्र ह्येकेन शेषिणोपगृहीतानां समानप्रयोगपतितानामेककर्तृसंयुक्तानाञ्चार्थानामर्थाक्षिप्तः क्रमो विवक्ष्येत ; न तथेह क्रमो विवक्षितः, अद्वितीयं ब्रह्म अवतारयिष्यन्ह्यागमः सृष्टिप्रतिपादने व्याप्रियमाणः कामपि प्रक्रियामारचयतीति सुश्लिष्ट एष राद्धान्तः ।

अथापि स्यात्, अन्तरेणापि तात्पर्यं विपरीतमर्थं ग्राहयच्छास्त्रं साङ्ख्यादिवाद इव विप्रतिषेधादेवाप्रामाण्यमनुपतेत् । इममप्यनुशयं दूरीकुर्वन्द्वितीयाध्याये सृष्टिवाक्यानामप्यवगतिसामान्यमाचार्यः प्रपञ्चयति ।

उपासनासु चापेक्षितोऽपि क्रमः पूर्वतन्त्रसिद्धैरेव न्यायकलापैर्यथायथं शक्यते निर्वोढुमिति न तत्राधिकं प्रयत्यते । दिङ्मात्रेणेहैषां पदार्थानां स्वरूपमालिखितम् । लक्षणनिष्कर्षलक्ष्यव्याप्तिप्रदर्शनयोः पुनर्न किञ्चिदवशिष्यते सङ्कलयितुं यदस्ति परोक्षमिव पूर्वतन्त्रविचारचणानां विशेषतो नयमयूखमालिका-शिवार्कमणिदीपिका-न्यायरक्षामणि-परिमलादिग्रन्थनिकषायमाणशालीनधियामिति ।

एवं तावत् —

ईषद्भेदः पदार्थानां कथितः पूर्वतन्त्रतः ।
न्यायानामपि सञ्चारे विमतिः परिदृश्यताम् ॥

तत्र प्रथमं तावत्—कौण्डपायिनामयने "उपसद्भिश्चरित्वा मासमग्निहोत्रञ्जुहोति" इति श्रूयते । तत्र नामधातुभ्यां प्रसिद्धमग्निहोत्रमनूद्य मासो गुणो विधीयत इति प्रापय्य भाष्यकृद्भिस्समादधे । विधीयमानो हि गुणो नैकोऽत्र विधातुं शक्यते, प्रसिद्धाग्निहोत्रे न सन्त्युपसद इति । तदिहोपसदः, तदानन्तर्यं, मासश्चेति त्रितयं विधातव्यम् । न चानेको गुणो विधानमर्हति । तस्मादपूर्वस्यैव विशिष्टकर्मणस्संयोग इति । तदिदं गुणात्कर्मभेदप्रसञ्जनं न प्रकरणान्तरादित्यनुशयाना वार्तिककाराः प्रकारान्तरमत्र व्युत्पादयांबभूवुः । नह्यत्र गुणात्प्रकरणं

1. ब्र. 1-i-4.

भिद्यते, भिद्यमानश्च तत् कर्म भिनत्तीति प्रणालिका समाश्रयितुं युक्ता शब्दान्तरादिष्वपि[1] यथासंभवं तदापत्तेः। किन्तु प्रकरणान्तरमिति—पूर्ववृत्तस्यापरिवृत्तिः बुद्धावनाकलनमुच्यते। तेन प्रयोजनान्यत्वं विधीयमानस्य धात्वर्थस्य भेद इति। एतदुक्तं भवति—सर्वत्र धात्वर्थभावनाविषयो विधिरित्युत्सर्गः। योग्योपपदसत्वे तत्रैव विधिर्निष्ठां लभते। प्रतिपत्तारोऽपि विधीयमानस्य कृतिविषयभावेन ज्ञाप्यमानतां, अज्ञाततया ज्ञाप्यमानताञ्च समानाधिकरणामेव व्यवस्यन्ति। तदिहासत्यपवादके बलवति सन्निध्यादौ यो मासस्तस्मिञ्जुहोतीति वचनव्यक्तिकल्पनया न युक्तं तयोस्सामानाधिकरण्यं विहन्तुम्। अतो विशिष्टविधिस्वीकारेणानुपादेयगुणसहकृतानुपस्थित्यात्र कर्मभेद इति।

अत्र विप्रतिपद्यन्ते—यदि नाम सायं जुहोतीत्यादौ वाक्यबहिर्भूतेन सन्निधिमात्रेण विपरिवर्तमाने परवशमिवाख्यातमर्थमात्रे पर्यवस्यति, तदा प्रबलेन स्ववाक्यगतेनाग्निहोत्रनाम्ना प्रत्यभिज्ञाप्यमाने कर्मण्येव तत्र पर्यवसास्यतीति का नः प्रत्याशा स्यात्। तेन ब्रूमः तावन्मात्रस्य धातुनोपहारेऽपि सकृद्विहितमेवैतद्विधिरन्वीक्ष्य सत्रोपकाराय पुनर्विधास्यतीति कर्मैक्यं सम्पद्यत एवेति।

अत्राह—तिष्ठतु तावदिदं किमनेनाख्यातेन नामवशगेन भवितव्यं न भवितव्यं वेति। यादृशो हि पूर्वापरीभूतोऽसत्वात्मा धातुनोपनीयते भावार्थो न तादृशस्सिद्धपरामर्शिना नाम्ना; अतश्च ताद्रूप्यप्रत्यय एव तावदिह न भवतीति। बाढमेवम्। तथापि नाम्नस्तावदाख्यातसामानाधिकरण्यमनपबाधनीयमेव। ततो नैयमिकाग्निहोत्रजुहोतिसमानाधिकृतेन विजातीयहोमे कृतरूढिशक्तिना यद्रूपस्यावगमस्तद्रूप एवेहाप्यवगंस्यते।

स यदि क्षिपेत् न कल्प्यतेऽस्य कापि रूढिशक्तिः, अवयवशो हि व्युत्पाद्यमानमिदं नाम अग्निदेवत्ये होमे वर्तेत इति लघीयसी कल्पना। एवं योगमात्रे वर्तितस्यास्य नाम्नो यत्रैवावयवार्थयोगस्तत्र पूर्वस्मिन्परस्मिन्वा कर्मण्युदासीनस्य कः पक्षपातो, येन पूर्वं कर्मैवोपगूहतीति। तमेवं प्रतिक्षिपेत्—एवं तर्हि पङ्कजादिशब्दात्कथं पद्मत्वजातिं प्रत्येतु लोकः। न हि कल्पनालाघवाय लोको नियन्तुं युज्यते। प्राचीनप्रयोगोऽप्युत्तरोत्तरतादृशप्रयोगनियमनमात्र एवोपक्षीणो न पुनः पद्मत्वशाब्दबोधकारणतां प्रतिपद्यते; शब्दशक्तिमात्रस्य विलयो मा प्रसांक्षीत्।

---

1. संख्याप्रमाणवर्जनाय यथासंभवमिति।

अतश्शपथमात्रेण पद्मत्वबोधो वारणीयः; अकामेनापि रूढिस्तत्समा वा निरूढलक्षणाभ्युपेतव्या । सेयं विधा प्रकृतेऽपि भविष्यति ।

ननु रूढिपक्षे सहप्रयोगो नोपपद्यते; उभाभ्यामपि नामधातुभ्यां विजातीयहोमत्वाभिधाने प्रवृत्तिनिमित्तभेदाभावादिति चेत् । अस्योत्तरं प्राचीना एवमाहुः—सर्वत्रैव यजेतेत्यादौ यागसामान्यस्याननुष्ठेयतया सत्यपि विधिसामर्थ्याक्षेपे सामान्यात्मनैव यागविशेषो धातुना बुद्ध्यते। न ह्यर्थसामर्थ्यमन्यद्वा किञ्चित् धातोर्विजातीयहोमत्वे सहसा शक्तिमापादयति । न च यागत्वसामान्यमनुष्ठातुमिव बोद्धुमपि न क्षमम् । अतो युक्तमेव तस्य तथाबुद्धस्यैव नाम्ना व्यावृत्तिः क्रियते । न हि लोकेऽपि गौर्गच्छतीति वचने अश्व एव गच्छति, गोसामान्यं वा गच्छति, गच्छन्तीं पुनरेकां गां वयमनुगच्छामो गौरियं गच्छतीति । तेन शाबलेयादिपदमिवोद्भिदादिपदमपीह सह प्रयोक्ष्यत इति ॥

अथ वा पदानां संभूय विशिष्टार्थकारितेति न्यायेन, तत्प्रख्यादिप्रमाणान्तरबलात्सिद्धसंज्ञाभावनामाग्निहोत्रादिनाम्नां सामानाधिकरण्यमात्रनिबन्धनं यत् धातुर्विजातीयहोममात्रमुपस्थापयति । इत्थं नाम यस्य सन्निधानं प्रपद्यार्थविशेषमलभत, तस्यैव नाम्नोऽयं धातुर्न सहते सहवसतिमपीति वामः पन्थाः । अथाप्ययं युक्तरूपः पन्थाः ; अस्मिन्नपि पक्षेऽपरित्यज्यैव यौगिकमर्थं रूढं निरूढं वाग्निहोत्रपदं स्वमर्थमभिधत्त इति धर्मविशेषभानात्सहप्रयोग उपपादनीयः । केवलयोगवादिनस्तु पङ्कजं पद्ममिति सह प्रयोगापत्तिर्दुर्निवारा स्यात् । अपि च नामधातुभ्यां सदसद्रूपयोर्भावार्थयोर्भिन्नरूपेण परामर्शोक्तिमिदं सहप्रयोगानुपपत्तिचोद्यमिति प्रष्टव्यास्ते । एवमेव हि "तिस्र आहुतीर्जुहोति" "भक्त्या भजन्ति मां भक्ताः" इत्येवमादिस्थलेषु सहप्रयोगं साधु समर्थयन्ति ।

ये तु संज्ञाशब्दानां प्रयोगेष्वर्थविशेषणतया शब्दोऽपि प्रतिभासते इति लोकानुभवं शरणमन्विष्य विषमेऽप्यस्मिन् पथि वीतशङ्कं सञ्चरन्ति, तेषामनुभवन्यस्तभाराणां न क्वापि गतिः प्रतिहन्यते ।

अस्तु वा संभेदे नान्यतरवैयर्थ्यमिति न्यायादेको द्वावित्यादिवत् घटः कलश इत्यादिवच्च धर्मविशेषास्फुरणेऽपि प्रयोगसहभावः । यथाहुः—

" एवं तावदखण्डवस्तुविषयश्शब्दान्वयो दर्शितो
लोके दृष्टनयेन पाणिनिवचोऽप्यस्यैव संसूचकम् ।
येनायं स्मरति प्रकृत्यभिहिते वृक्षादिके केवले
तन्मात्रे प्रथमेति सूत्रवचसैवाद्यां विभक्तिं मुनिः ॥"[1] इति ।

यथा चाखण्डार्थेषु इतरव्यावृत्तिः तथैवेह सङ्कल्पादिलक्षणं प्रयोजनमस्त्येवेति सफलत्वलक्षणमपि प्रामाण्यमेषां पुष्कलमेव संपत्स्यते ।

अपि च सर्वत्र योगरूढिस्थले योगमात्रमुपगच्छतामग्निहोत्रादिनामातिदेशो दत्तजलाञ्जलिः प्रसज्येत । कृतञ्चात्र बहूक्तया स्वशब्देनैव निरूढलक्षणाया आचार्यखण्डदेवैरेवोपगमात् । एवञ्च यदि मासमग्निहोत्रञ्जुहोतीत्यत्र निरूढलक्षणया प्रसिद्धकर्मोपस्थितिः, कथं तर्हि प्रकरणान्तरम्? अथ नोपतिष्ठते, कथमतिदेशः? भवत्युपस्थितिः न च सन्निधिरिति विप्रतिषिद्धम्। अत एव सर्वत्र निरूढलक्षणास्थले प्राचीनप्रयोगो नियामक[2] इत्यपि न सम्यगिव । स्यादेतत् । यच्चोक्तं तिष्ठतु तावदाख्यातं स्वतन्त्रं परतन्त्रं वेति । अत्रोच्यते—सुचिरं तावदाख्यातं स्वतन्त्रमेव तिष्ठतु । अथापि परतन्त्रमेव सदिदं नाम नित्याग्निहोत्रमात्रवृत्ति अनुगृह्यतां धातुना नियतः कांस्यभोजी शिष्य इवाचार्येणेति । दृष्टञ्च दर्शपूर्णमासादिपदमप्यविशेषप्रवृत्तं धातुं यागषट्कमात्रे व्यवस्थापयद्भवति स्वातन्त्र्यव्यपदेशस्य भाजनमिति । सर्वथा सिद्धं नः कर्मैक्यम् । सूत्रन्तु 'प्रयोजनान्यत्वम्' इति प्रयुज्यमानस्य सत्रादावग्निहोत्रप्रयोगस्य अन्यत्वं भेदमुपदिशति, नाप्रमाणमिति सन्तोष्टव्यम् ।

अयमेव न्यायो "राजसूयेनेष्ट्वा बृहस्पतिसवेन यजेत"[3] इत्यत्रापि विनियुक्तविनियोगसिद्धये संयोजनीयः । अत एव वेधाद्यधिकरणे आचार्यभगवत्पादा वाचस्पतिमिश्राश्च विनियुक्तविनियोगायोपेक्ष्यैव खादिरत्वादिकं बृहस्पतिसवमेवोदाजह्रुः । स्यादेतत् । युक्तं यत् "य इष्ट्या पशुना सोमेन वा यजेत सोऽमावास्यायां यजेत" इत्यत्रैकमाख्यातं सिद्धमनुवदति ; अपरञ्च कालसंयोगेन तं विधत्त इति । तत्कथमत्र विना वाक्यभेदमेकस्मिन्वाक्ये व्यापारद्वयानुप्रवेशः? कात्रानुपपत्तिः? अन्यद्धि पदं, अन्यच्च वाक्यम् ।

---

1. संक्षेपशारीरकम् I-216.
2. भाट्टदीपिका I-iv-2.
3. जै. IV-iii-29--31.

पदमात्रस्यैष धर्मो यत्प्रत्यभिज्ञानं, वाक्यस्य चैष यद्विधातव्यम्। एवमपि धर्मद्वय-मसहमानस्य वा गृहमेधीये "आज्यभागौ यजति" इति को निस्तारः? फलतश्शेष-परिसंख्ययाऽप्राप्तबाधाय चोदकलोपस्तत्रेष्यते ; तेन स्ववाक्य एव प्रत्यभिज्ञापनं तस्मिन्नेव च विधानमिति स्थितम्[1]। एवमश्वमेधे "वाग्यतस्यैनां रात्रिमग्निहोत्र-ञ्जुहोति" इत्यादौ प्रकरणान्तरवारणेन नामसंसृष्टधातोः प्रत्यभिज्ञापकत्वाय बहू-दाहार्यम्।

किञ्चान्यत्, अन्यशब्दोऽन्यत्र प्रयुज्यमानो गुणनिमित्तया लक्षणया वर्तत इति स्थितिः। ते च गुणाः "तत्सिद्धिः, जातिः, सारूप्यात्"[2] इत्येवमादिना समनु-क्रान्ताः। तत्र सर्वमेवैतत्सारूप्यस्वभावप्रतिबद्धमिति किं सारूप्यस्य तृतीयस्य प्रातिस्विकेनोपदेशेनेति पर्यनुयोक्तव्यम्।

[3]यदि मन्येत स्वरसवाही लोकानुभवः खल्वेवमस्ति संवृत्तः, तथा च "यजमानः प्रस्तरः" इत्यादौ यजमानवृत्तेस्समीहितसाधनत्वस्य, स्वसमानजाती-यकार्यकारित्वं इत्यनया आनुपूर्व्या प्रस्तरनिष्ठस्येव भवत्यवमर्शः; नैवमादित्यो यूपः। तत्र त्वदूरविप्रकर्षेण यूपनिष्ठस्यैवादित्यतेजस्सरूपस्य तेजसस्समक्षमेव यूपे भवत्यवमर्शः। तेन प्रस्तरयूपगतयोः कार्यकरत्वतेजस्वित्वयोः संसर्गता-प्रकारताभ्यां भानमिति वैलक्षण्यमुक्तं भवतीति।

युक्तमेतत्। किं तु ये नामान्ये "गुणवादस्तु"[4] इति प्रतिश्रुत्यार्थवादा-धिकरणे परिपठिताः "रूपात्", "प्रायात्", "दूरभूयस्त्वात्" इति तेऽप्यत्रैव सङ्गृह्येरन्न वा संगृह्येरन्। अन्त्ये षण्णामेव परिगणनं नातिप्रयो-जनमिव। उपसङ्ग्रहे वा सारूप्यमिति न तेजस्वित्वादिकमेव व्याख्येयम्। अञ्जसा चान्यत्र लघुचन्द्रिकायामेवं व्याख्यातं—सारूप्यमिति सादृश्यमुच्यते। तच्च तद्भिन्नत्वविशेषितस्तद्गतभूयोधर्मो यथान्येषाम्। अतिरिक्तः पदार्थो वा यथा स्वयूथ्यानामिति[5]। तदेवं सति 'स्तेनं मनः', 'अनृतवादिनी वाक्', 'आदित्यो यूपः' इत्यादावुदाहरणान्तरेष्वभासमानस्यादित्यादिभेदस्य, अपूर्वस्य सादृश्यस्य

---

1. भाट्टदीपिका X-vii-9.
2. जै. I-iv-23.
3. भाट्टदीपिका I-iv-13.
4. जै, I-ii-10.
5. ब्रह्मानन्दी पृ. 372 निर्णयसागर

वा स्फुरणोपगमात्संसर्गताप्रकारताभानाभ्यामेवेति एषां वैलक्षण्यं न निर्बध्यते। न च यूपस्येव चक्षुर्ग्राह्यं भास्वरत्वं, पुरस्फूर्तिकं मनआदौ प्रच्छन्नकारित्वादि संलक्ष्यते येन तदेव प्रकारो लक्षणानिमित्तं चेति कल्पयेम।

स्यादेतत्। अस्त्येष आलङ्कारिकसमयः यत्परिस्फुरन्तमपि भेदमपह्नुत्य अन्यमेव सन्तमन्यं कलयन्ति कवयः। सहृदया अपि यथाकविहृदयमेव विस्मरन्त इव आरोपिताभेदमेव प्रतिपद्यन्त इति। तत्कथं प्रस्फुरत्सादृश्यैवैषा गौणी लक्षणा सर्वत्र नियम्यते ?

ननु लौकिकीनां खलु वाचामेषा दुरवस्था यदारोपमूलमपि प्रवर्तितव्यम्। नैषा कथा वेदवाक्येषु। तेषु तु यथोपदिष्टैरेव लक्षणाप्रकारैर्वाक्यार्थो निर्वृणोतीति युक्तम्[1]।

सोऽयं प्रणव एव विस्वरः। तथा हि यजमानः प्रस्तर इत्यादावारोपरूषितामेव प्रस्तरे यजमानाभेदबुद्धिं स्वरसत आसञ्जयन्वाक्यशेषोऽत्र भवति; न तत्सिद्धिम्। "उत्तरं बर्हिषः प्रस्तरँसादयति" इत्युक्त्वा ब्रवीति—"प्रजा वै बर्हिर्यजमानः प्रस्तरो यजमानमेवायजमानादुत्तरं करोति" इति। एतदुक्तं भवति। यदिदं बर्हिर्नाम—एतत्प्रजा एव। योऽप्ययं प्रस्तरो नाम —यजमान एव सः। तेन यद्बर्हिष ऊर्ध्वं प्रस्तर आसाद्यते प्रजाभ्य एव तदुपरि यजमान आसादितो भवति प्रस्तरयजमानयोरभेदादिति। अतस्सूत्रानुल्लिखितमप्यारोपं सूत्र आरोप्य लोकवेदसाधारण्येन व्याख्येयम्। अन्यथा वेद आरोपकल्पनाद्बिभ्यत् सहृदयत्वमतिवर्तेत।

न चेयते फलायोपासनासु वेदे आरोपानुसरणं नाल्पाय प्राशस्त्यमात्रफलायार्थवादेष्विति नियामको हेतुस्संभवति। तदत्र "अश्विनोर्बाहुभ्यां पूष्णो हस्ताभ्यां" इत्यादिमन्त्रेष्विव मधुप्रभृतीनां विद्यानां विधानेष्विव च अर्थवादेष्वपीदृशेषु वाक्यशेषान्वयायारोपानुसरणमेव श्लिष्टं मन्यामहे।

यदपि चेदमुद्घुष्यते वेदे आरोपकपुरुषाभावात् वेदे आरोपकपुरुषाभावादिति[2]। अस्या वचनव्यक्तेरर्थः को नु खलु स्यादभिसंहित इति न स्फुटं जानीमः। एवमेव वा वेदे यथार्थवक्तुरप्यभावे ततोऽर्थतुषमात्रमपि न सिध्येदित्यलम्। अपि चान्ते बोधप्रकारेऽपि कञ्चित्तर्कितं मतिभेदमुदाहरामः परीक्षन्तां प्रेक्षावन्त एवेति।

---

1. भाट्टदीपिका I-iv-13.
2. भाट्टदीपिका I-iv-13.

"धर्मं जैमिनिरत एव"[1] इत्यतश्शब्दविवरणे इदमस्ति भाष्यम्—"श्रूयते तावदयमर्थो यजेत स्वर्गकाम इत्येवमादिषु वाक्येषु । तत्र यागस्स्वर्गफलस्योत्पादक इति गम्यते । अन्यथा ह्यननुष्ठातृको याग आपद्येत । तत्रास्य विधिवैयर्थ्यं स्यात्" इति । एतस्मान्नातिविभिन्नं सच्छायमिव च व्याख्यानरूपं भामतीवाक्यमपि लक्ष्यते । भगवत्पादाचार्यवाचस्पत्योश्चेदं सापेक्षवचनकरणं कमपि हृदयनिहितं भावमुल्लासयत्येव । यागस्स्वर्गसाधनं प्रतीयत इति वक्तव्ये, न जानीमहे किमिदं 'गम्यते', 'अन्यथे'ति चास्पष्टमिव वचनम् ।

अत एवं स्यात्—गोमयैः पचतीत्यादाविव सर्वत्रैव भावनायां धात्वर्थो भाव्यो बुध्यते । तस्य च भाव्यान्तरं स्वर्गादिः । स्वातन्त्र्यपारतन्त्र्याभ्यां चानयोर्न भाव्यद्वयान्वयो दोषमावहतीति । इदमेव वाक्यद्वयं प्रत्ययं कृत्वा पक्षमेनमुद्ट्ङ्कयामास श्रीभट्टनागेशो लघुमञ्जूषायाम्[2] ।

अथ वा नैवं स्यात् । इष्टसाधनत्वमेव हि सिद्धान्ते लिङर्थः । तदत्र स्वर्गकामपदसमभिव्याहारात्स्वर्गरूपेष्टसाधनत्वं पर्यवसितं एवं 'गम्यते' इत्यादिना प्रत्यायितमिति । स्पष्टश्चायमर्थस्समन्वयसूत्रे भाष्यादौ ।

अथ वा अविमृष्टविधिवाक्यार्थं स्वर्गकामाधिकरणपूर्वपक्षवादिनं प्रतीदमेवं साशङ्कवचनं भविष्यति ।

पूर्वतन्त्रस्य दर्शनविषये उत्तरतन्त्रेणाविरोधः ।

भवतु यथा तथा । किमनेन तन्त्रयोरर्थभेदकल्पनाव्यसनेन । सन्तोऽपि क्वचित्कोणेषु विरलविरला एवार्थभेदाः तेऽपि, सति संमुखगते च बहुतरसारूप्ये निमज्जन्त्येव । एतावतैव नन्वनुमेयसारूप्यं तन्त्रद्वयं यत् सिद्धान्तपथानुसारेण शास्त्रभेदमाशंसमाना एव शास्त्रस्थाश्शास्त्रैक्यमपि कृतयन्त्यभ्युपेत्यवादेन । किं बहुना? यावद्धर्मजिज्ञासमानेनाचार्येण वेदान्तासिद्धतत्तदर्थरामणीयकानुध्यानविवशस्वान्तेनेव अतिक्रान्तस्वविषयमर्यादं सिद्धपरवाक्यसामान्यमेव प्रामाण्यलक्षणं शास्त्रसंमुखे संजगृहे—"औत्पत्तिकस्तु शब्दस्यार्थेन सम्बन्धोऽव्यतिरेकश्चार्थेऽनुपलब्धे तत्प्रमाणं..."[3] इति ।

ये नामात्र संपातायातमर्थवादानर्थक्यं देवताविग्रहविगर्हणां परमेश्वरपराभवं पारिव्राज्यपरीवादञ्च तात्त्विकमेवोत्पश्यन्तस्तत्रस्यन्ति ; ते निर्गन्ध-

1. ब्र. III-i-40.

2. लघुमञ्जूषा तिङर्थनिरूपणम् पृ. 1032 (चौखाम्बा).

3. जै. I-i-5.

कुसुमसङ्कुलां विषमकण्टकितवल्लीपरिवृतवरणसंबाधामुपवनस्य प्रान्तभूमिमेवाराद्विलोक्य पलायन्ते। न ह्येतानाचार्यः परमार्थेनैव भावेन पराभावयदिति सचेतसो वक्तुमपि साम्प्रतम्। जैमिनिः किल "स स्वर्गस्यात्सर्वान्प्रत्यविशिष्टत्वात्"[1] इति कर्मफलानामुत्तमं स्वर्गं निर्धार्य ततो वैराग्योत्पादनाय "तेषां लोकवत्परिमाणतः फलविशेषस्स्यात्"[2] इति तस्य सातिशयत्वमुपचिक्षेप। स्वयमनुमतमन्त्रार्थवादापार्थगर्थ्योऽपि "अविशिष्टस्तु वाक्यार्थः"[3] "अर्थैकत्वादेकं वाक्यम्"[4] "तत्सिद्धिः"[5] इत्यादिना, सञ्जातविस्रंभतया लोकस्तदप्रामाण्यनिष्ठो मा भूदिति तत्प्रामाण्ये लोकं सञ्जग्राह। तदप्रामाण्याय सङ्कल्पितान्पूर्वपक्षहेतूंस्तदधिकरणयोः प्रतिविदधे। अर्थवादसिद्धमर्थविशेषं फलविशेषञ्च "तेजो वै घृतम्"[6] "प्रतितिष्ठन्ति"[7] इति च सन्निधापयामास। एवं शताधिकैर्गुणसूत्रैरुपनिषदर्थान्व्यतस्तरत्।

अथ वा किमत्र चित्रं यत् न्यायसिद्धेष्वर्थेषु वाक्यशेषस्थमन्यार्थदर्शनं गुणसूत्रैः प्रमाणमवतारयन्, न्यायनिर्णयाय प्रवृत्तान्यन्यार्थदर्शनभूतानि स्वसूत्राण्यपि शास्त्रान्तरसिद्धेऽर्थे प्रमाणयत्येवेति। तथा चाचार्य इदमर्थजातं परमतात्पर्येण प्रत्यादिदेशेति साहसमात्रम्।

यत्तु मन्त्रादिकं प्रमाणं न मन्त्रयते, ईश्वरं न श्रयते, सन्न्यासं निष्कासयति; तत्रैव पर्यस्तदृष्टीन्परदर्शितदर्शिन इत्थं व्याचक्षीत। वेदानां निरपेक्षप्रामाण्यं स्थापयितुमना एवमेवं प्रववृते आचार्य इति। तत्वान्यादिशताञ्चापूर्व एवायमादेशप्रक्रमो यत् अभिमतं यथानिर्ज्ञातञ्च नैकपद एवोपदिशन्ति, विपर्यस्तो लोकः कथं नु नाम श्रद्दधीतेति। प्रत्यक्षमेवैतन्नस्समेषां प्रथमानां धरमाणाञ्च पृथ्वीं गोलाकृतिं भ्रमन्तीञ्चोपदर्शयतो गेलिलियो-न्यूटन्-प्रभृतेः किमिति किमिति वा पापं नाशङ्कितं मुग्धजनेनेति।

---

1. जै. IV-iii-15.
2. जै. I-ii-17.
3. जै. I-ii-40.
4. जै. II-1-46.
5. जै. I-iv-28.
6. जै. I-iv-29.
7. जै. IV-iii-17—19.

अपौरुषेयो वेदो निरपेक्षः प्रामाण्यं प्रति ; अथ च सर्वशक्तिस्तस्येश्वरः प्रणेतेति चैवमादीनि विरूद्धवदाभासानि तत्वानि बोद्धुमक्षममाणेषु बहुषु कश्चिदिच्छयैवेश्वरो वेदं व्यररचदिति कल्पयेत्। अपरः छन्दत एव स्वतन्त्रस्स सर्वं नियंस्यति, कृतं कर्मभिरित्युत्प्रेक्षेत। देवतानाञ्च विग्रहयोगे कर्माङ्गभावं सन्निधानेन ता उपगच्छेयुः, अदर्शनाच्चाप्रमाणं चोदनेत्युत्प्लवेत तृतीयः। अन्यः पुनरस्मदादिवदेव जननमरणवर्तीं देवतामभिदधानस्य वेदशब्दस्यानित्यत्वं प्रसञ्जयेत्। अतः परिहृत्यैवमादि सर्वमाकुलं, संस्थाप्यानाविलं वेदमार्गं, संभाव्य च सुरक्षितं द्विषतां दुष्प्रवेशञ्च वेदप्रामाण्यं प्रत्यपीपददाचार्यो निखिलमर्थजातमिति हन्त! को वा सङ्कलयेत्तस्यानन्यपूर्वमसंबुद्धजनमतिपर्यावर्तने उपदेशवैदग्ध्यं, लक्ष्यालक्ष्यतयान्तर्भावितनिरवशेषार्थानां विश्वतोमुखसूत्राणां रचनाचातुरीञ्च। अत एव चैषामर्थानां स्थापनासु तत्र तत्र "शास्त्रयोनित्वात्"[1] "पूर्वन्तु बादरायणो हेतुव्यपदेशात्"[2] "विरोधः कर्मणीति चेन्नानेकप्रतिपत्तेर्दर्शनात्"[3] "शब्द इति चेन्नातः प्रभवात्..."[4] इत्येवमादिना यथोपलक्षितं जैमिने[5]रातङ्कमात्रमाश्वास्यते सूत्रकारभाष्यकाराभ्याम्। एतेन सादृश्यमात्रनिबन्धनगौणलक्षणासूत्रणमपि व्याख्यातम्। तत्रापि ह्यसदर्थवादेष्वारोपमनुमन्यमानेनानुमतप्रवेशा अप्रामाण्यपिशाचिका तेनैव प्रतीकेनाखिलमपि वेदं भ्रामयेत्। तेन स्थान एव वेद आरोपमेनं प्रच्छादयामास। "प्रसरं न लभन्ते हि यावत्क्व चन मर्कटाः" "इष्टस्यार्थस्य संसिद्धौ को विद्वान् यत्नमाचरेत्" इति च न्यायप्रसिद्धिः। तदेवं जैमिनिः—

नास्तिक्यसंपूरितभावदोषान् मीमांसया संस्कृतबाह्यवेषान्।
निर्जित्य तेषां वशगं प्रमाणराजं स्वराज्येऽभिषिषेच नूनम्॥

एवमेव सर्वे दर्शनकारा भिन्नभिन्नं स्वीयं पन्थानमनुरुन्धाना अपि वेदाख्यमेकमेव मूलमवलम्बन्ते; संश्रयन्ते च निश्रेयसमेव परं लाभमिति नैवास्ति परस्परविमतिवार्तापि सर्वदर्शनानामिति राजमार्ग इव विस्रम्भास्पदमेतत्।

---

1. ब्र. I-i-3.
2. ब्र. III-ii-41.
3. ब्र. I-iii-27.
4. ब्र. I-iii-28.
5. पूर्वतन्त्रप्रणेता वेदान्तसूत्रधृतश्च जैमिनिराचार्यस्समान एव। तथा वेदव्यासो वेदान्तसूत्रप्रणेता बादरायण आचार्यः पूर्वमीमांसासूत्रधृतश्च समान इति संप्रदायाध्वनान्व्यवहृतम्। विचारोऽप्यस्मिन् विषये विमर्शान्तरे द्रष्टव्यः।

अत एव "एतेन योगः प्रत्युक्तः"[1] इति सूत्रे सांख्यादिदर्शनान्यंशेनांशेन वेदान्तार्थोन्व्याचक्षाणानि कामं पुरुषबुद्धिसौकर्यमपेक्ष्य कामपि प्रक्रियां रचयन्तु। तात्पर्योपगृहीतेषु त्वर्थेष्वनपोद्यमेवैषां प्रामाण्यमिति भाष्यभामत्योः स्थितम्। न हि सर्वज्ञानामृषीणां तत्तन्मतमयथार्थमिति भवितुं युक्तम्; नापि यथाश्रुतार्थमेवेति। अपि च यथैवापस्तम्बबोधायनौ शिष्याचार्यभूतौ कृतसमयाविव श्रौतं स्मार्तञ्च धर्ममधिकमाधिकं वितेनतुः; एवं जैमिनिबादरायणावपि स्वं स्वमर्थं विशेषतो न्यरूपयतामिति श्लिष्यते। तुल्यञ्च सांप्रदायिकम्। अभियुक्ता अप्याचार्ययोरनयोरवगतिसामान्यमेवमाहुः—

जैमिनीये च वैयासे विरुद्धांशो न कश्चन।
श्रुत्या वेदार्थविज्ञाने श्रुतिपारं गतौ हि तौ[2] ॥ इति।

प्रसिद्धं च लोके यथा व्याख्यातारोऽभिमतार्थव्युत्पादनावसरेषु तं तमेवार्थं बहूकुर्वन्ति। न च तावता भवत्येकस्य ज्यायस्त्वं कनीयस्ता चापरस्येति। न हि गोअश्वा एव पशव इत्यभ्युपपद्यन्ते लौकिकाः। तदेवं भिन्नमार्गप्रस्थितयोरपि पूर्वोत्तरमीमांसयोर्मात्रयापि विरोधो नास्तीत्यदो निर्विशङ्कमेव।

अत एव पूर्वतन्त्रग्रन्थेषु कुत्रापि वेदान्तार्थाननूद्य निराक्रियमाणान्नोपलभामहे, यावत्तत्र तत्र पुरस्कृतानेवाभिलक्षयामः। उपसंहारे चासकृदिमं प्रहैकत्वाधिकरणवार्तिकस्थं श्लोकमनुस्मरामः—

शब्दब्रह्मेति यच्चेदं शास्त्रं वेदाख्यमुच्यते।
तदप्यधिष्ठितं सर्वमेकेन परमात्मना[3] ॥ इति।

अत्राप्यर्थे इदं ब्राह्मणं भवति—"सत्यमिति सत्यवचा राथीतरः। तप इति तपोनित्यः पौरुशिष्टिः"। धर्म इति धर्मस्कन्धो जैमिनिः। ब्रह्मैवेति ब्रह्मनिष्ठो व्यासः पाराशर्यः। तद्धि श्रेयस्तद्धि श्रेय इति॥

॥ ओम्॥

---

1. ब्र॰ II-i-3.
2. अद्वैतब्रह्मसिद्धि-मुद्गरप्रहार I पृ. 54.
3. तन्त्रवार्तिक पृ. 719 (चौखाम्बा).

"INDIAN PHILOSOPHY AS A LIVE PROPOSITION."

BY

MR. S. V. RAMAMURTI, M.A., I.C.S., RAMNAD.

Modern India, having been bred under the wings of England, has adapted to a great extent the points of view, the standards of values and the ideals of England. It is only in recent years that the inherited traditions of India are trying to assert themselves as against the acquired views. The conflict is particularly severe in India because the genius of her own civilization is fundamentally different from what she has been receiving from Europe. Louis Dickinson points out that the contrast of civilizations is not between those of Asia and Europe but those of India and of the rest of the world. He calls the latter the civilization of time and the former that of eternity; we might say instead, of timeness or timelessness. The stage of an invalid India spoon-fed by its nurse is passed. India, thanks to the nursing of England, is again feeling healthy life. It is necessary that India should remind herself of what she has been driving at through some millennia in order that she may decide what she shall choose to receive from the west and how, in the future building up of her life.

2. When we look at the activity of India when she was pulsing with life, we find that more than on any other activity all the best men in India spent their energies on the development of philosophy. For over two thousand years starting about 500 B.C., we have a development of philosophy which both in depth and width is comparable to the development of science in Europe in the last four centuries. Under our acquired view-point of Europe, we now look on philosophy as a side issue. It is science, we have come to believe, that is necessary to good life and its progress. Power and comfort, dignity and even the leave to live depend on a command of science and its deductions. The result is that in the British Empire over intellectual India, there is no place for Indian philosophy. It is taboo even in the secluded corners of academic Halls. The Indian Paṇḍits preserve their Philosophy along with their shawls in naphthaline balls to be exhibited on occasions. Life in India now offers better adjustments for cooks and chaffeurs than for philosophers. The English Paṇḍit on the other hand cuts up Indian Philosophy like a dead frog. His forte is history which is anatomy in time. The nature of the soul, the interactions of mind and matter, the one essence behind the Universe, the relation of the soul to God, the common factor of soul and God—all these are regarded as having no vital and immediate relation to the life we live. They are of the category of idle musings when the

needs of life have been met. Indian Philosophy on which the best of our forefathers spent their energy has now become a reproach. Science holds the wand of office.

3. How then is philosophy related to Science? Briefly, science is the knowledge of the matter-world and Philosophy of the mind-world. I use mind in the sense of the Sanskrit *manas* which is the seat both of thought and emotion. The soul is what may be called bare mind. The world expressed in terms of the soul is the mind-world. In Europe, most people do believe in the mind except a few very intelligent people who deny or ignore it. The mind is however regarded by most as an appendage or an effervescence of the body. In India, all people do admit the reality of mind (except the negligible Cārvāka Materialists.) A few very highly developed ascetics ignore the body. But the body is regarded by most as a deduction from the mind. Science therefore gives the pivotal knowledge for Europe and Philosophy for India. But India under her doctor's regime has temporarily neglected philosophy for Science. It is true that Europe has her philosophy too. But it is a product of her science. The mind, it deals with is a product of the matter, her science deals with. Mind does not stand by her own right. Idealism in European Philosophy is a poor, neglected foundling.

4. It may be asked if such a simple definition of philosophy as the knowledge of the mind-world can apply to Indian Philosophy with so many different types as the six orthodox systems of Hinduism, the philosophy of Buddhism and Jainism and numerous lesser ones. I believe it does. I leave out the Cārvāka materialism which is a long lost accident. All systems of Indian philosophy accept the reality of the soul, admit an interaction between soul and matter, which is called Karma and believe in the dissolution of the aggregate of soul and matter which is called *mukti*. They thus believe in the reality of the bare mind and also believe in a re-orientation of the world of bare mind and matter. This re-orientated world I call hereafter the harmonized mind-world. Is such a world, the result of *mukti* or *nirvāṇa*, empty? The *Upaniṣads*, on which the six orthodox systems of Hindu Philosophy depend, say that that world is not empty, that as a result of *mukti* evolves spirit. Spirit as the result of the individual's *mukti* is called *Ātman*. The result of the cosmic *mukti* is termed Brahman. It is asserted that Ātman is Brahman. The supreme Ātman is God. But Buddhism says that the harmonized world of mind, the result of *nirvāṇa*, is empty. Jainism says it is both empty and not empty. Thus when orthodox Hinduism says that Ātman is, Buddhism says that Ātman is not and Jainism says that Ātman both is and is not. It is curious that these should furnish the three directions of a straight line in a harmonized mind-world (or as I sometimes call it, Euclidean mind-world) as described in my paper on "Time, Space, matter and mind"

in the Journal of the Indian Mathematical Association. Thus so far as the mind-world is concerned, all systems of Indian Philosophy have a common basis and where they differ is, not as regards the mind-world but as regards the spirit, that is to say, as regards religion. Indian philosophy is one. Indian religion differs but is the outcome of one philosophy. Philosophy can be described as the knowledge of the mind-world whatever Indian system you deal with.

5. How has such a philosophy affected life in India in the past? *Mukti* is the harmonization of mind and matter. You get a harmonious world of matter when each piece of matter obeys a definite law—the Law of gravitation. Each piece of matter attracts and is attracted according to this law. It performs its Dharma without individual caprice. The life of the part becomes merged in the life of the whole. So too in a world of mind and matter, let each mind obey its dharma. Dharma is a synthesis of right and duty. Each mind does unto others according to its duty and is done unto by others according to its rights. Matter which occurs in that world of minds has mind of its own—small comparable with the human mind but not absent. To clean the earth, to be kind unto animals, to live on the earth and receive from animals the benefit they give forms part of the dharma linking the human mind with the mind of matter and of animals. The law of dharma is the analogue of the law of gravitation for mind. By the observance of dharma, the mind-world becomes cohesive and integral and evolves a new character different from that of its parts whether mind or matter. This new character is that of the spirit. Buddhism which denies the spirit is but truncated Hinduism. It ignores the apex and strengthens the base. The dharma theory is present in orthodox Hinduism also, as in the Bhagavadgītā where you are asked "without desire to perform action which is duty".

In orthodox Hinduism, you have first the *karma mārga* for life which depends on the law of dharma. If you do not do your dharma, you are unstable. Then there is the *Bhakti mārga* which may be called the induction of the spirit. Your little bit of mind is placed in front of a supreme spirit who induces the spirit from within you. Then there is the *jñāna mārga* which evolves the spirit by a conscious and deliberate re-orientation of the mind-world by the mind itself. Thus whether by the system of dharma or by the three paths of *karma*, *bhakti* and *jñāna*, Indian philosophy has yielded ways of organizing life in accordance with its belief in a mind-world which is to be harmonized. The science of dharma yields a synthesis of economics politics and ethics. *Karma yoga* leads to the same. *Bhakti yoga* leads to the arts. *Jñāna yoga* leads to science. But all have the background of Indian philosophy. Life in its various phases in India has flowed from her philosophy. India has had a social, political and economic

system which has not yet broken down but has had a continuity in spite of ups and falls for three or perhaps five millennia.

6. I have said that the arts of India flow from the *Bhakti yoga*. The supreme Indian art is Indian mythology. The medium for Indian artists is the mind-world. The ancient saints and seers of India out of their vision of that world have fashioned the figures of Indian mythology. There is a definiteness about their form, colour and character which shows them to be the product of a masterly perception. It is true that Gods with three heads and four hands look illogical. But remember that the men who fashioned them were some of the subtlest men who ever lived. Such illogic is the symbol of a new logic being true for the harmonized world of mind. The creators and executors of Indian art are generally different. The former work in the medium of mind. Then they translate their work into the medium of matter. They have furnished conventions and code-words for the translation. Lesser men copy the translations. Their excellence lies in giving finish and an individual touch to the translation. Music, dancing, architecture, sculpture and painting in India are the translations of the art of a mind-world. They present not the harmony of matter but the harmony of mind.

6. Then as regards science, Indian philosophy has not yet developed the science of the world it deals with. Science is the knowledge of the matter world. But matter is an ingredient of the harmonized world of mind. True its texture may be changed but the changed texture has its laws. I believe that the harmonized mind-world has its own logic, thoery of numbers, geometry and mechanics. The methods and laws of the science of Europe furnish us sections of the methods and laws of the mind-world. In logic, there has been a persistent attempt in India at developing the category of that which both is and is not. I believe that this lies at the basis of a new relation of numbers which I call the Supernegative and a new geometry where straight lines have three directions. What Indian Philosophy has yet to evolve is a science of the quantity, the form and the flux of the harmonized mind-world.

7. I have spoken of India. What is India from the Indian standpoint, which is the standpoint which her philosophy gives her? India is not merely the collection of men, animals, trees and rocks that are about us. Bose under the bent of the Indian genius has posited mind at each tree and each piece of matter in what is physical India. Erect at each animal, tree and rock its mind ordinates. Take as the atom at each point the compound of the matter and mind. Sum them up and you get the world of mind-India where the mind is the harmonized result of matter and bare mind. It is this mind-India that is the reality to us, that is the Indian nation in which

we believe the continuum not merely of mountains and rivers but also of Gods and men. Europe which regards the matter-world alone as real, points out to us our physical differences of race, language and distance, tells us how numerous these differences are and says we are not a nation. But our India is a mind entity where physical differences are but sections of the reality. What is it that separates our mind-world ? None so far as Hindus, Buddhists and Jains and other religious sects born out of India are concerned. True, Islam and Christianty have a different mental outlook. Our problem is not one of geography but of reconciling religions. The aeroplane and the motor car have different obstacles to deal with. A study of pits, stones and thorns is no good for the aeroplane. The obstacles in the path of the Indian nation are not arithmetically so large as Europe would have it. They are few but of a different quality.

8. Again, the root problem of civilization is that of education which furnishes the new material and the new motive power required for the growth of civilization. Education is the drawing out of the quality of the boy. The inner core of the mind is the spirit. Education is thus the reaching of the mind on to the spirit. Completed, it yields salvation. Education is thus a differential of salvation and salvation is the completion of education. National education like national science has a significance in India because of her philosophy.

9. I have said that India has to develop the science of the harmonized mind-world. This will yield us a securer flow of life and art because of our firmer understanding of the mind-world. Not only this, the science of the mind-world including the laws of its flux will yield us the energy of man. What India like the rest of Asia has is an abundance not of coal and iron and oil but of men. Man is the result of evolution as matter is but is the result of a much longer evolution. He should be the repository of divine energy even more than matter is. The unstable position of the world now is due to a weak Asia against a strong Europe. The power of man, if unlocked, will produce a new stability and will enable men to be brothers which they are now not. I believe too that this energy of man is subject to the logic of the mind-world where contradictories are not opposed but reconciled. The unlocking of such energy will make not for destruction but for new construction. It is they who believe in the existence of a real harmonized world of mind that can unlock its energy. I am inclined to think that it is this energy that Gandhi has called soul-force—a non-violent energy, a positive entity, yet not the positive energy of matter. But Gandhi's grip over it appears to have relaxed. His handling of it was true but not strong enough. But the importance of the Gandhist attempt is that it is one direction in which India has re-started on her quest for the mind-world.

10. The same is the case with the Bengali School of Art. There too India has begun again to be concerned with the art of the mind-world and

not the matter-world. The artistic work of this school has great sincerity but not yet enough of strength. There is a certain want of clear character a certain amorphousness at the crystalline edges. But the importance of life in the Gandhist school and art in the Bengali school is one of direction regained and not of achievement already made. The signs are that India has again taken up her high adventure, the conquest of a new world, the world of mind. Alone among the nations, she has set herself this task of the vanguard of civilization. It is up to us to work at the task in this birth and the births to come. To be born an Indian is a high privilege.

KUMĀRILA AND THE BṚHAṬṬĪKĀ

BY

PANDIT K. S. RAMASWAMI SASTRI, BARODA

AND

A. SANKARAN, B. A. (HONOURS), MADRAS.

In the course of our study of the Prābhākara system of Karma Mīmāṁsā, we found in the Prakaraṇapañcikā, the Ṛjuvimalā, Nayaviveka, Nyāyakośa and other works many verses cited in the name of one Vārtikakāra. It was possible to trace some of them to the Ślokavārtika and the Tantravārtika of Kumārila, while the source of the others remained unknown.

Let us cite a few instances:—

(A) of known sources. Prakaraṇapañcikā Vākyārtha, p. 5.

तदाहुर्वार्तिककारपादाः—

न विमुञ्चन्ति सामर्थ्यं वाक्यार्थेऽपि पदानि नः ।
तन्मात्रावस्थितेष्वेषु पदार्थेभ्यः स गम्यते ॥

Ślokavārtika p. 909.

वाक्यार्थमितये तेषां प्रयुक्तौ नान्तरीयकम् ।
पाके ज्वालेव काष्ठानां पदानां प्रतिपादनम् ॥

Ślokavārtika p. 943.

Prakaraṇapañcikā p. 10.

तदाहुर्वार्तिककारपादाः—

पश्यतः श्वेतिमारूपं ह्रेषाशब्दं च शृण्वतः ।
खुरनिक्षेपशब्दं च श्वेतोऽश्वो धावतीति धीः ॥

Śloka-vārtika p. 947.

(B) of unknown sources.
Ṛjuvimalā Ms. p. 86.

तदाह भगवान् वार्तिककारः—

न चार्थेनार्थ एवायं द्वितीयो गम्यते पुनः ।
सविकल्पकविज्ञानग्राह्यत्वात्तु तिरोहितः ॥

तदेतट्टीकाकारो भगवान्न मृष्यति.

Ṛjuvimalā Ms. p. 144.

तदुक्तं भगवता वार्त्तिककारेण

बाधः सामान्यशास्त्रस्य विशेषश्रुतिभिर्यथा ।
अनुमानान्तरैरेवमनुमानस्य बाधनम् ॥

Prakaraṇapañcikā, Vākyārtha, p. 17.

तदुक्तं वार्त्तिककारपादैः—

तावदेव हि सन्देहो वेदवाक्ये श्रुते भवेत् ।
यावन्न वचनव्यक्तिस्तस्य स्पष्टाऽवधार्यते ॥

तदुक्तं तैरेव

धर्मे प्रमीयमाणे हि वेदेन करणात्मना ।
इतिकर्तव्यताभागं मीमांसा पूरयिष्यति ॥

Nyāyakośa-beginning.

उक्तं च वार्त्तिककारैः—धर्मे प्रमीयमाणे हि etc.

Who may be the author of these Vārtikas of unknown sources? This has been a problem to us for sometime.

Dr. Gangānāth Jhā expresses the opinion and Professor S. Kuppuswami Sastriar lends support to his view (*vide* Report of the Second Oriental Conference, Presidential Address of the philosophical section) that this Vārtikakāra is different from the well known Kumārila, for he says the following in his thesis on the Prābhākara School of Karmamimāṁsā page 8 "The Prābhākara School had for its founder a writer whose work has not yet come to light and who is referred to by Prabhākara and his followers as Vārtikakārapādāḥ. That this Vārtikakāra is different from Kumārila is shown by the fact that the quotations referred to him are not to be found in any of Kumārila's works and that Kumārila is referred to by these writers only as "*Yathāhuḥ*" without any appellation of honour." It is attempted in this paper to show that this Vārtikakāra is none other than Kumārila himself and that most probably the unknown source is his Bṛhaṭṭīkā.

The data on which Dr. Jhā bases his conclusions are open to criticism. Kumārila is often referred to even by the writers of the Prābhākara School especially, Śālikanātha very respectfully and with due appellation of honour. The verses पश्यत: श्वेतिमारूपं etc, न विमुञ्चन्ति सामर्थ्यम् etc. cited above are from the Ślokavārtika and their author is referred to by Śālikanātha as Vārtikakārapādāḥ. While refuting the views of Kumārila in the beginning of the Prakaraṇapañcikā Śālikanātha calls

him Vārtikakāramiśrāḥ (Page 3.) Further, on pp. 12-13 of the Vākyārthamātṛkāvṛtti he has the following वार्तिककारपादास्तु लाक्षणिकान् सर्ववाक्यार्थानिच्छन्त आहुः—वाक्यार्थो लक्ष्यमाणो हि सर्वत्रैव हि लक्ष्यते इति
It is very well known that the above view *viz.* that verbal judgment arises only through *lakṣaṇāvṛtti* (or the secondary significative capacity of words) is held by Kumārila and it is clear that Vārtikakārapādāḥ refers to him alone. Again in the text quoted above from the Ṛjuvimalā p. 86 तदाह भगवान् वार्तिककारः........................तदेतट्टीकाकारो भगवान्न मृष्यति the honorific term '*Bhagavān*' which is generally used only in referring to great spiritual teachers like Śrī Śaṅkarācārya is applied to Kumārila whom Prabhākaraguru is represented to oppose.

The verse धर्मे प्रमीयमाणे हि etc. quoted above from the Prakaraṇapañcikā and the Nyāyakośa and attributed therein to one Vārtikakārapādāḥ is found cited by Jayanta in his Nyāyamañjarī page 3 in the name of Bhaṭṭa thus :—"तथा च भट्टः-धर्मे" etc. "Bhaṭṭa" used by itself refers to Kumārila and many other passages from the extant works of Kumārila are cited in the Nyāyamañjarī by that name (see pages 87, 128 and 130). Jayanta who lived about the middle of the 9th century came close after Kumārila and his authority is unquestionable. Besides this, many other verses, not found in Kumārila, are quoted in the Prakaraṇapañcikā along with other verses identified to be his (see Vākyārtha. M. p 5, 15, 17). The natural conclusion that could be drawn from this is that Kumārila has written some other works not accessible to us at present.

This view is further strengthened by some facts deduced from the following references in the Ṛjuvimalā, Nayaviveka and the Nyāyakośa. These are :—

(1) लोक इत्यादिभाष्यं यत्नगौरवं प्र....वार्त्तिककारेण व्याख्यातम् ; तत्तु मन्दप्रयोजनमिति मत्वा टीकाकारः प्रयोजनं दर्शयति—लोक इत्यादिभाष्यस्येत्यादिना । Ṛjuvimalā-beginning.

(2) यद्यपि परमते लोक इत्यादिभाष्यस्य षडर्थानुक्त्वा दशपक्षी चापरोक्ता तथाप्यथशब्ददूषणार्थमौचित्यानुभाषणपरत्वमेव स्वीकृतं तदपि मन्दम् मत्वा गुरुः सप्तदशमर्थमाह—अलौकिकार्थेति... Nayaviveka-beginning.

(3) तत्र सूत्रभाष्ययोरन्यथाव्याख्यानेन भग्नं दर्शनमिति मत्वा प्रभाकरेण गुरुणा सम्यग्व्याख्यानेन दर्शनान्तरं कृतम् तत्र परमतदूषणेनैव स्वमतप्रतिष्ठापनमिति मत्वा नाथाभ्यां भाट्टस्य दर्शनस्य दूषणम् क्रियते....। लोक इत्यादेराद्यस्य भाष्यस्य वार्तिककारैरेकत्र दशार्थाः सम्भावितत्वेनोक्ताः । तत्र दशमोऽर्थ औचित्यानुभाषणम् । तथान्यत्र षडर्थाः, तत्रापि षष्ठ औचित्यानुभाषणम् ।

औचित्यानुभाषणमेव स्वीकृतं वार्तिककारैः तदप्यनुवादमात्रपरत्वात् मन्दमिति परव्याख्यानमयुक्तमिति मत्वा अथात इत्येतस्मिन् पदद्वये अलौकिकार्था-शङ्कानिवृत्तिः प्रयोजनमिति गुरुणा व्याख्यातम् ॥

Nyāyakośa-beginning.

Regarding the first passage, we agree with Professor Kuppuswami Sastriar in thinking that Prabhākara is there represented to refute the views of Kumārila. In the second text which is an amplification of the previous one it is stated that, for the initital sentence of the Śābara-bhāṣya, there were suggested in the Bhāṭṭa school six senses in one place and ten others elsewhere, and that Prabhākara disagreeing with all of them gave a seventeenth meaning to it. The third text which further elucidates the second, supplies definite and more corroborative information. According to that, Vārtikakāra it was who gave these two seri... ...er-pretations for the Bhāṣya and that the last sense in both the ...s identical. There is in the Śloka Vārtika of Kumārila a series ... -pretations for the initial sentence of the Bhāṣya and the la... agrees with the one given above as the last of the interpretation... by the Vārtikakāra, *viz.*, औचित्यानुभाषणम्. It could be ... out from the above that the author of these two series of interp... ns is one and the same Vārtikakāra and that when the author of o..e of the series is established to be Kumārila there is no doubt that the author of the other is none else than the celebrated Mīmāmsā Vārtikakāra. What is that work where Bhaṭṭa has suggested the second series of ten senses? It is not any of his extant works. We venture to put forward, on the basis of the following evidences which appear to be very reliable and convincing, that it is his Bṛhaṭṭīkā.

In the catalogus Catalogorum of Dr. Aufrecht, the Bṛhaṭṭīkā is entered on p. 375 as a work of Kumārila. In the catalogue of Hall appears the following on pp. 170—'1 "The author of the Tantracūḍā-maṇi or Kṛṣṇadeva asserts that 'Vārtika' is a common name of five separate works of Kumārila: the Bṛhaṭṭīkā, Madhyamaṭīkā, Kārikā, Tantraṭīkā, and Ṭupṭīkā, these compositions diminishing as to size from first to last, in the order in which their appellations are here arranged.' In the Sarvadarśanakaumudī of Mādhavabhāratī who catalogues there all the works of the different philosophical systems the following is found :—

तत्र सहस्राधिकरणद्वादशलक्षण्या मीमांसायाश्चतुर्विंशतिसहस्रं शबरस्वा-मिकृतं भाष्यम् । तदुपरि प्रस्थानद्वयं—भाट्टं प्राभाकरमिति । तत्र भट्टाचार्याणां पञ्च व्याख्यानानि भाष्यस्य—एका बृहट्टीका, द्वितीया मध्यमटीका, तृतीया टुप्टीका, चतुर्थी कारिका, पञ्चमं तन्त्रवार्तिकम् । तत्र बृहन्मध्यमटीके सम्प्रति न वर्त्तेते । त्रयं तु भागशो वर्त्तते ।

This writer lived about three centuries ago and he records above the genuine Mīmāṁsā tradition current in his days that Kumārila wrote five works, only three of which were available to him then as now, and that of the two others one and certainly the bigger was the Bṛhaṭṭīkā. That Kumārila was the author of a work other than the three extant treatises could be understood from this verse of the Nyāyasudhā p. 1546 :—

तस्मात्सर्वान्निबन्धानपरमपि चतुर्ष्वेव भट्टप्रणीतं
मीमांसा सारविद्वद्बहुमतनिचयं चोपजीव्यादरेण ।
युक्तीश्चालोक्य सम्यग् बहुविदभिमतो माधवार्यस्य सूनुः
सोमेशः कर्तुमैच्छत्सकलविवृतये तन्त्रटीकां सुटीकाम् ॥

where Bhaṭṭa Someśvara the learned commentator on the Tantravārtika states that for purpose of his comments on this work he depended especially upon a celebrated work of Kumārila which probably treated of only the first four chapters of the Mīmāṁsāśāstra. This work may have been the Bṛhaṭṭīkā.

Further, in the Nyāyasudhā, itself, there are references to and also some extracts from the Bṛhaṭṭīkā. From the Vyākaraṇādhikaraṇa of that work (see Nyāya-S.p. 329) the following may be cited :—

न च संसारिरूपात्मज्ञानस्य मोक्षसाधनत्वे तस्मिन् सति कर्मसु प्रवृत्त्ययोगात् यद्बृहट्टीकायाम् "ननु निःश्रेयसज्ञानात् बन्धहेतोर्न कर्मणः" इत्याशङ्क्य "नैकस्मादपि तत्किन्तु ज्ञानकर्मसमुच्चयात्" इत्युक्तम् तद्विरुध्येतेत्याशङ्क्याह—न चेति ।

By making the above introduction to a text of the Tantravārtika p. 241 Someśvara represents that Kumārila is endeavouring to remove an apparent difference that may be discovered between the Bṛhaṭṭīkā and the present text *viz.* the Tantravārtika regarding the means of obtaining final salvation. Such an attempt on the part of Kumārila is justifiable only if the Bṛhaṭṭīkā is his own work, for a writer is ordinarily anxious to see that he is not understood to express conflicting opinions on the same subject in different works of his own, but he, if only a greater thinker like Kumārila, will not stoop to take pains to reconcile his views with those of another. Moreover in two other places Someśvara says that the same view as is held in the Vārtika is expressed in the Bṛhaṭṭīkā, and he cites the two texts from the latter thus :—

(1) Nyāyasudhā—p. 329-'30.

एतदेवाभिप्रेत्य बृहट्टीकायामुक्तम्—
नित्यनैमित्तिकैरेव कुर्वाणो दुरितक्षयम् ।

ज्ञानं च विमलीकुर्वन्नभ्यासेन च पाचयन् ॥
वैराग्यात्पक्वविज्ञानः कैवल्यं भजते नरः ॥
॥ उद्भिदधिकरणम् ॥

(2) Nyāyasudhā, p. 393, I. 4—1.

तथाऽपि नामधेयत्वे सति उद्भिच्चित्रादिशब्दानां धर्मप्रमोपयोगः अस्त्युत नेति चिन्ता क्रियमाणा न विरुध्यते। को धर्मः कथंलक्षण इति हि प्रकारवाचिना थमुप्रत्ययेन प्रामाण्यप्रकारोऽपि लक्षणार्थत्वेनाभिहितः। यथोक्तं बृहट्टीकायाम्।

चोदनासूत्रनिर्दिष्टो यः प्रमाणपरिग्रहः।
स प्रकारः स आद्येन लक्षणेन प्रपञ्चितः ॥

It has been shown above that the two grounds on which Dr. Jha bases the possibility of a second Vārtikakāra *viz.* that Kumārila is not respectfully referred to by Prābhākara writers and that many verses cited under Vārtikakāra are not found in the extant works of Kumārila are untenable. Kumārila is mentioned with due honour even by the Prābhākaras and some verses, attributed to Vārtikakāra and not found in the extant works of Kumārila, have been identified to be his. We do not absolutely deny the existence of another Vārtikakāra, but we have to do so if that is based on the grounds urged by Dr. Jha. It is reasonable on the other hand to suppose that the unidentified verses of the Vārtikakāra are drawn from a work of Kumarila now taken for lost. This work most probably is his Bṛhaṭṭīkā. Its very name and the references to it in the catalogues show that it is very voluminous and probably its enormous size has stood unfortunately in the way of its being preserved to posterity. But we do not despair and we place this paper before the conference with the full and fervent hope that some scholar will be able to discover ere long in some unknown corner of a library, this monument of the greatest Mimamsa philosopher, and thereby enrich the philosophical knowledge of India. Happy will he be who will bring to light this great * Bṛhaṭṭīkā!

N.B.—References to Mss are to those deposited in the Government Oriental Mss Library, Egmore, Madras.

* *P.S.* We are sorry to note that lack of information about this work of Kumārila has led even some well-informed scholars like Mr. P. V. Kane to mistake references to the Bṛhaṭṭīkā of Kumārila for the Bṛhatī of Prabhākara. For, referring to this passage:—

" पक्षदोषेषु चान्यासामुदाहरणविस्तरः । " Ślokavārtika.

" अर्थापत्त्यन्तराणामप्युदाहरणप्रपञ्चः पक्षदोषावसरे श्रोत्रादिनास्तितायामित्यादिना बृहट्टीकायां दर्शित इत्याह पक्षदोषेष्विति ।" Nyāyaratnākara.

Ślokavārtika, Benares Edition, p. 452

he remarks thus :—"It has escaped the notice of scholars that according to the Nyāyaratnākara on Tantravārtika (Ślokavārtika ?) अर्थापत्ति verse 9 (पक्षदोषेषु चान्यासामुदाहरणविस्तरः) Kumārila makes an express reference to Prabhākara's बृहट्टीका." (See Annals of the Bhandarkar Research Institute, 1924-25, Vol. VI, Part I, p. 26, foot-note 49). It is true that in the above text Pārthasārathi interprets Kumārila as making an express reference to the Bṛhaṭṭīkā, where the different varieties of *arthāpatti* are explained in the section on the *pakṣadoṣas*. But this Bṛhaṭṭīkā is different from Prabhākara's work called Bṛhatī. Further we state on the authority of Prof. S. Kuppuswami Sastri, Curator of the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras, that in the Manuscript copy of the Bṛhatī of Prabhākara which is completely available here for the first six chapters, we do not find any पक्षदोषप्रकरण or a separate section relating to the faults of the minor term, nor do we find in the corresponding portion of this work any detailed reference to the different varieties of *arthāpatti*.

———

ON THE ORIGIN OF TAMIL SIDDHĀNTAM

BY

MR. V. R. RANGANATHAN, M.A., B.LITT. (OXON.).

The problem that is presented and not solved in this paper is about the Origin of Tamil Siddhānta. It is a religio-philosophical system of South-India particularly of the Tamils, which is almost identical with the Śaiva Siddhānta of Kashmir. It will be useful to start with a brief outline of its metaphysics.

Siddhānta Philosophy.

Śaiva Siddhānta, whether of Kashmir or of South-India, is the result of an attempt to harmonise the Vedāntic and Sāṁkhyan teachings. The philosophy centres round the three categories, God, Soul, and Universe or matter, called in this system as *Pati*, *Paśu* and *Pāśa* respectively. These terms are of venerable descent, being terms of Vedic sacrifice. God, invariably called Śiva, is the active principle of the Universe. He is both transcedent and immanent. His immanent aspect is designated *Śakti* which is thus the connecting link between God and his universe. The souls are many and are of the same nature as God, but not identical with him. In their manifest state they are bound by a three-fold fetter. These finite conditions are (1) *Āṇava* or *Avidyā*, the power of darkness obscuring the light of the Soul. (2) *Karma*, as in other systems, and (3) *Māyā*, a term which signifies something very different from what it does in Śaṅkara's system, *viz.*, cosmic matter. Liberation for the Souls is disentanglement from these fetters. This freedom is to be secured partly by the Soul's own efforts, through *Bhakti* and partly by *Anugraha*, grace from God. In fact, Siddhānta is a philosophy of love and devotion. Māyāvāda is rejected. The world has a kind of dependent reality and is a necessary element in God's scheme and is especially designed with a view to the emancipation of the Soul. Through a metaphysical analysis of Nature, adapted from the Sāṁkhyan and improved upon, Śaiva Siddhānta attempts to exhibit the relation between the three eternal entities.

Difference between Kashmir and Tamil Schools.

The difference between the Kashmir school and the Tamil System is said to be similar to that between the colder thought of the Upaniṣads and the later theistic speculation (Dr. Mc Nicol). In the Northern system there is greater insistence on the casual sufficiency of Śiva in creation; while in the Southern School, Śiva is on the whole an efficient cause only and requires Māyā as the instrumental cause. There is a similar difference as regards the part that the Soul's own effort plays in

securing deliverance. God's co-operation in the form of grace is more emphasised in the Southern system. As to the nature of the liberated souls, the Tamil school lays greater stress on their conscious and active life. With these differences, of emphasis rather than of principles, the two systems are identical.

Question of Origin.

Now the interesting question is how far is the one indebted to the other? Is the resemblance between them accidental? or if one had inspired the other, was it the South that was indebted to the North, or *vice-versa*?

The question was first raised by Dr. L. D. Barnett of the British Museum Library in a paper on Śaiva Siddhānta read before the Royal Asiatic Society. After pointing out that the doctrines formulated in Kashmir by Abhinava Gupta are in all essentials the same as the Tamil Siddhānta, he arrives at the following conclusion :—

Barnett's View: Origin in Kashmir.

" We are therefore led to conclude that it was from Kashmir and the neighbouring regions that the Śaiva theology came to the Dravidian South at first in slight currents of incoherent ideas and gradually gathering force until it swept in a great stream of reasoned thought southward, taking its course, chiefly through the centre of India and thence following South-east into the Tamil lands ". To support this conclusion Dr. Barnett adduces the following arguments: " The systematic formulation of Tamil Siddhānta begins with Meykaṇḍan, whose Śivajñānabōdham was written about 1223 A.D. In the middle of the 12th century occurred that great upheaval in the neighbouring Kanarese country which dethroned for ever the jain and made śaiva-church dominant for many ages there. Then he traces the course it may have taken. " At some date possibly at the beginning of the present era and most probably not later than the 5th century, the incohoate idealism of the older Upaniṣads was harmonised with the growing belief in the reality of the material principle in Nature. This body of ideas gradually developed in Kashmir into the Spanda and Pratyabhijñā Schools. Meanwhile filtering down through the various channels into the lands of the Dravidians for whose ancient cult it supplied a theological basis. The Pratyabijñā was finally codified about 1000 A.D. In that form it passed through Āgamic and other channels southward notably into the Kanarese country and reappears at the beginning of the 13th, as the basis of the Tamil Siddhānta." Dr. V. V. Ramanan of the Calcutta University also agrees with the view of Dr. Barnett.

Carpenter Tamil Origin.

Dr. J. E. Carpenter appears to suggest that the process may have been just the reverse. In a foot-note in his "Theism in Mediaeval India" (p. 360) he writes as follows : " It must not be forgotten that Tamil śaivism had a

long religious and literary development before the appearance of the Schools in Kashmir and much common terminology may be traced for centuries before Meykaṇḍan wrote. Śaṁkara argued against Śaivism with which he must have been acquainted in South India and his visit to Kashmir (if tradition may be trusted) apparently coincides with the first beginnings of the Northern scholastic philosophy" Quite a number of Tamil scholars will readily agree with this view, but proof is lacking.

There is no doubt that the Sanskrit Āgamas and some of the Upaniṣads were the sources, from which the Tamil Siddhānta as well as the Śaiva philosophy of Kashmir directly drew their inspiration. The Āgamas and the Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad represent that attempt in philosophy of which Dr. Barnett speaks, *viz.*, the attempt to harmonise the incohate idealism of the older Upaniṣads with the growing belief in the reality of the material Universe. The Siddhānta philosophy also represents the same attempt, but it is a later though a more systematic and successful attempt. The eclectic tendency to harmonise the Sāṁkhya-Yoga and Vedānta is very marked in Siddhānta and the oldest representative of this tendency is the Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad. And this Upaniṣad which was canonical long before Śaṁkara, as Dr. Barnett says, contains the elements of Tamil Siddhānta, the Sanskrit Āgamas and the Śaiva theology of Kashmir. There can be little doubt that this Upaniṣad is one of the main sources of Śaiva philosophy. It is likely that Nīlakaṇṭha's Śaiva Bhāṣya also influenced the formulation of the Siddhānta doctrines. This sectarian commentary was probably an interpretation in the light of the then prevailing Śaiva religious and vague philosophical ideas, and when later on the Siddhānta philosophy, came to synthesised this Bhāṣya rather than Śaṁkara's was taken for guidance. The two commentaries differ on some vital points, which are also the points of difference between Siddhānta and Śaṁkara's Vedānta. It is one thing to say that Tamil Siddhānta had for its source the Śaiva Āgamas and some of the Upaniṣads and it is quite another thing to assert that the entire philosophy in its present systematised form came from Kashmir, as Dr. Barnett says it did.

Sources: Śaiva Āgamas and Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad.

It is difficult to refute Dr. Barnett's arguments, and still more difficult to suggest an alternate theory. Yet, there seem to be some difficulties in accepting his theory in its entirety. It will be sufficient in this paper to point out what these are and invite discussion. The first difficulty is historical. The impulse towards Hindu revival according to Dr. Barnett came from the North, first to the Kanarese country and thence to the Tamil land. The dethronement of Jainism and the establishment of Śaivism in the former country took place in

Difficulties in accepting Barnett's view.

the middle of the 12th century. But long before this by the 10th century Śaivism (and Vaiṣṇavism) overthrowing Buddhism and Jainism seems to have established itself firmly in the Tamil country, so that the impulse to the Hindu revival could not have passed from the North to the South.

A second difficulty is this : The history of Tamil sacred literature appears to be continous and Siddhānta, the result of a process of natural development. The system does not make a sudden and dramatic appearance in the Tamil country. On the other hand the philosophy was gradually developing for centuries and its final formulation in the 13th century and not earlier can be more or less satisfactorily explained.

Religious conflict in S. India.

There is no means of knowing what the religion of South India was before the introduction of Buddhism from the North. But there is no doubt it was some form of Śiva-worship. Whether the God was actually called Śiva or not is not a matter of much importance. The deity worshipped came in later times to be identified with the Vedic Rudra-Śiva. Barth's statement that, 'Śiva was a popular and almost supreme God before our era' supports such a view. Buddhism was introduced into South India probably about the 3rd century. For a time it flourished side by side with Hinduism, but in course of time the new religion slowly began to replace the older faith. Jainism too seems to have been very powerful in the South by the 1st century A. D. and in the following centuries it became a formidable rival of the ancient religion. Before the 5th century the two new faiths had made such advance that Hinduism was threatened with extinction. In the 5th or 6th century began the revival of Hinduism and in this revival Śaivism played an important part and attained to great prominence. During this period of Hindu revival Śaivism developed, probably reformulating its principles and practices, and soon became a faith that could stand against the two new faiths. The fight went on for centuries, from the 7th to the 9th century ; at first it was a struggle for existence on the part of Śaivism, but later on it was a fight for supremacy. By the beginning of the 10th century Śaivism was left supreme and ever afterwards remained the dominant faith in the South.

Now if this account is correct then it will not be wrong to conclude that the Kanarese revolt against Jainism followed that of the Tamil land.

Tamil Devotional literature.

This period between the 7th and 10th century, *i.e.*, the period of Hindu revival produced a copious devotional literature in Tamil wherein are found all the technical terms of the later theology and most of the elements of the subsequent philosophy. Dr. Barnett himself admits this ; for he says

"The famous poems of Thiruvācakam by Māṇikkāvācakar frequently use the technical terms of the Siddhānta—*Pati, Paśu Paśupati, Māyā, Śakti, Malam*, etc., in Sanskrit form". A perusal of Tēvāraṁ and other works of Tirumurai (7th to 11th century) will make this amply evident. The mystic poet Tirumūlar in his Tirumantram (a 9th century work) mentions several Āgamas by name and attempts to give an exposition of the Āgamic teachings. In the literature of this period occur not merely the technical terms but such philosophical ideas as *Bhakti, Anugraha Māyā Karma* etc. No doubt they were incoherent and undeveloped ideas, yet they were the necessary material for a philosophical edifice. Such a period of inspired writings was a necessary prelude to a period of reflection.

Siddhānta works.

The Tamil works known as Siddhānta Śāstras giving a systematic account of Śaiva thought were produced during the 13th and 14th centuries. They are 14 in number and of these the earliest and the most important Śivajñānabodham is the work of Meykaṇḍan who lived about 1323 A. D. This book which is the basis of all the later Siddhānta works, said to be a translation of 12 Sanskrit stanzas which form part of Rauravāgama. This is doubted by some; but it cannot be doubted that Śivajñānabodham epitomises the teachings of the Āgamas.

The period of inspired writings was identical with the period of conflict with Buddhism and Jainism. In fighting the new faiths, appeal had often to be made to the emotions rather than to reason; and this was done in the writings (the hymns of Appar, Sambandar, Sundarar, and Māṇikkavācakar. When the struggle was over, and Śaivism was firmly established there was the needed leisure for reflection.

Natural development of S. Thought.

Another important factor now gave a further impluse to reflection. The two chief sects of Hinduism, Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism now no longer in danger, began to emphasise the difference between them, which at first was slight, and thus began a sort of rivalry between the two. And when in the 12th century under the lead of Rāmānuja, Vaiṣṇavism came to be definitely marked off from Śaivism, the latter had the needed stimulus to a systematic formulation of a theology and philosophy. Thus the 13th century saw the rise of the great teachers and with their writings began the Siddhānta philosophy.

Philosophic synthesis by Tamils.

The Śaiva Āgamas and some of the sectarian Upaniṣads furnished the elements for the Tamil philosophy. The Āgamas, like the Upaniṣads, contain no philosophic synthesis as such, but they do contain some fundamental ideas

and germs of philosophy. The Tamils may have had the credit, not of originating, but of formulating a coherent and consistent system of philosophy. And this was no small task. It is quite possible that the Kashmerian system may have had some indirect influence on the philosophy of the South, but the reverse could hardly have been possible.

IS DHĀMAT RELIGION, BUDDHISM?

BY

KUMAR GANGANANDA SINHA, M.A., M.L.A.

We hear so little of Buddhism after the Mahomedan destruction of the famous seats of Buddhist learning and slaughter of Buddhist *Śramaṇas* and *Ācāryas* that it is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to say definitely what was the condition of Buddhism at that time. We are however, indebted to Mahāmahopādhyāya Professor Hara Prasād Śāstri and Prācyavidyāmahārṇava Babu Nāgendranāth Vāsu for attempting to throw light on the subject and it is rather tempting to examine their contentions and conclusions.

Mahāmahopādhyāya Professor Hara Prasād Śāstri is of opinion that the outrages committed by the Musalmans deprived the Buddhist community as a whole of the guidance of its intellectual and spiritual leaders. There was at that time no powerful monarch of Buddhist leanings to protect the religion or the community. The moslem pressure that was brought directly or indirectly to bear upon the community was so hard that the people of the community could save themselves only by adopting the religion of their conquerors.

Prācyavidyāmahārṇava Babu Nāgendranāth Vāsu holds a somewhat different view (vide Śūnya Purāṇa, Preface, pp. 66-8). He seeks to establish that the antagonism between the Brahmins and Buddhists during the Sena rule, which was characterised by the increasing domination of the Vedic Brahmins, drove the Buddhists to side with the Musalmans in wiping out all traces of Brahmanic temples and maṭhas by the way of revenge. He further asserts that there can be no doubt as to the fact that '*Saddharmin*' was the common designation of the Buddhists of that time having the Dharma Paṇḍits for their teachers; and all along tends to identify Dhāmat or the Dharma cult (which according to him was the prevailing religion of the mass at that time) with Buddhism. But we cannot help thinking at this, that in doing so he has simply followed in the footsteps of his predecessor Professor Śāstri, who has perhaps invariably adumbrated this opinion except in his edition of 'Baudha gāna-o-dohā!

In his paper entitled "Buddhism in Bengal", published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, in the year 1895, Professor Śāstri contends as follows in seeking to establish that identity :—

(a) In all probability Buddhism became mixed up with some aborginal form of worship, namely that of Dharma, during the ascendency of the Pāla dynasty in Bengal.

(b) No cooked food is offered to Dharma and the same being the case with the Buddhist and the Jaina idols the probability of the identification of the Buddha with the Dharmarāja becomes very great.

(c) If there is no caste distinction among the Buddhists, there is also absolute liberty to all castes to worship Dharmarāja. Even *domas* worship him and often offer him hogs' flesh.

(d) The following *mantra* used in the worship of Dharmarāja leaves no room for doubt that he is no other than the Buddha. The attributes of the former admirably fit in with those of the latter :

" *Yasyānto nādimadhyo na ca karacaraṇām nāstikāyanidānam*
Nākāram nādirūpam nāsti janmajhayasya [hya jasyar]
Yogīndro jñānagamyo sakalajanahitam sarvalokaikanātham
Tattvam tam ca Nirañjanam maravar pātuvaḥ śūnyamūrtiḥ"

(English Translation :—He who has no end, no beginning and no middle ; he who has neither hands nor legs, he who has no germ of body ; he who has no form no primordial form ; he who has no birth ; the one protector of all creatures, the truth, the spotless, the giver of boons to mortal men, whose form is Śūnya or void : may he protect you)

(e) If there be any doubt as to the possibility of the assimilation of such low parctices as the sacrifice of pigs' head, into Buddhism, it should be set at rest at once by Rai Sarat Chandra Das Bahadur's following translations from the history of Buddhism by Lāmā Tārānātha of Tibet :—

" He (the Domācārya) preached the Tāntrik doctrine of Buddhism, called Dharma, to the people of Tipera and obtained numerous followers. Many among them became Siddhas too. He was then invited to the country by Rādha, called *Rāra* in the common language of the people. The Rāja of that country was a bigoted follower of Brāhmins, but seeing the supernatural powers of Domācārya, and his goodness and learnings, he became changed in his views and henceforth the 'Dharma' Buddhism, in its Tāntrik phase became greatly honoured and followed by the people of Bengal, Rāḍha and Tipera. By the worship of Dharma, is meant, that of the Buddhist deities, such as Vajrayoginī, Vajravārāhī, Vajrabhairava (Kṣetrapāla), Vajraḍākinī, the Nātha and so on. In fact, in the latter days of Buddhism the Dikpālas, Dharamapālas and other spirit-protectors of Buddhism, became objects of worship to the exclusion of the Buddhas and the Bodhisattvas ".

Many of these dieties like Kṣetrapāla are still worshipped in Bengal or like Vajrayoginī, Vajrabhairava etc. were at one time worshipped in Bengal.

(*f*) further probability of this identification can be found in the fact that the Dharma-priests like the Buddhist monks of yore even up to this day dispense medicine.

Again, in his introduction to Bābu N. N. Vāsu's "Modern Buddhism" Professor Śāstri leads us to believe that the Brāhmins of the south-western part of Bengal (particularly those who came from Howrah and Midnapore districts) who beg with the image of Śitalā in hand are no other than Dharmagharia Yogis and are survivals of the Hīnayānist monks of the Tāmralipta country.

But there are certain facts which I am sure would have led Professor Śāstri to another conclusion, had he but considered them. The morsel of boiled rice found in front of a Buddha's image dug up at Sarnath and Chittagong contradicts his assumption that no cooked food is presented before a Buddhist idol as offering. Then again, it remains yet to be proved that the cult which permits the offerings of hog's flesh to its deity can have anything to do with Buddhism, however fallen it may be. Even Professor Śāstri does not give us any indication of such a practice in his well-known treatises on the Buddhist Sahajiā-cult or the Vajra-cult which form part of the 'Bauddhagāna-o-doha'.

Coming now to his identification of the Dharmaghariā Yogis, we cannot help thinking that it is bound to astonish those Buddhist Communities and nations scattered even to-day in India and other parts of Asia, who have kept up the traditions of the past. It is inconcievable that such a low practice as carrying the image of Śitalā in begging alms, has been associated with the Holy Order, particularly the so-called Hīnayānists, who were holding fast to the rules of the Vinaya discipline. Dr. Benimadhava Barua in his valuable monograph on the Ājīvikas (Part I) has referred to an important Pāli passage (see page 60) containing a list of popular non-Buddhist sects known to the author of the Milindapañha (who flourished about the beginning of the Christian era) called "Dhammagiriyā," which undoubtedly has closer resemblance to Dharamghariā than what Professor Śāstri leads us to believe. Then, again, we are indebted to Dr. Hoernle for drawing for the first time our attention to the existence of the practice of begging alms by the show of pictures in India as early as the 6th and 7th century B.C. outside, of course, the order of the Jainas and the Buddhists. Gosāla, the last best known teacher of the Ājīvikas was, for example, the son of Maṅkha (or wandering mendicant who earned his livelihood by showing pictures). Dr. Barua has further suggested that *Kṣapaṇaka* mentioned in the *Mudrārākṣasa* as carrying the Yamapaṭa might be taken as a representative of this class of mendicants and popular teachers. This class of pictures, aptly called *Caraṇacitra* in the Buddhist literature, has been commented upon by Buddhaghoṣa in the following terms: There was a sect of Brāhmin

heretics called *nakha* who used to roam about in the country with picture gallery having pictorial representation thereon of various scenes of persons enjoying the fruits of virtuous deeds in heaven and sinful deeds in hell. Do not these facts forcibly suggest that the origin of the practice of begging alms should rather be traced in these *Caraṇacitra*-beggars than in the Buddhist *Bikkhus*, who were unconnected with those beggars ?

Let us turn to examine the position of the Prācyavidyāmahārṇava regarding his opinion about the Dharma cult of the Śūnya Purāṇa. The opening verses of the Purāṇa contain a story of creation in which the cosmic void is said to be the resting place of God. Depending upon the void, the story tells us, the Lord roamed all about and was always active. Out of compassion he created the world as his own body—out of his body sprang up a personal form (Puruṣa), which was without hands, legs, eyes, parentage or companion and yet respledant enough to see itself.—But, is this story of creation peculiar to Buddhism ? Is it not, on the other hand an echo of the Nāsadīya Sūkta of the Ṛg Veda. Except for the Bhāgavatic idea of compassion as the formative principle of the cosmos, the resemblance between the two is so close that no one can doubt that Rāmāi Paṇdit's story was nothing but a free Bengali translation of the Vedic hymn. Similar stories can be traced in the Dharmapūjāvidhāna, ascribed to the same author, and composers of the Dharmamaṅgalas are said to have repeated the story as given by Rāmāi Paṇḍit. But in spite of the fact that the Vedic hymn referred to above was the original source of the story of the Śūnya Purāṇa and other works of the Dharma cult one might contend that Dharma Paṇḍits' source of information was not Vedic but Buddhistic and this source was some Mahāyāna work of later origin. But was it really so ?

If the story was really derived from a so-called Māhāyna work like the Svayambhu Purāṇa of Nepal, why is it, we must ask, that there is no mention of the Ādi Buddha, of any Dhyāni Buddha or of any Bodhisattva. Even granted that Rāmāi Paṇḍit found his story in a Buddhist work that he had read, does it necessarily follow therefrom that the story was of a Buddhist origin ? If we come across a story of creation put into the mouth of Buddha, we are at once struck with the manner in which it has been narrated and it leaves no doubt that it was a well-known story of Brāhminical origin which Buddha utilised, as suggested by Dr. Rhys Davids and others, for a very special purpose. The story recurs in many later Buddhist works. But when we read these works we find in their tone, in their expression some peculiar traits of Buddhists that always stand out and cry down with vengeance any attempt to mistake the Buddhistic doctrine for Brāhminism or other cults. The details of the process of creation as described in the Śūnya Purāṇa go to show that Rāmāi Paṇḍit's story was a synthesis of

Brāhmanical stories as we find them in the Vedic hymns, the Brāhmaṇas, the Purāṇas and later works.

It is a mistake that the word *Saṅkha* or *Śaṅkha* had been used in the Śūnya Purāṇa as a Bengali corruption of the Buddhistic term 'Saṅgha' the Holy Order. Both in the Śūnya Purāṇa and the Dharmapūjāvidhāna '*Saṅkha*' or *Śaṅkha*' in used through out to denote 'Conch-shell' and not '*Saṅgha*'. Mr. Vāsu is his 'Modern Buddhism' (pp. 19-20) has cited a legend from the Siddhānta Dambāra, an authoritative work of the Bāuris of Orissa, which says that Viṣṇu killed Saṅkhāsura and presented the eldest son of Padmālayā with the *Saṅkha*. Mr. Vāsu thinks that the only probable interpretation of the legend is that the eldest member of the Bāuri community became a Saṅghādhipa *i.e.* chief of the Buddhist fraternity after destroying the enemies of the Saṅgha. He further opines that the interpretation of *Saṅkha* as *Saṅgha* is supported by the Śūnya Purāṇa, in which *Saṅkha* is very frequently used for Saṅgha. But this kind of credulity in a serious work of research reads as a fact far stranger than fiction.

Then, it is stated that the attainment of *Brahmanirvāṇa* (*Bambhanibbāṇa*) is the highest goal of the Dharma-cult. This at once discountenances any suggestion as to Dharma-cult being Buddishm; nay, this goes to show that the Dharma-cult was in essence a kind of Bhāgavatism ultimately based upon the religion of the Gītā.

'Saturday' is the most auspicious day for worshipping the holy foot-prints of Śrī Dharma. This is a very strange fact indeed and is sure to upset any Buddhist of the world to hear that Saturday was sacred to Buddhism.

Dharma deity as described in the Śūnya Purāṇa is a male god while Ādi Buddha the highest deity of the Buddhists of Nepal is a female. Even Dharma of the Buddhist trinity has been personified as a female deity. In the Śūnya Purāṇa, Dharma is not distinguished from Dharmarāja. In the Mahābhārata (Yudhiṣṭhira) is called Dharmaputra *i.e.*, the son of Dharma or Yama; and the epithet of Yudhiṣṭhira is Dharmarāja. But in Śūnya Purāṇa, as we find, Yama is called Dharmarāja. In the Buddhist works of Nepal a hard and fast distinction is made between Dharma the personification of Prajñā Devī and Dharma rāja or Buddha Śākyamuni. Then also the Dharma rites and rituals are not all Buddhistic.

Mr. Vāsu's argument is that in the Śūnya Purāṇa and other works of the Dharma cult 'Siṁhala' or Ceylon, is said to be the place where Śrī Dharmarāja was held in very high esteem and as Buddhism was the prevalent religion of Ceylon, there can be no doubt that Śrī Dharmarāja was no other man than the Buddha. It cannot be denied that Dharmarāja was also an epithet of Yama. In the Śūnya Purāṇa itself (p. 49)

Yama is so described———'Yamadharmarāja' *i.e.*, Yama, the administrator of Justice; and Dharma itself, as in the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad, is represented as personification of Justice. The word '*Laṅkā*', again, appears to have been used in a very special sense. By '*Laṅkā*' Rāmāi Paṇḍit did not mean, directly, the island of '*Laṅkā*' or Ceylon but a particular structure in a Dharma temple.* But Rāmāi Pandit's 'Siṁhala' cannot but mean the island of *Laṅkā* or Ceylon. In the two expressions, "*Siṁhalata Śrī Dharmarājer bahuta sanmāna*" and "*Dharmadevatā simhale bahuta sanmāna*" Rāmāi Pandit may be understood to have meant the Buddha by Dharmarajā and Buddhism by Dharmadevatā. But it is no less likely that his geographical allusion also bears the influence of Rāmāyaṇic story of Rāma's conquest of Ceylon and the inauguration of the Āryan religion through the instalation of Vibhīṣaṇa. The indirect reference to Ceylon may be as much due to influence of the Rāmāyaṇa as to that of Buddhism. It is very strange indeed that no Buddhist holy place finds mention in the Śūnya Purāṇa. The whole pantheon and the holy places mentioned in the Śūnya Purāṇa are evidently Hindu. The ideal of Ahiṁsā as set forth in the Śūnya Purāṇa was not then in a way peculiar to Buddhism, though it may definitely be regarded as a point of contact between the Dhrama cult of Bengal and Buddhism. The Nātha Siddhas such as Ādinātha, Minanātha, Cowraṅginātha find mention in the Śūnya Purāṇa and Dharmapūjāvidhāna but not a single Buddhist Siddha. Mr. Vasu's another argument is that Rāmai Paṇḍit must have meant Buddha by Dharmarāja when he said '*Dharmarāja yajña nindā kare*' *i.e.* Dharamarāja condemns the sacrifices. This seems apparently quite

---

* C. F. "*Homayajña adhivāsa mantra āvāhana*
Vāmbhana paṇḍita alia deva nirañjana III
Laṅkārā duāre āji suniba vārata
Nitāi paṇḍita aila āṭha sa-gati
Homa yajña kari dila tamara aṅguri IV
—*Śūnya Purāṇa*—p. 44.

"*Laṅkāra duāre ke paṇḍita*
Nitāi je āṭha sa gati āna lekhya
—*Śūnya Purāṇa*—p. 53.

Maṇḍapa adhivāsa kare dānapati
caribhite rue kalā bhitara hemagiri III
cāua maṇḍapara khāme bāndhae banamālā I
Laṅkāra duāre paṇḍita Nilāi jāra āṭha sa gati
Haphsata diā tahāka rahaila maṇḍape haila upaniti IV
—*Śūnya Purāṇa*—p. 61.

Puba diga mājhe kanakalaṅkā pāra
kanaka maṇḍapa parabhur kanaka behāra I
—*Śūnya Purāṇa*—p. 91.

sound. The Buddha was undoubtedly known in the popular traditions of Bengal as an avatāra of Viṣṇu, who was Yajñanindaka or condemner of sacrifices. But, here too, one must remember that Vedic sacrifices were condemned in the Gītā and other subsequent religions. Thus though in reading the writings of Rāmāi Pandit there is here and there some influence of Buddhism, the facts stands out that the Dharma Pandits of Bengal were all advocates not of Buddhism but of the Brahmajñāna (Bambhajāna) and of Brahmanirvāṇa.

THE YOGAVĀSIṢṬHA RĀMĀYAṆA, ITS PROBABLE DATE AND PLACE OF INCEPTION.

BY

PROF. SIVAPRASAD BHATTACHARYA, M.A., RAJSHAHI.

About five years ago while engaged in the task of editing the *Alaṁkārakaustubha* of Kavi Karṇapūra for the Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi—the first volume of which has since appeared in 1923—my attention was drawn to a verse therein,

कूर्मलोमपटच्छन्नः शशशृंगधनुर्धरः ।
एष वन्ध्यासुतो भाति खपुष्पकृतशेखरः ॥

Alaṁkārakaustubha, *kiraṇa* I, p. 8.

The verse had the ring of 'oldness' associated with it; moreover the fact that the rhetorician, whose aim was to exemplify his rules and principles from the life of Kṛṣṇa went out of his way and quoted it indicates that it was a familiar thing with his readers. I had to trace it to its source. My younger brother, Pandit Manmathanātha Pañcatīrtha informed me that he remembered to have met with it in the *Yogavāsiṣṭha Rāmāyaṇa*; Paṇdit Pañcānan Tarkaratna of Bhātpārā, my native village, an undisputed authority in matters relating to Philosophy and the *Purāṇas*, was also of the same opinion. I had to hunt the verse up in the work. While I could not find the whole verse, parts of it were actually identified from that work, which, when tagged together, gave us the verse; and the identification was indicated to that effect. I remembered that an almost similar verse is cited in the *Durghaṭavṛtti* (under II. 2-8) of Śaraṇadeva, who along with an earlier contemporary of him, Puruṣottamadeva, the author of the *Bhāṣāvṛtti* and his friends, formed almost the last batch of Bengal Buddhists, who kept up the torch of grammatical learning as based on the school of Pāṇini ablaze in Eastern India; there is a similar rather charming verse in the *Naiṣadhacarita* of Śrīharṣa,[1] who too belonged to that quarter of the Indian continent. A perusal of the Sanskrit commentaries on the *Bauddha Gāna-O Dohā* as edited by M. Haraprasad Sastri had convinced me that allied thoughts

1. *Naiṣadhacarita*, XII. 106. The contention that these terms are found to be used profusely in later orthodox Hindu philosophical works loses much of its force when we remember that in the early part of its chequered career Indian philosophical literature (particularly the Nyāya system in which these terms abound) was influenced not in considerably by Buddhistic writers.

and expressions are not uncommon therein.[1] Terms like *Vandhyāputra*, *ākāśakusuma*, *gandharvanagara* which are common-places in the *Yogavāsiṣṭha Rāmāyaṇa* are the stock-in-trade of a certain school of philosophers; and these terms are again of frequent occurrence in literature, professedly Buddhistic. This led to a lurking suspicion in my mind that the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* was Buddhistic in essence and inception—a suspicion which has since been confirmed—and led me to read the work more carefully so as to trace its period and place of genesis.

While the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* is but one of the four works (including the rather queer epitome, perhaps of a late age, the *Adbhuta Rāmāyaṇa*) that attches itself to Rāma, styles itself *Rāmāyaṇa*, and is ascribed to the sage Vālmīki, it is fundamentally different from the rest. The plot here just touches a fringe of the story in the original *Rāmāyaṇa* and the story dwindles into nothing—or to be more precise, there is here no narrative at all. There is philosophising, not in the manner of the *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa*, [2] where the philosophy, often vague, sweetly pantheistic and almost non-scholastic, is made to run in a line with the actual story of the epic, but philosophising in a fashion, and to a definite end. In this work the *role* of the teacher is taken by the family spiritual preceptor Vasiṣṭha, who in the long run, represents a school of thought not fathered by orthodox tradition [3] on him or on any other Indian sage of legendary and Paurāṇic fame; and in contravention of the custom of all post-Christian literature on the subject, Rāma's identification with the great Spiritual Being is almost hidden from view, to be made out only at the sequel. Some of

1. Compare the views about *vairāgya* and *nirvaṇa* appearing in Nāgārjuna's *Apratiṣṭhāprakāśa*, quoted in the commentary on *Caryācaryaviniścaya* (pp. 16—17, 24):—

यावान् कश्चिद्विकल्पः प्रभवति मनसस्त्याज्यरूपो हि तावा-
न्योऽसावानन्दरूपः परमसुखकरः सोऽपि संकल्पमात्रः ।
यो वा वैराग्यभावस्तदपि तदुभयं तद्भवस्याग्रहेतु
निर्वाणान्नान्यदस्ति कचिदपि विषये निर्विकल्पात्मचित्तात् ॥

2 The *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa*, highly popular with the *kathakas* of Bengal for its underlying element of sweetly serene *Bhakti*-culture, is regarded by many as forming a part of the *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa*, just as that other important work, the *Viṣṇudharmottara* is regarded as a part of the rather unimportant *Garuḍapurāṇa*. Our knowledge of the *Purāṇas*—as we have them printed—cannot be regarded as adequate even in the matter of ascription of authorship we can never be sure that we stand on old tradition. This much is certain about the work—that it is told out in the form of a *saṃvāda* between Umā and Maheśvara.

3. The tradition connecting Vasiṣtha with the cult of Buddheśvari Tārā and the spread of neo-Tāntric doctrines from Mahācina, a country of Buddhistic practices referred to in the *Rudrayāmala*, the *Cinācāratantra* and the *Tārātantra* is presumably a Buddhistic one and affords us some light on this head. It is interesting to note that in the present work, too, there is a reference to Vasiṣtha living in *Kailāsakandara* with his *guru* the great Mahādeva, collecting *ustakahs* on worship etc. (*Nirvāṇa-vijuha* 29 I, 86-90).

the prominent features of the work bearing on its manner and externality may be noted here :—

(i) The Buddhistic setting :—Like Buddha in early youth, Rāma in his adolescence, is mortified at the many kinds of *duḥkha*, the common heritage of man, such as *jāti*, *jarā*, *vyādhi*, *bhogapañcaka*, *maraṇa*, *priyaviprayoga* [1] ; and his earnestness in endeavouring to trace them to their root-cause as well as to hit at the way of deliverance therefrom, [2] leads him almost automatically to the labyrinthine mazes of philosophical and mystic speculations, to the queries about *vairāgya*, *mumukṣutā*, *utpatti*, *sthiti*, *upasama*, and *nirvāṇa*, which are discussed in the six sections of the work covering about 33,000 stanzas, in volume nearly one-third as much again as the present form of the original *Rāmāyaṇa*. The episodes—and considering the volume and nature of the work, they are not many—that are introduced contain a few *ākhyāyikās*,[3] mostly in the form of old parables or allegories which are narrated in parts dealing with cycles of births, as in the *Jātakas*. It is curious to note that the *Daśaratha Jātaka* (Vol. IV Fausboll) does exactly hint at a similar predicament which is removed afterwards, as is evidenced by the *gāthās* cited. [4]

(ii) The author's favouritism for certain words like *mālita*, *buddha* and derivatives of the root *cup*, to silence, and words and phrases of philosophical import like *bhāva*, *śūnya*, *cit*, *ātman*, *karman*, *nirvāṇa*, *tṛṣṇā*, *bhogapañcaka*, *nairātmya*, *brahman*, *vijñāna*, *ākāśa*, [5] and the use of the latter—of course the author is not very consistent in the connotation he attaches to them—in rather unorthodox ways betray his leaning for Buddhistic tenets and doctrines.

---

1. Cf. *Vairāgya*—5 ; 10.4—51 ; also 11.2 (Viśvāmitra's diagnosis of the situation) :—

एष मोहो रघुपतेर्नापद्भयो न च रागतः । विवेकवैराग्यवतो बोध एष महोदयः ॥

2. Thus considered it is on a line with that important and old Buddhistic Sanskrit work Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra, a work in ten *parivartas* (chapters) treating amongst other things, of *anityatā* and *kṣaṇikatā*. The 108 and odd questions of Rāvaṇa are answered by the great Buddha *just as* in the *Yogavāsiṣṭha*, the many doubts and a difficulties of the youthful Rāma are dispelled by the master-sage Vasiṣṭha.

3. *Utpatti*. 2 ; *Nirvāṇa*. 62—81 (*Jivantopākhyāna*) 15. 16. *Utpatti*. 52.53. The *Utpatti*. section of the work is, according to the statement of the author, *stanta khyāyikāmaya*. (*Mumukṣu*), 17. 14.

4. Pāli Texts (p. 127, Vol. IV). In answer to Bharata's query

केन राम पभावेण शोचिदब्वं न शोचसि ।

Rāmapaṇḍita cites the *gāthās*.

5. *Vairāgya*. 6.14 ; 12.9 ; 8.6, 7 ; 16, 13-29 ; 17 ; 26.39 ; 29.3 ; *Utpatti* 3·33, 42, 71-74 ; 24.68 ; 62, 14, *Nirvāṇa*—1. 28 ; 2 32 ; 7.37.

(iii) In quite a number of passages [1] the words *buddha*, *sacchāstra* and *asaṁga* (occasionally with compounds depending thereon *e.g.*, *asaṁgadhī*) are used in a manner that it becomes extremely difficult not to take them as proper names. Asaṁga, as is well known, is one of the earliest teachers amongst Buddhist philosophers (*yogācārins*) who preached the *ālayavijñānavāda* and his school got a decent following in North-Eastern India.

(iv) Though described in the colophon always as *ārṣa*, the work itself makes a candid confession that much that is contained in it is not *ārṣa* but *pauruṣa* [2] and that though the author has tried to make his thoughts consistent with what was taught by the orthodox schools, he has been not infrequently influenced by *paramata* (alien views).

All this however does not help us much beyond proving that there was an admixture of Buddhistic doctrines; as to time, it does not take us much beyond the sixth century A.D., even if the author be regarded as a rather late follower of the *yogācārin* teacher Asaṁga.

The outer shell of the work with its occasional references takes us much further, as will be evident from the following considerations:—

(i) The work is permeated with the *kāvya*-style-paraphernalia, both in the verses and in the rather occasional *cūrṇaka*-prose portions. Elaborate descriptions, ideas, images and allegories repeated and reiterated often to a degree of monotony, figures of speech of various shades (the chief figures being *upamā* and *rūpaka*) and, more than everything else, the spirit of the surrender of the story and often the subject-matter or the theme to the hunt after rhetorical effect and conceits go to show that it is a specimen of the later exuberant but extravagant *kāvya*-style.

(ii) The work contains references to, parallelisms of and, often *verbatim* quotations from the great classical masters Kālidāsa, Bhāravi, Bhaṭṭi, Bāṇabhaṭṭa, Bhavabhūti and Māgha [3]. The contention that these—specially when they come in the form of direct citations—may be

---

1. *Nirvāṇa*, 7-37, 44'10 तवासंगेन जीवत: *Utpatti* 6'13, 26-44. *Vairāgya*, 26'32 *Mumukṣu*, 18.25, 26, 27.

सच्छास्त्रसाधुवृत्तानामविरोधिनि कर्मणि । रमते धीर्यथा........... ॥
...वासनाश्रृंखलोभिता । महाशनिनिपातैस्तु न भग्ना बुद्धयधीरता ॥
तेषामेकैकशोन्तःस्थान् सर्जान् पश्यत्यसंगधीः ॥

2. Cf. *Mumukṣu*, 18. Were it not for the cumulative effect of the 'atmosphere' in the whole work, this canto could be explained away and dismissed as an interpelation. The verses 1—8, 9, 68—70 prove beyond doubt the writer's preference for non-orthodox rationalistic views. The references in the footnotes here are all to the Bombay edition of the work.

3. *e.g.*, *Vairāgya*, 6.17—23; 7.20—21; 16.5—21; 17.51; *Utaptti*, 48; *Utpatti* 16; *Nirvāṇa* 14. 17.

dismissed as interpolations, does not help us much, when the cumulative evidence of the 'atmosphere' and style is almost decisive. Moreover, there is not much of artlessness in the fitting in of these verses that come from or are influenced by other sources; nor again is there any evidence forthcoming of a great incentive of adding them to the work.

(iii) Again, while the work shows traces of the complexity of Hindu ideals and modes of worship after the Paurāṇic fashion, it often has the courage and frankness to cry them down in no uncertain terms.[1]

(iv) The fact that though it is composed in the *Kāvya*-style, it is seldom found quoted in any of the mediaeval *alaṁkāra* texts and in any of the native traditional anthologies—though such works, no matter whether they are included in the restricted code of *kāvyas* or not (*e.g.*, the *Purāṇas*, the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* and often the *lekhas*) are allowed that place of honour, is certainly a proof that it was not known for long and that it was comparatively at a later date that it was studied. (Compare the introductory verses in Ānandabodhayatin's *Vāsiṣṭhārthaprakāśa*).

Looked at from the standpoint of its philosophy and the inner essence of its culture, the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* seems to reflect the tendencies of a particular age, and, as there is good reason to think, of that age, as inherent in a particular local environment. The following are some of the principal features that emerge out of a consideration on these heads :—

(i) The *Yogavāsiṣṭha*, because of its palpable inconsistencies and its sweet vagueness in technology and no less for its *ślokakūṭas* [2] is not regarded as an authoritative work of philosophy; and no writer and scholiast on philosophy earlier than Vijñānabhikṣu seems to use it as an authority to defend a position without knowing its limitations,—he again has used it in the same light in these matters (and some later authors following him have adopted the same course) as the *Kūrmapurāṇa*, *Garuḍapurāṇa*, *Viṣṇupurāṇa* etc.

(ii) It has thus not attained to the rank of the *Bhagavadgītā* though in the manner of that earlier work and using its very words, it

---

1. Cf., *Vairāgya*, 25—32 (a hit at *ācāra*, *Śrauta* and *Smārta*). *Nirvāṇa*, 40.11. *Nirvāṇa*. 29.120—131.

2. Cf. *Utpatti* 1-1—4. There occur phrases *brahmāmbara*, *chinnabhodehavid*, *etc.* reminiscent of Buddhistic phraseology. *Vide* the commentator's elucidation of these verses in an orthodox fashion. The terms *jīva*, *brahman*, *karman*, *nirvāṇa*, *ātman*, are rather promiscuously used. Sometimes *ātman* (*brahman*) is syncnymous with *śūnya*, *asat etc.* (*Nirvāṇa* 33. 17.)'; sometimes (*Utpatti* 13. 35) they seem to be different. Sometimes *brahman* and *jagat* are one (*Utpatti* 10.19); more often they are different entities. *Yoga*, which is often used to emphasise a disposition of the mind, is occasionally, or rather as an exception, used to denote ascetic practices. (*Nirvāṇa* 12.7); and so forth.

tries to make a synthesis of the views of the Sāṁkhya and Yoga, or, as it styles them, *Sāṁkhyayoga* and *Yogayoga* systems [1]; whereas, from the peculiar circumstances under which it was produced, it should have attempted a synthesis of the Yoga, Vedānta and Yogācāra doctrines. Nor does it represent in an unadulterated manner—like the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa*—the crystallised views of a particular school of philosophical thought.

(iii) All the while, it is not too much to say that the present work presents us with a comprehensive and inspiring dissertation on *vairāgya* and *nirvāṇa* of a type that is rare in Sanskrit literature, though it is in a line, on the expression side with *Kāvya* works like the *Vairāgyaśataka*. The idea of the different *bhogabhūmis* and *yogabhūmis* [1] and the preference of the disposition of *mumukṣutā* to *mokṣa* which is the professed aim of the generality of orthodox works, whether legendary or philosophical, seem also to point to a regard for the doctrines of *Mahāyāna* Buddhism, with its nucleus of the Bodhisattva creed of redemption and deliverance.

(iv) The philosophical groundwork, as we have here, is a complex fabric of theories and doctrines, not very closely and systematically joined :—

(*a*) It treats of *Yoga* only in a restricted sense—the fundamental idea of *yoga* (योगश्चित्तवृत्तिनिरोध:) or *samādhi* and the efficacy of trances and psycho-physical exercises has been rather lightly dismissed in the manner of the Buddhist *Vijñānavādins*.[2] Emphasis is laid on the temperament, rather than on the practices which are believed to lead to it.

---

1. Cf. *Nirvāṇa* 69.18—21. While apparently at one with the *Vedāntin* as regards the eternal nature and finality of *brahman* (*Utpatti* : 13. 35 &c) and the belief in *jñāna mārga* (cf. *Utpatti* 7.1) as the only solution, it does not ever insist on the identity of *jīva* and *brahman* (*Utpatti* 13 .). Again, while distinctly professing a leaning for the prevalent Buddhist *yogācārin* views of cosmogony dependent on *spanda* (cf. *Utpatti* 67.), of *brahman*=*nirvāṇa* or *manovilaya* (*Utpatti*. 9 , 97) &c. it chooses to acquiesce in ideas about *ihaloka* and *paraloka* (*Mumukṣu*, 3. 13—15), in the equation *manas*=*daiva* and so forth, which would not appear palatable to them. The synthesis it preaches is more superficial than grounded on any arguments adduced—it is arbitrary, often nothing. more than rhetorical flourish. (cf. *Utpatti* 4.2—8.). As to *bhūmis* cf. *Vairāgya*. 12. 8, 5 : *Mumukṣu*, 2.10 ; *Mumukṣu* 3. (*bhūyo bhūyaḥ Sargavarṇana*.) *Mumukṣu*. ; 4.3 ; 10.23, 40—41 ; 17—50; *Upaśama*, 75; and so on. Regarding the *yogabhūmis* one may compare the name of *daśabala*. (षडभिज्ञो दशबलोऽद्वयवादी विनायक: of Amarasimha) and *daśabhumiśvara*. The latter, by the by. is the appelation of one of the nine sacred texts of the Eastern (Nepal) Buddhists.

2. Cf. *Utpatti*, 1.38-41 ; *Utpatti*, 4'54. Indeed *both in theory and practice the two differ so much that it would be reckless misrepresentation to take the Yoga-vāsiṣṭha as a work on the orthodox Yoga system*. Cf. also *Upaśama*, 22 and 24.

(b) While at one with the later *Vedāntin* on the idea of *prapañca* (world) as a mere projection of *manas* (mind), [1] (here again there is a difference in the exposition or grasping of the process) and on the all-pervading nature of *Brahman*, it has substantial points of difference with the latter as regards the nature of *nirvāṇa* or *mokṣa*, of *manas*, *citta* and *ātman*.

(c) Unlike the *Yogācārins*, it seems to believe in the transmigration of souls or rebirths and not in the transmigration of 'caste' or 'character' as in the Buddhistic creed [2]. The conceptions of *jīva*, *ātman*, *samsāra* etc., are however fundamentally the same in the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* as in the theory of Asaṁga and his followers.

(v) As to religion and forms of worship there are no stereotyped ways and theories formulated and prescribed. Viewed in the ethical aspect, the work inculcates wholesome tolerance and perfect liberalism—*maitrī*, *karuṇā*, *muditā*, *upekṣā* as much as questions of *śīla* form its *forte* [3].

Putting all these together for hitting at the date of the work, it would appear bold to say that it was composed earlier than the ninth century A. D. The nature of the ideal and temperament held up for realisation could not be thought of in Buddhist India before the days of the Pāla Kings of Bengal, when we remember that the writer was ostensibily a Hindu, treating of a subject essentially Hinduite.

That this seems to be more than a plausible surmise, based on the internal evidence of doctrines and cultural level, is borne out by the following considerations :—

(i) The mention of the *Pārasīkas* and *Tāmrayavanas* [4] in a rather cryptic account of the war between two kings of Western India

1. Cf. *Utpatti*, 2-21-24, 35, 56 ; *Mumukṣu* 9·18-20 ; *Utpatti*, 9, 97 ; *Nirvāṇa* 11·17-18, 36, 37 ; *Vairagya*. 16·13-29 ; *Utpatti* 52. 11-14 ; 13-23 ; *Nirvāṇa*. 69 ; *Upaśama* 2·18.

2. Cf. La Vallee Poussin's remarks on the subject in *The Way to Nirvāna*. Vide, however, *Utpatti* : 13-57, Cf. *Utpatti* 2, (*ākāśajavipropākhyāna*) and the verse न सन्न चासन्न तथा न चान्यथा of Asamga quoted in Yamakami Sogen's *Systems of Buddhist Thought* (Cal. Univ. 1912)—p. 280.

3. Cf. *Nirvāṇa*. 39. 39-40. There is however, a reference to these as to the other *yogāṅgas* in the Yoga System of Patañjali (Cf. *Yogadarśana*, I. मैत्रीकरुणामुदितोपेक्षाणं। पुण्यापुण्यविषयाणां भावनातश्चित्तप्रसादनम् । But an insistent demand on these themes points possibly to the Buddhistic connection of the work.

4. *Utpatti*. 37·20-24, Cf. also कांतकांचनकांतासीतासंग्रामवाहिनी ।
भुक्तागौडभटेनांगनखकेशानिकर्षणै: ॥

(*Vide* also the commentary thereon). The tribes and races referred to include the *Dāsāpuraḥ*, *Śāntikāḥ*, *Maragāḥ*, *Daradāḥ*, *ināḥ*, *Śakāḥ* (*dāśa-Kahsākāḥ*). Some of these appear to be named after the countries inhabited by them.

helps us in a manner to have a limiting date for the work. While there can be very little doubt about the former, the latter were possibly the people of Afghanistan, who from about the tenth century onwards, came in hordes to the western countries of India for plunder and ravage and ultimately acquired mastery. The story, however, does not indicate the overthrow of the Indian princes nor does the work seem to know of the conquest of any part of India by these invaders.

(ii) The reference to the school of Vedānta Philosophy as the *Vedāntins* or *Vedāntavādins* [1] would take us to a time not earlier than that of the great Śaṁkarācārya and the author's references to the views of this school, which are hinted at above, sufficiently confirm this point.

(iii) In one text the *Purāṇas* are described as *bahupāṭha* [2], having different readings or recensions; and in another text [3] we have a rather indirect hint, which goes to show that the author may have been familiar with the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* and its hard and fast line of demarcation between *aṁśakalā* and *bhagavattva* of the Supreme Being Viṣṇu. The first fact is sufficient to carry us to the tenth century, if the researches of modern scholars on the age and compilation of the *Purāṇas* are accepted as substantially true. (*Vide* Pargiter—*The Purāṇa Texts of the Dynasties of the Kali Age.*)

(iv) The author seems to be rather at home in treating of the customs of the Easterners and the picture he presents of Buddhistic ideals and of the superinducing of the alien doctrines (*paramata*) on national life is possibly the prototype of the conditions in that quarter of India where Buddhism played a dominant part in matters of philosophical beliefs and general culture and is believed to have subsequently merged itself in the older creed of the land. [4]

(v) The text has been an authority in Bengal from about the time of the religious reformer Caitanyadeva and not much earlier, and,

1. *Sthiti*, 21-26 ; *Utpatti*, 4'5 ; *Utpatti*, 13-35 ; 3'33, 40 ; 4'68 ; *Sthiti*. 2'8-9,24 ; 11'63; 20 ; 21, 39. It is important to note that there is no reference in the work to the views of qualified monist Rāmānuja or his school of thought.

2. *Nirvāṇa*. 22'20—27. The accounts of the redaction of the different texts (*e.g.* the *Rāmāyaṇa*), and about the different *jīvas* passing under the names of Vālmiki and Vyāsa form interesting reading. That there were different Vyāsas was well known (from recorded references) in or about the time of King Ballāla Sena (11th century) of Bengal. He gives us in his *Dānasāgara* references to and quotations from Laghu-vyāsa, Bṛhat-vyāsa, No great *nibandhakāra*, again, it appears, has ever seriously maintained that the *Dharmasūtrakāra* Vyāsa, the Paurānic Vyāsa, the *Yogasūtra-bhāṣyakāra* Vyāsa etc., are one and the same person. The auther of the *Yoga-V.* seems to have gone a little further—he has been more critical in the language of these days—he suggests that even the *purāṇakāra* Vyāsas were many, and the same argument holds good to a certain extent for Vālmiki, a name less assumed than that of Vyāsa.

3. *Nirvāṇa*, 64'31—33.

4. *Vairāgya* 3'37—38. *Utpatti*. 36, 37 etc., *Mumukṣu*. 18, *Sthiti*. 62 8, 11. 12.

along with the *Brahmasaṁhitā* and the later *Upaniṣads*, been cited by many a Vaiṣṇava writer ever since. The manuscripts of the *Yoga-vāsiṣṭha* are as common in Bengal homes as those of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Mahābhārata* and *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* and the work enjoys a sanctity amongst popular semi-philosophical works little short of that of the *Bhagavadgītā*.[1]

(vi) The fact that the only great commentator on the work Ānandabodhasarasvatī, who on his own assertion seems to be the earliest scholar to comment on it and belongs possibly to the seventeenth century, if not later, is of south India[2] does not vitiate the conclusion to be

---

1. The *Laghu Yogavāsiṣṭha* or *Mokṣopāyasāra* which presupposes the bigger work, (described in I.O. Descriptive Catalogue entry No. 2424) is a work in 92 verses by a Bengali writer, possibly a North Bengal writer, (named Abhinanda Tarkavāgīśa with many titles (e g. *gauṇamaṇḍalām-laikarāpaṇḍita Samidviveka* etc.), who is thus to be distinguished from the famous Gauḍa Abhinanda of Kashmir, the author of the synopsis of *Kādambarī* etc. A commentary presumably on this work (I.O. Cat. entry No. 2427) is known to be the composition of one Mahīdhara of Bengal, who lived towards the latter part of his life in Benares. This is dated Vikrama Samvat 1654 1598 A.D. If the *Padacandrikā* (described in I.O. Cat. entry No. 2399) be a commentary on the original work and if Rāmānandatīrtha, to whom it is ascribed, be the great Rāmānandatirthā, who died in 1377 A.D. it would tell us much in the matter of dating the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* itself, though at the same time it would invalidate the statement of Ānandabodhendra Sarasvatī, अनन्यपूर्वव्याख्यातं ग्रन्थं मे व्याविकीर्षत: (statement which may not be taken too seriously or literally). All this would certainly go to prove the immense popularity the Yoga. V. enjoyed in Bengal homes for centuries an the later Middle Ages. The *Prabodhamihirodaya*, a Tantra '*cun*' Smṛti *nibandha* by a Bengal Kāyastha Rāmeśvara Mitra Tattvānanda (of Saka 1597) quotes largely from the *Yogavāsiṣṭha Rāmāyaṇa* (Descr. Cat. of Miss in the Calcutta Sanskrit College Library—Tantra No. 49). It is also significant in this connection to remember that of the many classical Sanskrit works translated into Persian before or during the time of the Mogul Emperor Akbar, the Y. V. was one; and that the mention of this fact comes from a Bengali Hindu writer of Persian Haricaraṇ Dās of the time is also noteworthy, (*vide* Dr. J. J. Modi's *King Akbar and the Persian translations from Sanskrit—Proceedings and Translations of the First Oriental Conference, Poona, 1919*).

2. The commentary (vide verse at the close—N.S, edn.) is dated Śaka (Vikrama ?) 1766 (*ṛturasaturagamauhi*.) The commentator gives his pedgree thus ;—Sarvajña Sarasvatī—Rāmacandra Sarasvatī—Gaṅgādharendra Sarasvatī—Ānandabodhendra Sarasvatī. From I.O, Des. catalogue entries (No. 2360, 2361, 2435) we got this verified. We also learn that his guru Gaṅgadharendra wrote in Vikarama Samvat ? 1748 (1692 A. D.) his *Siddhāntabinduśikara*, a commentary on the *Sidhāntabindu* of Madhusudana Sarasvatī—which work, again, is a commentary on Śaṅkara's *Daśaślokī*,—a copy of M S's work being dated 1617 A. D. It is not at all unlikely that Madhusūdana himself was connected with this line in direct relationship (by *vidyāsambandha*)—he might have been the *paramaguru* of Sarvajña Sarasvatī. Whatever might have been the native place of Madhusūdana, he (and for the matter of that, his line of pupils) was held in high esteem in Bengal and our commentator) Ānandabodhendra, if not naturalised in Bengal, seems to know much of the province Gauḍa). He is thus different from the earlier Ānandabodhendra Yati, the author of the Vedāntic, treatise *Nyāyamakaranda*.

derived from the above considerations, as this is not unusual when we look to other departments of literature.

All this points to 10th to 12th century as the probable date and eastern India (it may be Bengal) as the place of inception of the work, *which in more ways than one, may be regarded as a monumental one.* The work however suffers from more than one disadvantage. It is often nauseatingly prolific in its verbal images and there is a chance of the reader's missing much of interest thereby; again the Bengal and Bombay editions (the Bombay edition is an excellent one in its own way except that its oblong form has something to say against it) do not contain any index of critical or historical information. A close and careful study of the work is what is urgently needed from the critical scholar of these days. We believe that the geography and topography as we have it here [1] (and this is more detailed and presumably of a later age than the accounts in the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* and the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*) and the sidelights of contemporaneous history, which peep in through some of the episodes [2] (*e.g.* the fight between Līlānātha Padma and Sindhurāja) may ultimately prove of much help in this matter.

1. Cf. *Vairāgya*, 3-31-40 ; *Utpatti* chaps, 21-29, 36-37. That the geographical information supplied is not a more copy of old things will appear from a close and comparative study of the work with the other *purāṇas* giving the authentic information on this head. (*Cf.*, however, geography given in the *Adbhutasāgara* of Ballāla Sena).

2. *Utpatti* chapters, 34-48. The account of the *dvairatha samara* is almost an echo of Bhavabhūti's' *Uttararāmacarita* V & VI. It would be idle to dismiss such accounts—and there are not many such references—as pure fabrication. There is one famous Sindhurāja in history—he is the father of King Bhoja of Malwa. Bhoja succeeded him in 1010 A.D., the year in which Mahmud of Ghazni took Multan. V. Smith refers to Bhoja's fights with neighbouring powers, including one of the Mahomedan armies of Mahmud. It would be, however, bold to say that this Sindhurāja is the king described in the episode.

RĀMĀNUJA'S CONCEPTION OF JĪVA AS A PRAKĀRA OF ĪŚVARA

BY

PROF. P. N. SRINIVASACHARYA, M.A., MADRAS.

Vedānta is the science of specialising in Brahman. It is not merely a speculative synthesis of reality, but an intuition of Brahman enshrined in revelation by realising which everything else is realised. Among the many modes of approaching Brahman, Dvaita, Advaita and Viśiṣṭādvaita are known as the chief types. Rāmānuja's philosophy of Viśiṣṭādvaita is not as widely known as that of Śaṅkara, and it is the modest endeavour of this paper to present in brief the main feature of his teaching which consists in knowing the jīva as a *prakāra* or mode of Brahman. Rāmānuja insists on the equal validity of all the vedic texts as they speak of things as they are in reality and therefore lays stress on śruti as a whole, unlike the advaitin who distinguishes between primary and secondary texts and deduces his own system from the primary texts known as the Mahāvākyas. Rāmānuja however postulates the reality of experience on all its three levels of revelation, reasoning and perception, and therefore accepts the realistic method of *satkhyāti*, as opposed to the theory of illusion, adopted by Śaṅkara (*anirvacanīyakhyāti*) and the Buddhistic school of Nihilism and Subjective Idalism (*asatkhyāti* and *ātmakhyāti*). He then deduces the principle of co-ordination (*Sāmānādhikaraṇya*) from the postulate of realism as contrasted with the principle of identity (or *aikyavāda*) of Śaṅkara. This view predicates the co-existence of attributes in a continuous substance. The judgment, "This is that Devadatta", does not establish bare identity, as the advaitin says, by the removal of contradiction implied in the subject and the predicate. It refers to a personal identity pervading spatial and temporal differences. The principle of co-ordination naturally leads us to the doctrine of inseparability known as *apṛthaksiddhaviśeṣaṇa*. A mere subject without a quality is a bare identity devoid of content. And a mere attribute which is not rooted in reality lands us in subjective idealism. Therefore, the subject of every judgment is always qualified by its attributes. When the attribute is a determining quality (*niyamena prakāra*) it is known as *apṛthaksiddhaviśeṣaṇa*.

With these three principles Rāmānuja establishes his central doctrine and claims for it the merit of textual coherence and logical consistency. Śaṅkara's doctrine of the finite as a mere figment of the absolute is untenable as the origin and value of the fiction itself demands

explanation. The cause of fiction cannot be fiction. The *Bhedābheda-vādins* like Yādava and Bhāskara postulate perfection as well as limitation in the content of the absolute and thus lay themselves open to the charge of contradiction and the attribution of evil to Brahman itself. The *Dvaitavādins* assume the existence of independent reals and are therefore unable to establish any real connection between them. The absolute idealism of Spinoza and Hegel affords striking parallels and contrast to Rāmānuja's views. Spinoza's famous doctrine that all determination is negation *lands* in the abstract universal devoid of all differentiation. It is aptly remarked that the absolute of Spinoza has no place for it in Spinoza himself. In the dialectic movement of Hegel the abstract one passes into other with a view to return to itself. It is a movement from error to truth since the thesis as well as the antithesis betrays contradiction the logical impulse of consistency drives them to self transcendence and synthesis. Rāmānuja rejects the idealistic view that nothing exists but spirit and that reality is a movement from error to truth. Hegelian theo-pantheism as it is called mediates between theism and pantheism and shares in the defects of both. It may lapse into abstractionism or irrational personalism. The inherent defects of these systems lies in their utter failure to provide for morality and religion. The religious sense is outraged by the absolutists ' logic that God is less than the absolute and may be finally absorbed by it along with the finite self. The finite self is neither an illusion nor a defect of the absolute, nor does it persist in its absolute separateness. Rāmānuja's theory of jīva as a mode of Brahman avoids all these defects and allows full scope to finite personality as well as to the infinite Brahman. Its precise nature may be determined by studying the finite self in its logical, ethical and aesthetic aspects and finally its status in religious realisation.

Prakāra as the Logical Ego.

The jīva as a *prakāra* of God may be viewed as a logical ego satisfying the demands of reason. Thought is impelled by the monistic impulse and tries to seize the totality of things. It employs the categories of causality, substance and unity and deduces therefrom the ontological relation between Brahman and Jīva. The *sad-vidyā* in the Chāndogya Upaniṣad states the problem of causality in the following classical manner. " What is that by knowing which everything else is nown " (*ekavijñānena bahu vijñānam*) and furnishes the key to Rāmānuja's interpretation of reality as an immanent individuality. Rāmānuja recognises the dynamic identity of cause and effect and rejects atomism as well as abstractionism. Causality implies a logical and temporal priority in which cause as a potentiality passes into the actuality of effect 'and thereby becomes its ground. It is a process of self manifestation involving the unity, continuity and the activity of reality. In the scriptural judgment "*Sat* alone existed in the beginning, it said let me become manifold" (*Sad eva saumya idam*

agra āsīt.) the term *sat* does not connote absolute identity arrived at by a process of progressive abstraction. The absolute of *pralaya* referred to in the text is only a potentiality or non-manifestation and not negation. Involution is not extinction, neither is creation as Kaṇāda says a creation out of nothing. The judgment "the one becomes the many" really predicates the one in the many, and thus justifies the passage from the one to the other. Brahman is eternally separate from the finite centres but is not really external to them. *Sat* in the causal state connotes Brahman containing *Cit* and *Acit* in posse. In the effected condition of creation the indeterminate becomes the determinate. Brahman concretises himself into the cosmos and grows into all its manifold by his mere volition (*Īkṣate*). By His mere will he evolves the 24 categories of matter and then incarnating himself into the jīva he projects the multitudiness names and forms of the cosmos. The texts illustrate this process by the analogy of a lump of clay and its modifications in pots, dishes and various other forms. By knowing the cause the effect is also known. Likewise by knowing Brahman who is the stuff as well as the spirit of creation we also know the manifold of matter and spirit as his eternal modes drawing their substantiality and activity from Him. (*Upādeya*). Brahman is the unity of composition as well as the unity of manifestation. In the causal state he is the unity of composition, in the effect state he is the unity of manifestation. He thus reveals himself in creation in the moulding of matter "and the making of souls". The identity of causality is not a bare identity between Jīva and Īśvara but the operative or dynamic identity of Brahman with the potential forms of *Cit* and *Acit* in the causal or *pralaya* state with the same Brahman modifying itself into the manifold of creation in response to the karmic means of the finite self.

Substance and qualities.

The Chāndogya text finally solves the ontological problem by declaring the identity of Jīva and Brahman in the famous judgment "*THOU ART THAT*". Rāmānuja determines its meaning in the light of the grammatical rule of co-ordination and the Mīmāṁsā-doctrine of connotation. He posits absolute difference (*atyanta bheda*) between the substance *viśeṣya* and its attribute *viśeṣaṇa*. The substance as the subject of quality cannot as Mc Taggart points out itself be a quality, because a quality cannot be predicated of itself. A subject has qualities but is not itself a quality. Experience (*anubhūti*) involves both self-cognition and the cognition of external objects eternally separate from it. A contentless thought is a contradiction in terms. The denial of the quality is the denial of the substance itself. The attribute is not a contradiction of the substance (*bādhita*) but co-exists with it according to the grammatical principle of co-ordination. Co-ordination is defined by Pāṇini (as quoted by Rāmānuja) as the power of words having different meaning to denote

only one thing. When the attribute is the essential property of the substance it is called its mode or *prakāra*. The concept of *gotva* or the generic character of the cow *e.g.* is essentially related to the cow and is therefore said to constitute its *prakāra*. The attribute of a thing refers ultimately to the thing of which it is the attribute. In the doctrine of predication the connotation of every term its *jāti and guṇa* is therefore rooted in the *vyakti* and the *guṇi*. Applying these two principles of co-ordination and connotation to the interpretation of the text "Thou art That", Rāmānuja abandons Śaṅkara's theory of absolute identity established by the elimination of attributes (*jahat* and *ajahat-lakṣaṇā*) and postulates the reality of qualified Brahman (*saviśeṣa Brahma*). The judgment really shows the co-ordination between 'that' the cosmic self of creation and 'this' the inner self of reality. Every concept or term which refers to the body also refers to the self of which it is the body. (*Śarīra vāci śabdānām śarīri paryantam*). Words that connote God, man or animal also connote the self of which these are bodies. The body of Śvetaketu in the context refers to his self and for the same reason the self of Śvetaketu himself really connotes Brahman, who is its source and substratum. The self is the adjective of the absolute, derives its substantiality from it and is therefore called its mode. Consequently to know Brahman is also to know the modes which derive their structure and function from him, who is the real Reality of all (*satyasya satyam*) and thus by knowing Brahman everything else is known.

Cit as the Aṁśa of Īśvara

The soul does not admit of spatial division on account of its essential spirituality. In the same way Brahman is not a quantitative infinite or a mere sum for aggregate of things (Samaṣṭi). The finite self is not a reflection of māyā like the image of the sun in water. But, it perseveres in its own particular being as an independent Real. Rāmānuja defines a part as the particular place of a whole and identifies the part with the attribute. In one sense it is essentially distinct from the whole, in another sense it is one with it. This contradiction may be reconciled by substituting the concept of *aṁśa* for part. Brahman is not an aggregate of unrelated reals, nor is it an absolute absorbing all finitude. He is the self of creation imparting reality to the finite self and through it to matter. As the self is the essential quality of Brahman (*vibhu*) and cannot be realised apart from it is called its *aṁśa*. Creation is only a *pāda* or fragment of Brahman. The finite is but a speck or part of the infinite. The true meaning of the jīva going to the self referred to in sūtra I, i, 10 is the merging of the finite in its divine cause without losing its monadic individuality. The jīva as an *aṁśa* of God is not like a geometrical point vanishing in space. Nor is it an element absorbed in the pantheistic Absolute. It is monadic in substance (*svarūpa*) but infinite in intelligence (*dharma bhuta jñāna*). Our way of contact with reality

says Braddley is only through a limited aperture. Each monad mirrors forth the whole universe from its own unique point of view. Just as the sun with its place in the spatial order illuminates the whole universe so does the finite spirit abides in its own absolute minuteness though in its attributive aspect it pervades the whole of experience. It is in this way that Rāmānuja saves the finite self from absolute dissolution on the one hand and absolute separateness on the other.

Prakara as an ethical Ego.

The logical categories of causality and substance do not satisfy the demands of moral and spiritual freedom. The logical self posits an all-inclusive reality differentiating itself into modes and finally absorbing them into itself. But morality demands the reality of personality and fulfils itself in external relations. A quality may be predicated of a substance but relation connects one thing with another external to it. The finite self is not merely a particular but also an individual substance. The logical attribute now develops into an ethical self. The self activity of substance grows into the self-consiousness of personality. The very term Śāstra connects a moral imperative and therefore recognises the reality of individuality and responsibility. Sūtra II, iii, 33 attributes personality and freedom to the finite self and Sūtras II, iii, 18 and 19 affirm the eternity of the finite self as a self-conscious personality. Conduct is determined by the law of karma or moral causality and its operation is marked by the relentless rigour of mathematical necessity. The self however has the will to free itself from the bonds of causality.

The Mīmāṁsaka realises the omnipotence of *karma* in all our experience and deifies karma into Brahman. The Veda consists of ought judgments of duty and has no reference to any end which can be perceived immediately by us. The end of conduct as in the case of sacrifice is however realised immediately, through the agency of a supersensuous cause known as *apūrva* or *niyoga*. Jaimini therefore exhorts us to do the duty ordained by the karma Śāstra and develop the moral feeling or respect for *apūrva* or *karma Brahman*. Rāmānuja examines this tenet in detail in the introduction to the first sūtra and in his Vedārtha Saṁgraha, and contends that the endeavour cannot be separated from the end, but must be directed to secure it. The object of duty is the realisation of the supreme good in Brahman and the attainment of permanent bliss. Mere *apūrva* being a blind force is only a fanciful hypothesis. The true import of *karma* and sacrifice is the satisfaction of Brahman who is immanent in the vedic Gods and their Inner Ruler Immortal and apportions merit according to desire.

The law of karma relates to a mechanical order and sacrifices the freedom of personality to mere mathematical necessity. Rāmānuja therefore reconciles the law of karma with the divine order by the doctrine of

Īśvara and *niyantā* or the transcendental controller of the cosmos. He is the creator of creators who makes the jīva His own image by entering into it and endows it with the freedom necessary to grow into His personality. In the process of soul making Īśvara is only the operative cause the karma of the soul in its potential condition of *pralaya* being the material cause. The existence of evil and inequality in the moral life is entirely due to individual responsibility. Śaṅkara attributes evil to the cosmic illusion or māyā co-existing with Brahman as a contingent quality. Yādava and Bhāskara recognise it as a limitation inhering in Brahman itself. To the modern absolutist it is an element which finally transcends itself in the ultimate reality. The *bhedavādin* regards it as an eternal reality absolutely hostile to Īśvara. To avoid all these risks Rāmānuja throws the entire responsibility on the karma of the finite self.

The Jīva as a Śeṣa of God, the Śeṣin.

The infinity of God is contrasted with the infinitesimal nature of the Jīva. In explaining Brahman as the cause of the creation, sustenance and dissolution of the cosmos. Rāmānuja refers to the Taittirīya texts defining Him as the true (*satyam*) intelligent (*jñānam*) and infinite (*anantam*). The first attribute excludes the bound soul or the (*bādha*); the second eliminates the freed self (*mukta*) and the third rules out the eternals (*nitya*). The essential quality of Īśvara is his infinity or lordship of the cosmos, and the differentia of finite individuality is (*aṇutva*) monadic minuteness. The Jīva is by nature minute like a mathematical point depending upon God for his being and sustenance. Rāmānuja solves the vexed problem of free will and fatalism by recognising the claims of the finite will and the divine will. Rāmānuja illustrates it by the analogy of two men A and B jointly owning the same property. B wishes to transfer it to C and though he has to obtain the permission of A, he alone has to execute it and is therefore entirely responsible for the result. Īśvara is absolutely pure and good as his will is not tainted by karma. He has the two-fold moral excellences (*ubhaya liṅga*) of freedom from all imperfections and the possession of infinite auspicious qualities. Freedom is a gift of God in order that the finite self may shake off its shackles of matter and grow into the perfection of God. The *aham* that has its true abode in God has now degraded itself into the *ahaṁkara* that comes of false identity with matter. The value of freedom consists in the realisation by the finite self of its absolute dependence on God's as the (*śeṣin*) and attunement to His will.

The Jīva as a dāsa God, the svāmi

Vedānta Deśika goes a step further and evolves the idea of *dāsatva* from *śeṣitva*. Both *Cit* and *Acit* subserve the divine will and thus fulfil their śeṣatva. But Cit as a rational self is conscious of his being a means to the Lord's satisfaction and therefore surrenders its will to God, as his *dāsa* (*paratantrīyam*). The mechanism of mere work is

now transfigured into *kaiṅkarya* or worship of God. The Jīva realises his absolute impotence and unworthiness and surrenders himself to his will. He makes a gift of self to God who is its real owner and ruler. We can now reconcile the dualism between karma and redemption. Karma is rooted in causality and leads to an endless samsāra or round of births and deaths. The judicial idea of karma carried to its logical conclusion lands us in fatalism and despair, but love is more than logic and God is a redeemer as well as a law-giver. The ends of justice are best served by the redemption of man from his career of ignorance and sin. Both justice and mercy are well-balanced in the dual personality of God as Ruler and Śrī. Īśvara insists on requital and expiation, and Lakṣmī whether as a divine mediatrix or co-eternal with him pleads for the free flow of mercy and forgiveness. If God is law alone we are helpless. If He is love alone we become irresponsible. Therefore Rāmānuja predicates lordship as well as love to Brahman. Both are vital functions of God and it is impossible to explain them in terms of causality.

Prakāra as a śarīra of Īśvara.

The logical ego as the effect (*upādeya*) or attribute (*viśeṣaṇa*) or part (*aṁśa*) is conceived as a mode of the self-differentiating absolute and is likely to lapse into a pantheistic emanation. This tendency is corrected by the ethical self (*vidheyatva*) which conforms to the will of a transcendental lord and resigns himself to his worship. But, the ethical ideal of duty, service and self-surrender is rooted in the externality of God and does not bring out adequately the religious yearning for ecstatic union with God. Intellectualism with its pantheistic or the anthropic bias exalts the finite at the expense of the infinite, and voluntarism with its theocratic or monarchical temper sacrifices the finite. If God is beyond the cosmos as the Naiyāyika says then he is beyond our reach and if he is immanent in the cosmos there is no need for seeking him. Rāmānuja reconciles the two extremes by making God the material as well as the operative cause of creation. By his *ādheyatva*, *Sat* evolves itself into the manifold and by means of *Vidheyatva* he enters into it as its ruler and directs its process. Both these views are correlated in the concept of *Śarīra śarīribhāva* or the relation between the soul and the body. The cosmos throbs with the pulse of Puruṣottama and is organically related to him. Reality is neither the big blank of the Buddhist nor the abstract absolute of the Advaitin. Īśvara is the stuff and the soul of Reality. He is the designer as well as the material, the first cause and the last. Brahman vivifies the self directly by entering into it and through its medium vivifies matter also, whether *antaḥpraveśa* or entry means omnipenitrativeness or inseparability. The creative impulse of God is allied to the intuition of art and the joyous spontaneity of sport and issues finally in the redemptive principle of love. The concept of organic unity

satisfies the logical impulse of synthesis. There cannot be a more elevating moral ideal than the idea of the absolute God losing Himself in the redemption of the sinner. The aesthetic craving is satisfied by the idea of God as a transcendental beauty craving in human form for ecstatic communion with jīva.

We are now in a position to determine the nature and character of Jīva and Īśvara and their precise relation. The Tatvatrya of Pillailokācārya furnishes a succint account of this relation. The self is defined negatively as what is distinct from the 24 categories of matter, incapable of spatial division (*niravayava*), the immutable (*nirvikāra*) unmanifest (*avyakta*) and indefinable (*acintya*). All souls are absolutely alike in essence, but not identical, and the distinction between a Devadatta born as man and an Yajñadatta born as an ox is only a fiction of flesh caused by karma. The essential features of the Jīva may be defined positively also. Each spirit has a monadic existence of its own and persists for ever in... own uniqueness. It is not as Kaṇāda says a mechanical thing ...snal stone, but it is like the thinking thing of Descartes and is its own evidefin...use Rāmānuja distinguishes between the self as a unique knower ...nta substantive intelligence (*pratyaktva*) and attributive intelligence (*dh...*); ... *bhūta jñāna and pratyaktva*). While the self is atomic in subs...ut ... Pr... its attribute is all pervading like the illumination of a flame. The attr...ity ...sari... influenced by karma is subject to expansion and contraction (*saṅkoca vikāsa*). In addition to intelligence (*Jñātṛtva*) it has the qualities of responsibility (*kartṛtva*) and appetition (*bhoktṛtva*). Cognition, will and feeling can only belong to a personality as a non-personal experience is unthinkable. Rāmānuja classifies the spirits into three kinds. The bound soul (*baddha*) is encased in karma owing to its mistaken identity with matter. The freed soul (*mukta*) lives in eternal perfection in the city of God (*paramapada*) and the eternal (*nitya*) is ever free and absolutely devoted to its will.

Brahman is both the material and the operative cause of the cosmos. He is beyond the cosmos and at the same time its Inner Ruler Immortal. From His divine nature follows an infinity of absolutely auspicious qualities of which the most essential are, eternity, (*satya*), intelligence (*Jñāna*) infinity (*anantam*), blissfulness (*ānanda*) and purity (*apahatapāpmatvam*). Eternally self-realised in His supreme abode, pours Himself into the cosmos and by His pervading identity imparts to it its substantiality and function. In His infinite love He spurns His Īśvaratva or lordship and assumes human forms with a view to recover and redeem the prodigals. He is the true of the true and the eternal of the eternals. His beautious form is made of love itself and ravishes the soul. The God of Rāmānuja is thus a personality having personal relations with the finite souls. The finite is sustained (*ādheyatva*) and controlled by God (*vidheyatva*) and is

absolutely a means to his satisfaction. It is a vital tissue of God and vibrates with his being.

Rāmānuja regards this view as the very heart of his system by which he reconciles the apparent contradictions of scripture. The manifold of matter and mind in the potential as well as the manifest states forms the body or *śarīra* of God and is alive only in Him. The key to this explanation is furnished by the *antaryāmi Brāhmaṇa* of the Bṛh. Upaniṣad. Rāmānuja defines the body as a substance which a sentient soul can completely control and support for its own purposes and employ it as a means to his own end known respectively as *Ādheyatva-Vidheyatva* and *Śeṣatva*. The first quality refers to that which by its very nature imparts substantiality to another and sustains it *svarūpata*. The second denotes the internal controller, who by its mere will creates and dissolves the cosmos *saṅkalpādinā*. The third connotes the absolute self sustenance of God and the utter dependence of the jīva. The body in relation to the soul satisfies these three conditions of modality dependence and serviceability. Every term denoting the body also denotes the self of which it is the body *Śarīravāci śabdānām śarīra paryantam*. In the judgment "He is a God, or man or beast" the term referring to the body also refers to the self. Likewise the soul is the body of the supreme. Every term connoting the finite self connotes also the highest self of which it is the body.

The religious significance of the Prakāra.

Philosophy reduces experience to a synthetic unity. But religion seeks spiritual union. The self no doubt manifests itself in God, but it is not thought. The thought of God can never be God at all. Syllogisms and systems can never solve the problem of sin and suffering. At best, it can only give us a clear idea of the ultimate reality embodied in scripture, but it does not enable us to have direct face to face knowledge of God. But it is the primary function of religion to lead the soul back to its home in God. The sense of alienation that oppresses the finite self is finally subdued by the irresistibility of divine love and grace.

Among the five noble truths of Vaiṣṇavism known as the *artha-pañcaka* is included the necessity of removing obstacles to spiritual progress. It is the primary duty of the *mumukṣu* or seeker after salvation to free himself from the fiction of matter which from time immemorial has claimed him as its own, and implicated him in endless samsāra. The only way of redemption therefore lies in retracing the steps and returning to God. This can be achieved by abandoning the self of prakṛti. The bound soul has a dual nature, the empirical self (*dehātma bhāva*) the product of prakṛti and the spiritual self (*paratantrīyam*) as a spark of the supreme and depending on his will (*paratantrīya*)

True renunciation consists in throwing off the mask of matter and growing into the image of God. In its positive sense renunciation is the affirmation of the pure self as a mode of God. This is done by a kind of spiritual induction, in which the pure self is discovered by the elimination of the empirical self.

In his commentary on the Gītā Rāmānuja analyses the stages of soul-making. On the moral level of karma yoga the self has to practise the ideal of duty for duty's sake freed from sensibility and utility and to transfigure work into a worship of God. Karma yoga culminates in Jñāna yoga in which the self freed from sensibility shines in its own pure light and is blissful for ever in a state of *Kaivalya* or *ātmānubhava*. Rāmānuja rejects this experience as a godless state arising out of false knowledge, in which the soul is stranded in solitary selfhood, but to the true jñāna-yogin there dawns the idea of a vision of the supreme as his very self. In this state known as the Bhaktiyoga the devotee realises God as the very self of his being. But self effort without the grace of God is utterly futile. The soul realising its emptiness and unworthiness resigns itself to the will of God and his redemptive impulse. This is known as Śaraṇāgati. The *prakāra* seeking God now becomes a *Prapanna* sought by God and is immersed in the infinity of his grace and the ecstacy of his mystic communion. To know God is to love him for ever. And loving God has its fruition in service or *kaiṅkarya* which is therefore said to be the consummation of religion.

The ecstacic outpourings of Nammālvār the practical propounder of the *Prapanna* school and rightly regarded as the super *prapanna* expresses in inimitable language the infinite wealth and variety of divine madness. The Lord in his infinite love repudiates his heavenly majesty and pines for the love of the devotee whom he regards as his *prakārin*. In the ecstacy of union the self feeling melts away and expires in bliss. Even mukti loses its value if it is emptied of the divine content. This state is followed by the pangs of separation (*viśleṣa*) and the all-enveloping depression arising out of a sense of unworthiness and emptiness. In the dark night of the soul, as this state is called in mystic language, life loses all its zest and value and becomes a burden. In this way God plays hide-and-seek with the soul. Seized with soul-hunger he invades the self and swallows up its whole being. And the self likewise thirsts for God and is thrilled by its touches. The deliciousness of divine union (*rasa* or *aravamudu* is ineffable and incommunicable Self gift is the only return that the self can offer to God,but even this is impossible on account of the self being His own. It is difficult for us to analyse this reciprocal experience and determine the contribution made by each. One school which may be called the volitional type emphasises self effort and the other known as the self-surrender type lays stress on divine grace. But as Bosanquet truly observes "One cannot divide up the organic unity

and tell how much comes from 'You' and how much comes from God. You have got to deepen yourself in it or let it deepen itself in you whichever phrase expresses the fact better to your mind".

When the body made by *prārabdhakarma* is dissolved by death, the prakāra rises from it and returns to its home released for ever from the burdens of karma and ajñāna. The freed soul soars gloriously through the path of light to its permanent abode in Brahman. There he realises all his desires with or without a body and without any effort. Like the radiating light of a flame the atomic soul attains omnipresence and becomes one with Brahman, but without His power of cosmic creation and control. Does the released self persist as a separate being or does it get absorbed in the absolute? Rāmānuja of course rejects the advaitic idea of *jīvanmukti* or absolute identity realised even in this life by eliminating the false sense of māyā and *krmamukti* or progressive assent to Saguṇabrahman which is itself an empirical reality encased in cosmic illusion. He also abandons the other extreme of the Dvaitin who explains union as the consciousness of separateness implied in the terms of fellowship and equality of attribute. In his comments on the sūtras IV, ii, 15 and IV, iv, 4, he defines his position clearly and concludes that the self realises by direct intuition his true nature of *prakāratva* or non-differentiation from Brahman by being its body. The finite self is not, as Bosanquet puts it, dissolved like a perfume exhaled in the very dissolution of its private being. To Rāmānuja the self feeling is an organic mode of God and the mode is as real (*dravya*) as the substance itself.

The ultimate meaning of Prakāra.

Religion may be defined as the life of God in the soul of the jīva. This proposition recognises the unity as well as plurality in the content of reality. The Absolute is a personality with the manifold of matter and spirit as his body. Matter, Spirit and God form a totality and can therefore be distinguished but not divided. The first alone leads to materialism; the second alone to solipsism and the third an abstract absolutism. Rāmānuja corrects the onesidedness of these abstract theories by his doctrine of organic unity *śarīraśarīrisambandha*. The divine life courses through the finite self and gives substantiality to it. This vision enables us to realise in a way the meaning of the definition of religion as the life of God in the soul of man. (1) From the point of view of reason, it posits the realities of the three categories of *Cit*, *Acit* and *Īśvara* distinguishable but not separable. (2) In the moral realm of ends the proposition describes the summum bonum of conduct as the gradual growth of the self into the perfection of God, when "the divine will becomes one with the finite in a single personality". (3) But it is the aesthetic aspect of the self that fully elicits the organic unity of spiritual life. The ideas of logical necessity and the free casuality of

ethics are only conceptual symbols of reality. They spatialise the intuition of divine spontaneity and break up its living continuity into discreet categories. In the state of soul union God tries to exhaust himself in the soul and the soul makes a gift of itself to God. It is impossible to define the rich content of this spiritual realisation and estimate its value in terms of human thought. We shall however try to determine the spiritual status of the Jīva in God realisation in terms of feeling, thought and will.

In commenting on sutra IV, iv, 21 which asserts the equality of enjoyment between the self and the Brahman Rāmānuja observes that the self enjoys an intuitional insight into the nature of Brahman, whose supreme bliss cannot be surpassed. The self is said to attain Brahma-*bhāva* in the sense that Brahman imparts a nature to it like his own in the same way as the magnet draws iron to itself and thereby imparts its character to iron. In acquiring the nature of Brahman, the self acquires his eight qualities including purity, eternity and blissfulness. In divine union the self is soaked in the bliss of God and God soaks himself in the bliss of the self. In this way the self attains equality of status with God in the matter of enjoyment.

We shall now consider equality of the self with Brahman in the matter of intelligence. Though atomic in nature, the self expands in its intelligence (*dharma bhūta jñāna*) into the infinity of God. In the direct vision of God there arises the onset of cosmic consciousness. Then as Walt Withman says the soul has sight of the divine thread which holds the whole congeries of things. It is in that state that Vāmadeva and Prahlāda realise the cosmic consciousness and unity. In the well known Tiruvāymoḷi V, 6, the God-intoxicated Nammāḷvār in the agony of his separation from God imagines himself to be God and imitates all His cosmic and heavenly functions (*ubhaya vibhūti*) as detailed in the *Vibhuti*-Yoga of the Gītā. From the point of view of thought, spiritual experience implies the identity of connotation between the finite and the infinite and their difference in denotation.

But it is in the sphere of volition that we discern a distinct dualistic tendency. The released self no doubt acquires the six-fold character of God including, intelligence, energy and glory. Like Viśvāmitra the self may acquire lordship (*Īśvaratva*) and create new worlds. But as the essential nature of the self is rooted in atomicity as opposed to the infinity of the divine nature (*ananatam* and *vibhutvam*) its will is absolutely dependent on that of God, the *śeṣin*. As God is the highest self or *prakārin* the finite is only a means to His satisfaction. Really speaking God himself is the means as well as the end, the source as well as the goal, and the highest end of the released self is service to him as a mode of his satisfaction.

Advaita and Dvaita reconciled.

We may next consider the claims of Rāmānuja that his system bridges the gulf between advaita and dvaita. The former relying on the Mahāvākyas like the judgment "I am Brahman", thinks of reality as the absolute shining so to speak in the limitless space of *Cidākāśa* and immersed in eternal bliss. To the advaitic self, Jīva and Īśvara are only solidified masses of māyā vanishing ultimately in the light of knowledge (*aparokṣa jñāna*). The *dvaita-vādin* is horrified by this all-devouring absolute. It shocks his sense of individuality and separateness and outrages his moral and spiritual consciousness. Rāmānuja mediates between the two extremes and maintains that his theory of *Prakāra* and *Prakārin* based upon what he calls the *Ghaṭaka śrutis* fits in with all the texts and reconciles their contradictions. (1) The *abheda śrutis* referring to unity do not abolish distinctions. They only deny the manifold as manifold. (2) The texts referring to causality (*karaṇa śrutis*) refer to a Brahman that is both in the world and yet beyond it, investing the Jīva with name and form to work out its own divine destiny. (3) The *Nirguṇa* texts do not predicate a bare being. *Nirguṇa* means negation of evil and imperfection in the nature of Brahman. (4) The passages that define the nature of God (*svarūpa śodhaka vākyas*) predicate intelligence (*jñānam*) truth (*satyam*) and infinity (*anantam*) as the essential qualities of God. (5) Judgments dealing with identity do not abolish distinction but only predicate the organic inseparability of Īśvara and Jīva. (6) Dualistic texts (*bheda śrutis*) insist on the essential distinction of each category without destroying their unity. In the concept of Brahman as the self of the Jīva both the claims of non-dualism as well as dualism are fully safeguarded. It is difficult to decide whether this view of Rāmānuja does not border upon pan-theism, as understood in the west. Logical pantheism deals with the static immanence of substance and degrades God into one of the eaches of the absolute. In mystic pantheism the self transcends itself in the absolute. Rāmānuja's view of the three categories of reality which are enternally separate and eternally united differs from both the views. He corrects the fatalistic tendency of pantheism by the theistic belief in Province and Redeemer. The heart of destiny is not the loss of personality but the loss in personality. In theory the monistic impulse of the divineness of reality overpowers the dualistic demands of externality and anthropomorphic ideals. But in its practical form it is overborne by the theistic claims of dependence and redemption. The advaitic aspect emphises the self in God, but the *viśiṣṭa* aspect emphasises the self and God.

The nature of spiritual experience ultimately depends on the nature of the desire itself. Spiritual life is so rich and varied in content that cannot be exhausted by labels and formula. The Upanisads speak of

32 forms of meditation to attain the intuition of God. Rāmānuja commenting on Sūtra III, iii, 57 concludes that all these are not obligatory but are merely optional on account of the non-difference of the result. The mystic may be a jñāni like Bharata, who wants to become one with God. The Karma Yogin like Janaka may delight in service or *kaiṅkarya*. The devotee like Prahlāda may lose himself in the love of God. But Brahman as the subject of all these qualities is the same in all modes of devotion. Substance and attribute being organically related every attribute connotes the substance also and consequently every form of devotion to God has direct efficacy in securing the stability of salvation. But the easiest and most rational form of worship that follows from the essential nature of God as *śeṣa* is the attitude of absolute self-surrender to God as the only self and saviour. The doctrine of *śarīra śarīri bhāva* opens the door to the ideals of social solidarity, spiritual service and religious toleration. Since all jīvas sub-human, human and divine are essentially alike in their relation to God as His *prakāra*, the *prapanna* sees all with the eye of equality and love and delights in spiritual service as the highest form of religious endeavour. That Vaikuṇṭha is the region of absolute love is amply illustrated by the fact that Garuḍa and the serpent vie with each other in serving the Lord as their *prakārin*. The gift of self to God who alone is its real self is literally the birth right of every individual irrespective of his birth and status. The principle of organic unity also provides the *raison de etre* for religious toleration on account of the living identity of God pervading all the differences of sects and systems which are His modes, and thus makes a claim for universality. Rāmānuja is never tired of pointing out that every deity refers to Brahman and therefore the worship offered to the deity is really the worship of the highest as the Lord says, " whosoever worships me in whatever form ultimately reaches Me ".

THE METAPHYSICS OF THE ŚAIVA SIDDHĀNTA SYSTEM.

BY

MR. K. SUBRAMANYAM, M.A., M.L. MADRAS.

This system has been pronounced by the late Dr. G. U. Pope of Oxford as "the choicest product of the—Dravidian intellect." The same view has been expressed in greater detail by Rev. W. F. Goudie, who says "this system possesses the merits of great antiquity; in the religious world it is heir to all that is most ancient in Southern India. It is a religion of a Tamil people by the side of which every other form is of comparatively—foreign origin. As a system of religious thought, as an expression of faith and life, the Śaiva Siddhānta is by far the best that South India possesses. Indeed it would not be rash to include the whole of India and to maintain that judged by its intrinsic merits, the Siddhānta represents the high watermark of Indian thought and Indian life."

Recent research shows that at a remote period in the history of the Tamils answering to pre-Vedic times, a class of high-souled seers called *Aṟivars* (அறிவர்) developed a rare system of metaphysics and psychic science and taught the same to their disciples and followers. It appears that originally there were four secret sacred books on the subject by four great Saints of Old. Later on, a group of five Saints gave birth to twenty-eight mystic works corresponding to the 'Śaivāgamas' of the day. These two sets of books were regarded as the highest authority by the ancient Tamils. Superfluous it is to refer to countless minor books based on them.

During the Vedic age, we have reason to infer that the Tamilians or Dravidians inhabited this land from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin and beyond, and that several of the Tamil princes in Northern India were well versed in the philosophy of Aṟivars. Probably it was to one of these rulers that the four Brahmans of the Chāndogya Upaniṣad resorted for spiritual enlightenment. It is interesting to note that the prince was surprised to see that they were the first Āryan priests that approached him for attainment of divine wisdom. In process of time, it came to pass that many of the ideas and words of this system found a prominent place in some of the Vedic songs, and Upaniṣads, and a cycle of Sanskrit literature called Tāntric or Āgamic came into being as adaptations of the mystic lore of the Tamil Saints.

This event is of infinite importance from the historical standpoint; for it served to preserve at least in a rough Sanskrit garb fragments of

the traditional system of the Aṛivars at the time when violent inroads of the sea occurring at two distant landmarks of time engulfed a vast portion of the Tamil country which now forms the base of the Indian Ocean. Not only did these deluges once for all hide from human view the glorious cities of golden gates ' (to which Vālmīki refers in his Rāmāyaṇa) wherein Pāṇḍyan monarchs had treasured up the most splendid products of their hoary civilization, but they washed away the last vestiges of the grand libraries of science, art and literature which the first two Tamil academies had reared through ages of culture and development. The last corner-stone vouchsafed as a foothold for posterity is the Tolkāppiyam which has been almost the only real source of inspiration to the student of Tamilian History and Archaeology for the past three thousand years. In Tiruvaḷḷuvar as well as in this ancient grammar we find the first allusions extant to the psychic culture of the Aṛivars.

In the post-diluvion age, these great men came to be called *Siddhars* in Tāntric literature. It was the school of Siddhars with Saint Tirumūlar at their head that kept alive the flame of philosophical and mystic learning in their enigmatic Tamil songs up to the age of the Tevāram hymnists. Now the ancient system came down to the Tamil people with the Tāntric stamp on it. In other words, its terminology became mainly sanskritic and most of the latter-day writers were content with tracing the Siddhānta to Āgamic and Upaniṣadic sources in Sanskrit. About this time arose the necessity for a comparative study of the system with the doctrine of other Tāntric creeds and Vedic schools of thought. In the days of the Aṛivars, this system went by the names of ' the happy path ', ' the road of bliss ', ' the path of light ', ' the one way ', and ' the great way ' etc. After the special Tamil term for God *viz.*, Śiva (meaning good, upright, pure and blissful) was taken up into Sanskrit ; the religion came to be called Śaivism. The word ' Siddhānta ' bears two meanings *viz.*, (1) the conclusions of the Siddhars, (2) the final word or the end of ends. Needless to indicate that the phrase Śaiva Siddhānta is a combination of the two terms ' Śaiva ' and ' Siddhānta '.

Although the four great leaders of Śaivism who flourished from the sixth to the ninth century have given distinct expression to the essential principles of the system in their sublime devotional lyrics, an exposition of the same in a scientific manner is found only in Saint Tirumūlar's Tirumantiram, Jñānāmṛtam, Tiruvunttiar, Tirukalithupadiar, and a few other books prior to the age of Śrī Meikaṇḍar, the inspired Veḷḷāḷa boy-saint of Tiruveṇṇainallūr who inaugurated the renaissance of the Siddhānta Philosophy in the 13th century. His famous work called Śivajñānabodham is the central gem of Śaiva Siddhānta literature and presents in a nutshell the whole system of Siddhānta religion and philosophy. Śrī Aruḷnandi Śivācāryar, the first of the forty-nine disciples of Śrī Meikaṇḍar is the author of another important

work '*Śivāgdana-Siddhiar* which is virtually an expansion of his master's production. Another work of St. Aruḷnandi is called Umaiviḷakkam. A book of a similar name on the same subject was written by Saint Manavācakam Kaḍantar about the same time. Eight other works were written by Saint Umāpati Śivam, the disciple of Saint Aruḷnandi's disciple. All these twelve works with two others are known as the fourteen standard Śaiva Siddhānta books at the present day. Śivajñānabodham in this system occupies the same position as the Brahmasūtram or Bhagavad Gītā of the orthodox Vedic school. Corresponding to the Bhāṣyams of Śrī Śaṅkara, Rāmānuja etc., among the latter, there is a superb Tamil commentary on Śivajñānabodham by Saint Śivajñāna Munivar of Tiruvavaḍutturai Ādhīnam, who flourished in the 18th century. Śivāgrabhāṣyam is a big sanskrit commentary on the sanskrit rendering of the *Tamil* Śivajñānabodham. Space does not permit reference to other treatises on the subject.

Some of the standard works on Siddhānta Philosophy like Śivajñāna Siddhiyar commence with a brief statement and criticism of the tenets of other Indian systems of thought which are grouped into four divisions each of which comprises six schools of philosophical opinion. In the first are placed (1) materialism known as Lokāyatam, (2-5) four sections of Buddhism and (6) Jainism. This group is called Purāpuram. In the second, we find the Vedic systems of Mīmāṁsā, Sāṁkhya, Vaiśeṣika, Nyāya, Yoga and Ekātmavāda together with Pāñcarātram or Vaiṣṇavam. Vaiśeṣika and Nyāya are clubbed together as the Tarka school of thought. This group is called Puram. The third and the fourth groups are mainly Tāntric, the former differing from the Siddhānta in respect of its doctrine about the nature of the soul and the final goal; and the latter showing a divergence only with reference to ultimate salvation. The creeds of the former are named Pāśupatam, Māviratam, Kāpālam, Vāmam, Bhairavam and Aikyavādam and those of the latter, Padānavādam, Bhedavādam, Īśvara Avikāravādam, Śiva Samvādam, Śaṅkaranāthavādam and Śivādvaitam. What is called Śuddhaśaivam makes the nearest approach to the Siddhānta System and in the name of Śaivavādam, it has been put into the fourth category by Śrī Umāpatiśivam in his Saṅkalpanirākaraṇam. All these are looked upon as a gradation of steps leading up to the Siddhānta which transcends them all. 'It is for this reason that it has been called the 'end of end', beyond which there is no path.

No reference is here necessary to the traditional six creeds of the Āgamic side *viz.*, Kaumāram, Gāṇapatyam, Sauram, Śāktaism, Vaiṣṇavam and Śaivam which claim no special system of Philosophy as their basis. Such of them as trace their origin to metaphysics came under the systems above mentioned or within the Śaiva Siddhānta. The six 'end systems' which Saint Tirumūlar alludes to in his immortal work represent different stages in the evolutions of psychic science and

are called Siddhāntam, Vedāntam, Bodhāntam, Nādāntam, Yogāntam and Kālāṇtam.

Now we shall consider the doctrinal side. The phenomenal world is divisible into two grand sections under the heading of spirit and matter. The Śaiva writers use terms meaning the intelligent and the unintelligent. The former signifies God or the absolute and other countless intelligences known as souls and the latter, the world of Nature. It is in respect of these three entities *God, Soul* and *Nature* and their relation to one another that differences in doctrine arise among philosophers, pursuing the *orthodox method*. We shall pass in review the views of these various schools of thought.

The materialists of this land called Lokāyatas or Cārvākas held that in the evolution of the world, four stages were perceptible, and accordingly believed only in the existence of the principles which brought about the solid, liquid, fiery and gaseous condition of things. For them no soul or God existed and they did not even recognise what we call other. They regarded human intelligence as a resultant of the combined operation of the four material entities above mentioned. In the light of this doctrine they shaped their ideals of life and practice. While condemning theistic belief and ceremony, they advocated the development of agriculture, commerce and industry and agitated for the constitution of the Government in the interests of the people. A section of them inclined to the view that the five senses constituted the soul; another class advanced the opinion that the senses depended for the proper exercise of their function on breath-energy which should therefore be taken to be the real soul. A third section of this school surmised that the intellect was the soul. At this point the materialist trenched upon the ground of the Buddhists.

The general Buddhist doctrine is that the soul is the sum-total of moments of perception and that the continuity of intelligence is maintained by every impression associating itself with its successor by virtue of its retentive force. If this power of association snaps once for all, then dawns the final salvation. One class of Buddhists held that the annihilation of consciousness itself is the glorious end of their faith. With Buddhists came the doctrine that the external world should be regarded as coeval and co-existent with consciousness. If consciousness is renewed every moment, every thing in Nature similarly appears and dies each second of preception.

There are four schools of Buddhistic metaphysics all of whom agree in holding to the phenomenon of universal change but differ from one another in the interpretation of their master's teaching with reference to the reality or otherwise of the world. Mādhyamikas who represent the first shade of opinion hold that everything in the universe including

consciousness has only an illusory existence, and nothing in fact exists. Their argument is that what exists will not die, and what is not in existence will not come into being, so that there is only appearance and disappearance of things every moment of experience.

Yogācāras, the second class of Buddhistic interpreters question the unreal character attributed to consciousness by the first school. They choose to hold that being the basis of personal experience, consciousness should be deemed real, while the external world must be regarded as a hallucinative or dream-like projection of the mind. Another school of this system rejects this idealistic theory and regards as real the external world as well as consciousness but contend that the former is not directly perceptible. Their opinion is that every physical object simply touches the focus of consciousness and passes off instantly, leaving only its impression therein ; and it is this impression that is perceived as the thing itself. The champions of this school called Sautrāntikas ascribe the origin of the physical universe to the action of atoms of four kinds and analysed the system of inner experience into five orders answering to the psychological processes of sensation, perception, ideation feeling and memorising. The fourth school of Buddhistic doctrine differs from this only in holding that it is the external world itself that is subject to direct perception and not its impression on the intellect.

The Buddhists thus advanced a step above the materialists but failed to penetrate to the agency which unifies intellectual and emotional activity. In this respect the Jains progressed further and posited the existence of a soul of which consciousness was the main mark. They too never believed in a Creator, but looked upon God as the first of the souls that attained perfection in evolution. They also adopted the atomic theory of the world and held that each soul should work out its own salvation by eschewing evil deeds and doing good to humanity at large. When, by dint of merit, the bonds of birth are broken, the soul will reside free or rise higher and higher in the ethereal firmament.

So much about the Purāpura group. In the Pura group, the Mīmāṁsā is the least philosophic but the most dogmatic of all. The Veda is believed to be eternal and the strict performance of what is laid down therein secures one the attainment of his aims and aspirations. While this creed is as atheistic as those of the Pura groups, it holds the souls and the world to be real just like Jainism.

No doubt the Vaiśeṣika and Nyāya systems admit the existence of an Almighty Creator, but have a poor conception of the soul. The mind which is the spring of knowledge for the soul is an infinitesimal material-atom attaching to each soul. Detached from mind, the soul would be inert like a stone. Final bliss consists in a stage of stonelike indifference to pain and pleasure resulting from the dissociation of the mind from the

soul. With some modification, the Tarka schools have adopted the atomic theory of the world and hold that the atoms move in pairs. But they attribute the action of atoms to the energising of them by God. Space and time are considered to be different aspects of the same entity.

Turning to the Sāṁkhya school which is also a Godless one, we find the analysis of the universe to be far deeper than in the preceding systems. In this system the atomic theory is rejected and the phenominal world is traced to the subtle substratum which underlies our psychic and physical operations. All forms of matter are reducible to an unintelligent something, which is not matter itself in the sense of the term as used in physical science. This fact has been recently recognised by Western scientists. Now this something is derived from one of the three parts of a subtler entity which vary in their nature and form the back ground respectively of the activity of the senses, of the motor nerves and of pre-matter forms. A deeper layer than this is the medium of intellectual or thinking processes. Now, this too is traceable to a trifold subtler stratum which serves to evolve the good, middling and bad tendencies of the soul and goes by the name of *Guṇatattvam.* The root of this is regarded by the Sāṁkhyans as the primordial basis of Nature and is styled *Mūlaprakṛti.* The soul is a being of pure intelligence, by nature free and actionless whose timeless association with Mūlaprakṛti has been productive of pain and pleasure to it. If the soul realises its true nature, *i.e.*, its independence of Nature, its salvation is then assured for ever.

Upon this system of Kapila, the author of Yoga-Sūtram has improved by positing the existence of a God who is the great Instructor of the souls. His book deals with eight forms of Yogic practice which are of immense value for spiritual emancipation.

The systems hitherto dealt with represent the advance of thought from an analysis of Nature to its primeval substratum. The idea of the soul is common to Jainism and all the systems of the Vedic group. The Tarka and the Yoga schools alone are theistic in character, but even they do not speak clearly of the immanence of God in the Universe. Only in the Tarka systems God is regarded as a Creator, while Saint Patañjali in his Yoga Sutram views Him only as a Light-giver. These dualistic systems perhaps supplied the material for the Mādhva school of thought at a later day.

Now we shall pass on to Ekātmavādam or monism of Vyāsa or Śrī Śaṅkara. This doctrine appears to be an—eclectic combination of some of the cardinal ideas of Buddhistic Yogācāras, and the followers of Sāṁkhya and Yoga systems. The first of these originated the idealistic conception of the world ; the second spoke of the soul as bondless and actionless in reality ; and the third spoke of a great soul, the fountain of

wisdom for others. Now the monistic school perhaps sought to harmonise all these by holding the world to be illusory in fact, and identifying the intelligent many of the Sāṁkhyans with the intelligent one of the Yogins, since there was hardly any difference between the attributes of both. But the *Ekātmavādins* had to reconcile the multiplicity of souls with the oneness of God. Either plurality or unity must be the fact. Since unity attaches to the great soul, they jumped to the conclusion that multiplicity must be only apparent. Then they had to account for such an appearance. This they did by attributing it to Mūlaprakṛti otherwise called Māyā, and laying it down that the contact of Māyā with Brahman (*i.e.*, the one soul) caused its reflection in the form of the unintelligent world and the souls.—What is this Māyā ?. Is it an intelligent or unintelligent entity ?. The answer of the monists is that it is something of which nothing can be said.

According to the orthodox view, the monistic theory of the Vedāntins has its basis on the interpretation of the two terms '*Ekam*' and '*Advaitam*' in the Vedic books. These terms applied to God and were taken by the monists to have an identical meaning in the light of the Vedic verse which means 'One without a second'. Accordingly, wherever God is described as being Advaitic with the world, it was understood by them that God is the world itself in another form. Science traced the world to Mūlaprakṛti or Māyā. Now for the purpose of holding to the truth of the said Vedic verse, they had to associate God with Māyā and hold the world to be unreal since the reality is only one. In fact, the Vedic verse meant that there is only one God without a second, and was intended to inculcate the principle of Monotheism. The adherents of this school were known as Māyāvādins.

This theory was modified by another section of the same school who declared that God himself became the universe just as sweet milk turns into sour curd. Out of Him was evolved the intelligent and the unintelligent universe and ignorance of such evolution caused self limitation. Removal of such ignorance secures one salvation. This theory has had much influence on the ideas of the Vaiṣṇavite and the adherents of Tāntric creeds like Vāmam, Bhairavam, etc.

There is a third shade of opinion that the Universe is God sporting Himself by evolution. The fourth section of the *Ekātmavādins* hold that God is the voice of the silence and His form is the primeval sound *Om* that gave birth to the sentient and the non-sentient world as a whole.

The Pāñcarātrins or Vaiṣṇavas accept the Sāṁkyan view of the material world but held, like the second section of *Ekātmavādins* mentioned above, that out of God sprang four great Beings who evolved all the universe. Hence souls and the unintelligent world are really attributes of or parts of God Viṣṇu. Many of the Tāntric creeds of the third and

the fourth groups betray traces of the influence of the *Ekātmavāda* doctrine. They need not be dealt with here, since they are not so well known to the world now. These two groups are styled *Akapuram* and *Akam* respectively.

Even the philosophy of the Christian and Muhammadan religions is at bottom as monistic as Vaiṣṇavism. If God has created the soul out of himself, it points to the substantial identity of the Intelligent Many with the Intelligent One.

On the Vedic side, it is only the Mādhva system of mediaeval times, and that of Swami Dayānanda Sarasvatī of the present day that have escaped the influence of the monistic doctrine and are sternly dualistic in their conception of their relation between God and the world.

From the foregoing discussion, it may be seen that *Ekātmavādam* or *Kevala Advaitam* is the typical system of Vedāntic thought. The Āgamic creed of the Vaiṣṇavites was improved upon by Śrī Rāmānuja who made it Vedic by his interpretation of Brahma Sūtram. In the Śaivite group, (*Akam*) the Śivādvaita doctrine has been influenced by monistic views and its best exposition is by *Śrikaṇṭha* who is a great commentator on Brahmasūtram. This should not be mistaken for the Siddhānta system which has its origin in Tāntric literature.

A critical examination of the cardinal tenets of *Ekātmavādam* will take us straight to the teachings of Tāntric or Tamilian Śaiva Philosophy. The Vedāntins hold that God alone exists. Then the question arises what they call Māyā exists or not. If its existence be granted, then it would lead to the positing of two ultimate entities God and Māyā, which cuts at the root of the monistic theory, that nothing exists, save Brahmam. If its non-existence be assumed, the phenomenon of the universe cannot be explained away in any other manner. The next question is whether it is intelligent or non-intelligent. If it be regarded as a sentient entity, it must be part and parcel of the Almighty who is the one intelligence that really exists according to the monistic view. This will lead to the conclusion that the limiting power of Māyā or the source of all evil is in God himself. Then the power that causes the self-limitation of God must be more potent than the better parts of God Himself and God would have to be viewed as a mixture of good and evil.

On the other hand, if this Māyā be an unintelligent something, then the system does not explain how the intelligent God can be reflected through this inanimate medium, and appear as the world and the souls.

Then if, casting away the idea of Māyā, it be held that God Himself expanded into the unintelligent world and the intelligent souls, how are we to answer the question—whether there are two parts in the

Almighty corresponding to the sentient and the non-sentient portions of Creation? What exactly is the line between the two in God. Can God then be presumed to be a Being of pure intelligence?

Again, what is meant by saying that even the souls which are centres of intelligence are unreal? If the soul is a reflection of One Supreme Soul, why should there be so many reflections, and how are we to account for the multiplicity thereof? Is it possible to conceive that God admits of material dimensions so as to be cut up into countless souls? If the soul is really God Himself, how are we to solve the problem of evil? If evil be due to finitude and the soul be God under limitation, how are we to explain the possibility of God undergoing such mysterious restriction of His freedom. If God be subject to the weakness of being self-limited as often as possible, then the very idea of salvation would be quite an illusion. If souls, as separate from God, are unreal, to whom are they so illusory?

From a personal standpoint, it is our existence and experience that are real to us beyond anything else. If the world is only in our idea, the idea of God itself is only intellectual. Then it would appear that nothing beyond ourselves would be real to us. If the world and souls be unreal to God, what is the need for speaking about appearance and reality from the point of view of a being who is naturally transcendental. Further, what is real to us is our suffering and how is it to be explained away in accordance with monistic tenets. Thus the *Ekātmavāda* and allied theories leave us in confusion as respects the nature of the Universe, that of the soul and of God Himself in relation to these.

What is opposed to the Siddhānta system in these doctrines is the confusion of the intelligent with the unintelligent and the identification of the intelligent Many with the Supreme Being. In sketching an outline of the Siddhānta system of metaphysics, we may first direct our attention to the unintelligent root-cause of the phenominal world.

The distinctive merit of the Siddhānta school of thought in this respect is its wonderful progress in the scientific diagnosis of Nature. While the Sāṁkyans pursued the analysis of the cosmos down to the substratum of *Mūlaprakṛti*, the Śaivites plunged deeper and detected that even behind it, there were five subtler strata of the prematerial unintelligent entity and the said *Mūlaprakṛti* was evolved from one of them. Out of these five, *tatvas* as they are called, three serve to evolve in a general rudimentary manner the faculties of knowing, doing and feeling, which the *tatvas* below *Mūlaprakṛti* develop more definitely and elaborately: while the other two are concerned respectively in limiting the enjoyment and experience of finite intelligences and in directing the reaction of thoughts and doings on their agents in due time. These two are in ordinary parlance called Time and Space. All these five are derived from a

subtler substratum called the Impure Māyā which is far more refined than Mūlaprakṛti but which is so designated because behind it there is the ultimate section of the unintelligent entity called Pure Māyā which in turn admits of a five-fold division.

This Pure Māyā provides the medium through which the soul in its finite condition derives the light of knowledge from God and contact therewith does not obscure one's psychic powers like the Impure Māyā and the Mūlaprakṛti. The term 'Māyā' bears a different acceptation in the Siddhānta system from what it is taken to mean by the Vedic schools of thought. It does not mean illusion. The Tāntric or Tamilian view is that each letter of the word has a significant meaning, '*Mā*' means involusion or that to which the universe reduces itself and '*yā*' means evolution or that from which everything comes out. This is the way in which the term is split up by orthodox Siddhāntins. I surmise that the proper way to divide the term is into Tamil *Māy* (மாய்) and *ā* (ஆ) respectively meaning in Tamil 'to hide or die' and 'to become'. Both மாய் and ஆ are pure Tamil words. So, Māyā means the irreducible, undeveloped, pre-material, unintelligent entity which is the beginning of all evolution and the end of all involution, *i. e.*, at once the womb and grave of Nature. The Impure and the Pure Māyā are the two ultimate basic substrata of the Universe. What are called *tatvas* or *mudals* (in Tamil—முதல்) are the material principles which help to evolve the different stages of the evolution of the world from its primordial dual basis. Up to Mūlaprakṛti the *tatvas* are said to be twenty-four in number. All the Vedic schools of thought which have not been influenced by the Tāntric system, posit the existence of only these twenty-four *tatvas*, on the whole, since they have not gone beyond Mūlaprakṛti. In addition to these, the Śaiva Āgamas speak of twelve higher *tatvas*. One above, what the Vedāntins call Mūlaprakṛti, six in the impure Māyā, and five in the pure Māyā, the whole number of *tatvas* being thirty-six on the whole. These thirty-six are sub-divided into ninety-six according to one calculation, which we need not consider here. All the *tatvas* are successive variations of the unintelligent which help the evolution and expression of the otherwise inexpressible faculties of the intelligent many, which have to be exercised and purified as a condition precedent to their final salvation. It should be noted that the Almighty is beyond all *tatvas* and does not require their aid for achieving any end of His own. On the other hand, it is He that emergises the *tatvas* for the good of the souls. The root-cause of the unintelligent does not at all originate from the intelligent one. It is an entity uncreate by itself, but capable of evolution into *tatvas* by the Śakti of the Almighty.

So much about the universe; we shall now consider the subject of souls. The peculiar feature of the Siddhānta lies in its elucidation of the

nature of the soul far better than any other system. The Buddhist speaks of only a stream of consciousness as the soul, and believes that at the final stage of psychic evolution, there would be an annihilation of consciousness or at least of the force that maintains the unity of *moments* of preception. This view cannot satisfy our reason since it does not explain how something that exists can turn into nothing. The Jain doubtless posits the existence of as many souls as there are centres of knowing, feeling, and doing, having certain common attributes, and in this respect he is at one with the exponents of Vedic systems of thought other than the *Ekātma-vādin*, but he does not present us an accurate exposition of the chief aspect of the soul. It is the Jain view that the soul in its primeval state is bound down to matter, but it can by its own efforts achieve its salvation. Only the first soul attained freedom without any example to follow and chalked out the path for others. He is therefore the Guru and God of all others, although he is not the Creator. Now if the capacity to free itself from bondage, is inherent in the soul and no aid is required from One Supreme Being, how could such a soul have been enthralled by matter at any time of its existence. Further the Jains believe that the ethereal region of Ākāśa which extends boundlessly beyond the cosmic world is the back ground of the soul's eternal progress even after emancipation from material bonds. Now this Ākāśa is really the pre-matter unintelligent entity which even the freed soul could according to them never get rid of,—at least for its residence or onward march. Such a position cannot be regarded as representing the final goal of freedom from the unintelligent; or, dependence of the soul on a part of the unintelligent must be viewed as a permanent characteristic of the soul, so that liberation of the intelligent from the unintelligent can never be complete according to the Jains. He detracts from the dignity of the soul as a purely self existent Intelligence.

Without examining this doctrine further, we shall see what the Vedic schools say of the soul. The Mīmāṁsā has little to say, save that souls exist. The Tarka schools hold that deprived of what is called the mind, the soul is practically unintelligent not only during bondage but also after its salvation. The Sāṁkhyan view is that the soul is a changeless intelligence. If so, there is no need to speak of salvation. The Yoga school, though granting the existence of One Supreme Being, has more or less the same theory as the Sāṁkyans, and believes that Yogic practices will pave the way for realisation of one's true nature and attainment of salvation. The *Ekātmavādins*, as already shown, could see no distinction between the soul and God, and view the former as an unreal shadow of the latter. The Vaiṣṇavites regard the soul as a part or attribute of God, which will logically lead to the conclusion that the soul is God Himself. Although the Mādhvas hold that the soul has a distinct individuality from God, their conception of its nature is quite imperfect since they classify souls into three classes Sātvik, Rājasik

and *Tāmasik* by nature and view them as being limited in evolution by their respective temper. A *tāmasik* soul can never become *Sātvik*, so that there is a limit to the spiritual development of the second and third classes of souls. Needless it is to refer to various systems of thought on the Tāntric side as they are hardly known to the world-at-large.

The Śaiva Siddhāntins hold that souls are distinct centres of knowing, feeling, and doing and are countless in number just as the Unintelligent is indefinite in extent. Each soul is distinct from God as an entity; for if it were God Himself, it could not have an inclination to the unintelligent and been subject to limitation thereby. But if at the same time contact with the root of matter were inherent in its nature, the soul could never become independent of Nature. Hence its inclination to the unintelligent is of such a character that it is capable of being got rid of at a certain stage of evolution; otherwise all progress should be only an illusion. The soul has been compared to water in this respect; water changes in colour and value with the nature of the land on which it flows, although by itself it is pure as it drops from the clouds. The soul is by itself an intelligent being; but a peculiar trait of it is that it becomes one with what it contacts. This shows that it cannot be its own master. Hence it follows that all souls must each have a master, since the orderly development and involution of the universe wherein souls have to work out their salvation requires the presence of a single master. God is the one grand Leader of all the souls that exist, as well as the universe. Though God and the soul are both intelligent beings, they are not homogeneous because it is clear that the nature of the Divine intelligence is fundamentally distinct from that of the soul. God is always the leader and the soul is always led by Him. Hence souls are uncreated intelligent entities not originating from God, and though immortal like him, ever require His guidance and control. God knows everything Himself, but the soul requires His help at every step of its knowing or doing. God is to the soul what the sun-light is to the eye. While the soul can see if made to see, the Unintelligent can never be made to do so.

Although God is its real guide, the soul cannot realise that fact so long as it is inclined to and bound up with the unintelligent. Not only is the soul subject to limitation by the unintelligent, but when it is ignorant of God, takes delight therein, or is at least against its dissociation from it. The inclination of the soul to the unintelligent is its weakness that has rendered it blind to its own real nature and the nature of its master. This renders it finite and is the source of all evil. It is neither inherent in the soul nor given by the Almighty. It is called *Śirumai* in Tamil and *Āṇavam* in Sanskrit. The one purpose of creation is to redeem the soul from this, its inclination and ignorance by helping it to turn away from the unintelligent to the Supreme Intelligence.

The soul is in its primeval state bent towards the unintelligent and has an inclination thereto so that from eternity it has been just like iron in the ore. If the soul is purified of its evil tendency, and has its bent made straight and turned towards God, it would not return to its original condition, being essentially an intelligent entity feeling its harmony with its master the self-effulgent Light of wisdom. The *Psyche* first lies tied down to the unintelligent and feels delighted in thraldom because of her inclination to become what she comes in touch with but directly she realises her true nature as distinct from the unintelligent and turns away to meet Her Lord, she cannot look back to her old way. It is in this respect that the Śaiva Siddhānta differs from the philosophy of Dayānanda who holds the view that after certain millions of years, the soul goes back into bondage.

The soul has got powers of knowing, feeling and doing. These have only a limited scope in its unfree condition, but become infinite when it is rid of the bonds of the unintelligent. It should at the same time be borne in mind that they come into play under the guidance of the Divine will. It is the Divine will that energises the Māyic substratum of the unintelligent and evolves the universe out of it. Bodies which are the tenements of the soul are all bits of the universe. Hence the force of the maxim, whatever is in *aṇḍam*[1] is in piṇḍam[2] as well. It is God that moves the soul to know, feel and do. This we may call the energising of the soul. For the energising of the soul and the universe, God's powers must be in Advaitic *harmonious contact* with the souls and the world. Just as the soul that guides the body is immanent in it, so too God is immanent in the universe in such a manner that his intelligence and activity are indistinguishably at the back of the whole creation. In like manner, as the light of the sun mingles with the light of the eye to make things visible to us, the powers of God are in advaitic contact with those of the soul for purposes of guidance and control. This is the meaning of the Śāstraic dictum that God is Advaitic with the world. The saying does not imply God's indentity with the world itself, so as to lead to the mistaken inference that God himself is the world in another form. For this reason, it is said that the Śaiva Siddhānta is the true Advaitic system, and not any other. God, soul, and world are in Advaitic contact with each other, but God's contact is free and arises from his self-less love for the souls. God is back of the soul which in its unfree condition is turned towards the world and knows little of him. If the soul loses its grasp of the world and turns back, it falls into God and is led by him ever after.

1. (universe—macrocosm).
2. (body—microcosm).

Although God is immanent in the world, He is the free agent of it and is not bound down thereto. At the same time He is by Himself transcendental as well. Passing into the transcendental aspect of God where the freed soul enjoys perfect union with the guiding intelligence is the final goal of salvation in the Siddhānta system. This is the far-off event to which the whole creation moves and the evolution of the universe by God's Śakti is for the benefit of the soul. God's grace or Śakti or Love is the connecting link that relates Him to the souls and the universe. It is the mysteriours Divine force that maintains the harmony of all that exist.

உருவருள் குணங்களோடு முணர்வருளுரு விற்றோன்றுங்
கருமமுமருளரன்றன் கரசரணாதி சாங்கந்
தருமருளுபாங்கமெல் லாந்தா னருள் தனக் கொன்றின்றி
அருளுருவுயிருக் கென்றே யாக்கினனசிந்தனன்றே.

His form is Love. His attributes are Love. His action is Love. His limbs are Love. His auxiliaries are Love. All selfless Love of his for the good of souls.

அருளிற் பியந்திட்டருளில் வளர்ந்திட்
டருளி லழிந்திளைப்பாறி மறைந்திட்
டருளான வானந்தத்தாரமு தூட்டி
அருளா லென்னந்திய கம்புகுந்தானே.

Born in Love, grown in Love, lost in Love, hid in Love, suckled with pure Bliss of Love. My heart He did enter by Love alone.

Thus while there are three ultimate entities *God, soul and the unintelligent root of matter or Māyā* substantially distinct from one another. God's Śakti or Love (i.e., *Aruḷ*) preserves their harmony in an Advaitic fashion. This in brief is the gist of the Śaiva Siddhānta metaphysics.



BHĀSARVAJÑA.

BY

MR. V. P. VAIDYA, B.A., LL.B. (BOMBAY).

Bhāsarvajña. His Theology.

The philosophy and theology of Bhāsarvajña have a peculiar interest of their own. Philosophy generally aims at the highest attainment of good or as it is said the highest happiness. Bhāsarvajña and other Naiyāyikas strike a different note. Their goal is *Duḥkha Viccheda* (destruction of pain). The creative and original genius of the eminent logicians do not agree with the other philosophers. To the former, happiness and pain are relative terms. Even the subtle Vedāntin has to stretch many points in argument to assert his aim of highest happiness. To the criticising mind of the logician the relativity of the two ideas happiness and pain becomes an instrument of destruction. Disappearance of one brings on the destruction of the other.

Early Logic Free from Theology and Ritualism.

The Nyāya Sūtras do not teach theology. Its theism is inexplicable and there is no ritualism nor hierarchy. Some of the Sūtras leaning towards these are believed to be interpolations. Nyāya Darśana is the pure science of logic dealing in rules of arguments and fallacies, *i.e.*, the method of acquiring correct knowledge. Logic, as an experimental science, showed poor progress ; but, that science was to some extent developed in the study of Jyotiṣa and Āyurveda (Astronomy and Medicine). The absence of the ultimate goal brought the school under disrepute. They were called *Kutārkikas*. It was said that they, having no goal, their disputations were merely destructive. They had nothing to construct.

Nyāya Asserts its Right.

Even then the study of the science was necessary for the philosopher. It was a grammar of thought necessary for a sound study of philosophy. Scholars of all the different schools of philosophy (Darśanas) found it essential to study logic. The Naiyāyikas again became a terror. The greater the Naiyāyika the more destructive the antagonist. The old undesired result again came up.

Buddha Philosophy and Nyāya.

Buddha taught his tenets by stories and dialogues. All the early teachers did the same. But when in or about 2nd century B.C. *subtlety*

began to creep in, it gave birth to philosophy and the philosopher then became a Naiyāyika. The Buddhist had to do it to meet the Brāhman disputations. After several lesser luminaries came Diṅgnāga the greatest Buddhist disputant which India had ever seen. He was a Brāhman by birth and a Bauddha by conversion. His zeal in defeating the Brāhman was very great. The Brāhman and Jain attacked him ruthlessly but he well sustained the attacks. In his later age he migrated to Tibet taking with him manuscripts of his works on logic and Buddhism. He wrote about forty books on different subjects of logic forming the ground-work for the later Chinese and Tibetan scholarship. The Buddhist development of metaphysics gave not a little impetus to Brāhman and Jain scholars of the time to revive their own philosophical teachings which had fallen into back-ground during the ascendancy of Buddhism. The triangular fight culminated in the revival of old light in a new form. With the disappearance of the teachings of Nāgārjuna, Vasubandhu and Diṅgnāga there came the orthodox teachings of Kumārila Bhaṭṭa, the great Mīmāṁsaka and Śaṁkara the great Vedāntin. The intelligence of these two eminent philosophers and reformers sealed the fate of Buddhism so far as India was concerned.

Jainism found a very sympathetic home in Gujarat where before the advent of Mahomedans it was studied practised and a literature commensurate with the enthusiastic study grew up. Naturally logic also had its share in that development during this mediaeval period.

Logicians Pure and Simple.

Diṅgnāga, Kumārila and Śaṁkara, the ablest logicians and philosophers with a propaganda of their own, and many more who preceded them made the position of logicians pure and simple less reputable. The study of the science of logic was an end in itself and it had no elements to make it popular. The mass did not want it. To earn popularity the Naiyāyikas thought of affiliating themselves to some school of theology. Gradually, they arranged themselves in two different camps of Śaivism and Pāśupatism cultivating their own cult and attacking the others by their grammar of thought. Śaṁkara thought, and thought very rightly that the Nyāya Darśana as a Darśana had nothing to refute. But the new schools of Śaivism and Pāśupatism advocated by the Naiyāyikas and Vaiśeṣikas respectively, though simple in their origin were getting subtlety by this new fusion. They had to be refuted and Śaṁkara, Rāmānuja and other scholars directed their efforts to do so.

Bhāsarvajña and His Works.

This logician who flourished about the 8th century has to his credit only three works which are very small. But we must admit that his was a master-mind. He boldly refuted even Gautama and other

logicians and he has his own independent method. His works are:— 1. Nyāya-sāra ; 2. Nyāya Bhūṣaṇa and 3. Gaṇakārikā. Nyāya-sāra, as it appears from the title, is not merely a manual on logic but it explains though very shortly his philosophy and theology. Nyāya Bhūṣaṇa is a commentary by him on his own Nyāya-sāra. Gaṇakārikā containing only 8 Kārikās has been very recently discovered by the late indefatigable scholar Mr. Dalal, whose loss will be deeply deplored. This gentleman has enriched the Central Library of Baroda by researches of manuscripts and his share in making the library a prominent centre of education is no small.

Bhāsarvajña's Status.

Bhāsarvajña's reputation as a sound scholar and an eminent writer was of no mean order. In the 14th century Sāyaṇa quotes his Gaṇakārikā though not by name. About that time it was known that 18 commentaries were written on his Nyāya-sāra. Prof. Hall gives 1257 A.D. as the date of his commentator Bhaṭṭa Rāghava, and one commentator named Jayasihma Sūri is believed to have flourished about 1037 A.D. Bhāsarvajña was known as Parama Śaivācārya and Tārkika Sārva-Bhauma. To win the last suggestive and glorious title we must credit him with three centuries priority to Jayasihma Sūri. So it will not be far from truth if we place him in the 8th century A.D. The last commentary of Nyāya-sāra lately discovered and placed in the Government Manuscript Library of Madras is by Aparāditya. There is another commentary very recently discovered, what is called Nyāya-paṇikā.

Bhāsarvajña's Theism.

Endowed with super-intelligence as he was, he naturally felt that logic pure and simple had no value unless there was a philosophy to be backed up by it. Sāyaṇa thinks that to the Nakulīśa Pāśupata Darśana he applied his intelligence and yarned round it a philosophy which was already begun before him by the Āgama writers.

Nakulīśa Pāśupata Darśana.

Nakulīśa was born in a village known as Karwan near Broach, now under Baroda Government. He must have been a Vairāgi and came into prominence by hard austerities and Yogic practices. He became a pioneer of Śaivism. On account of the wooden staff with which he used to roam about, he was called Lagudīśa (Lord of the wooden staff) which by corruption seems to have turned to Nakulīśa. Even today the Bairāgis of the cult are seen roaming about with a staff which has developed into a peculiarly twisted one. To the followers of this cult he is not merely an Ācārya but an incarnation of God Śiva himself. In his time the Liṅga worship seems not to have come into prominence. If that is the case we can assume his date to be about the

first century A.D., because excepting in one place in Anuśāsana Parva of Mahābhārata, we do not find Liṅga worship in early times. This portion seems to be an interpolation in Southern India recension. The cult spread widely in the north and the south as is shown by inscriptions in the Rajputana and in the Mysore Districts.

The Theology of the Cult.

God, known as Maheśvara is the creator of the whole Universe, omniscient and not at all touched by the qualities thereof. He is all-powerful. There is God or Ātman of lesser magnitude who is also eternal but is enjoyer of the world. He is to be inferred by the actions of one's intellect but is also all-pervading. Then the theology develops into philosophy, the final goal being cessation of all pain. In Śaṅkara Vedānta the final goal is Mokṣa and the highest happiness. Happiness and Pain being relative terms the highest happiness cannot be anything else logically than the absence of all pain. The attainment of this *Duḥkhānta* is by *tapas*, *abhyāsa* and *dhyāna*. This portion of the philosophy is imported from Patañjali's Yoga.

The Ritual of the Cult.

The ritual is very simple. The disciple getting up in Brāhma Muhūrta performs his ablutions and besmearing the body with Bhasma walks out for alms just sufficient for his maintenance to be taken in the form of food. The three Vṛttis to be adopted by him are that, first he offers the food to Maheśvara, then secondly to the Guru and then thirdly the remnant he takes to himself. The formula of introduction is simple but dignified. The pupil or disciple approaching the Guru utters नमः शिवाय The Guru replies शिवाय नमः. They believe in the eternity, omnipresence, omniscience and the all-pervadingness of Śiva and yet they teach that Śiva appears in corporeal form. The most striking feature as distinct from the present belief is that their Maheśvara is without the serpents, without the moon-disk, without Pārvatī and without holy Ganges. This is so explained in the Ṣad-Darśana-Samuccaya of Haribhadra. Bhāsarvajña is quiet on all these points but the author of Ratna Ṭīkā on his Gaṇakārikā gives us many of these practices and ideas while discussing what is inculcated by this small masterpiece of Bhāsarvajña.

Heirarchy of the Cult.

The hierarchy seems to be that a person or a Yogi who has attained prominence by acquiring merits and dispelling sins by remedies practised in connection with places and conditions within his knowledge, becomes a Guru and is respected though not exactly as Śiva, as a personage next to God Maheśvara. The hierarchy is so very diffused that the Sādhus roaming about the country know where to find a particular

Guru. It looks like an order with signs for the recognition and knowledge of the status of persons whom they meet. Excepting for this recognition of position in the order and the respect given to the superior by the inferior, originally there happened to be no governance. But with march of time it grew, and we find bands of Sādhus assembling round a Guru and the Guru looks after the education and maintenance of these pupils. Thus he attains the position of an Ācārya. Some of these by discretion, wisdom and deep thinking have attained the highest prominence while others seem to have abused their powers and dropped down from the self-created position.

IX—Oriental Science.

ELECTRICITY AND MAGNETISM IN ANCIENT INDIA.

BY

RAO SAHIB R. KRISHNA RAO BHONSLE, M. R. A. S.

" Even with the limited knowledge of Hindu Science that could be obtained at the time, Sir William Jones could say: "I can venture to affirm, without meaning to pluck a leaf from the never fading laurels of our immortal Newton, that the *most subtle spirit* which he suspected to pervade natural bodies, and lying concealed in them, to cause attraction and repulsion, the emission, reflection and refraction of light, electricity, califaction, sensation and muscular motion, is described by the Hindus as a fifth element, endued with those very powers."—Har Bilas Sarda.

"'Never and nowhere lie down to sleep with your head placed Northward", is one of the 'superstitions' religiously observed by Hindus almost all over India. The old mother gives this injunction to her dutiful son and he implicitly obeys her. The experienced physician says this to his suffering patients in palaces of kings as well as in cottages of peasants and they loyally carry it out. Brides and bridegrooms are always seated facing eastward on the wedding day. Corpses are placed down with the head southward. Superstition and religion go hand in hand; religion and science are wedded together. All these may appear absurd to a few modern minds which are prone to make out everything inexplicable to them as superstition. Bacon has in *Novum Organum*: "Natural science is the surest remedy of superstition and the most trusty hand maid of religion". A day will come, as assuredly as the day follows the night, when the world will know that the so-called superstitions prevalent in our country are *not* superstitions, but practical adaptations of scientific discoveries made by Ṛṣis (Hindu Sages) resting on certain basic principles and so embodied in the daily practices as to combine, says Dr. Annie Besant, science and religion in perfect harmony. "The Hindu Religion is the knowledge and the comprehension of those eternal principles which govern Nature and Man, those immutable laws which from one view point are called 'Science' and from another 'True Philosophy.' It concerns itself not with things true under certain conditions or at certain times; its precepts are ever true, true in the past, true in the present, true in the future." These are the pregnant words of Mr. Har Bilas Sarda, the author of a book entitled "Hindu Superiority," which is a mine of information all relating to Ancient India, and which is feeding, invigorating and inspiring the minds of humble workers like myself in the field of research.

It is stated in "Hindu Superiority" that not only were the sciences of electricity and magnetism extensively cultivated by the ancient Hindus, but also highly developed in ancient India; and that the Hindu Sages perfectly understood all the electrical and magnetic phenomena. Thales, one of the Greek Sages, learned during his tour in India that, when *amber* was rubbed with silk, it acquired the property of attracting light bodies. There are time-honoured practices, which certainly presuppose a knowledge of the principles of electricity and magnetism. For instance, we find that (1) Iron or copper rods are inserted at the tops of all temples; (2) *Mindulies* (metallic cells) made of either gold, silver or iron, are worn on the diseased parts of the body; (3) Seats made of either silk, wool, *kuśa* grass, or hairy skins of the deer and tiger, are used when saying prayers. Those who are well acquainted with the principles of electricity will be able to account for these practices. They know that the function of the rod or the *triśūla* (trifurcated iron rod) placed at the top of the Hindu temples is analogous to the lightning conductor. The mindulies perform the same functions as electrical belts and other appliances prescribed in the electrical treatments of diseases. The golden temple of Viśveśvara at Benares is really a thunder-proof shelter. Professor Max Müller recommends the use of a copper envelope to a gunpowder magazine to exclude the possibility of being struck by lightning. The woollen and the skin—*āsanas* (seats) protect our lives during a thunderstorm from the action of a return shock, and keeps our body insulated from the earth.

Referring to the subject of "Not to lie down Northward," the learned writer (Har Bilas Sarda) says that sleep is necessary not only to enjoy sound health but to keep the body and soul together. The question now is, in what way one should sleep to derive the greatest benefit from this necessary operation of Nature. Its solution by the ancient Hindus not only proves them to have been masters of the sciences of magnetism and Electricity, but also shows the spirit of Hinduism, which cannot be commended too highly for its readiness at all times and in all directions to adopt and assimilate the teachings of science. Every Hindu is instructed by his or her mother and grandmother to lie down to sleep with the head either eastward or southward. Mr. Sarda quotes the following extracts from an interesting, instructive and informative article on this important subject, contributed by Babu Sita Nath Roy to the *Ārya Magazine* (December 1881) with the true scientific instinct.

Mr. Roy cites the ślokas (stanzas) noted below from the *Śāstras* (Scriptures) which enjoin the said practice:—

(1) *The Āhnika Tattva*, a part of our Smṛti Śāstras, says:—"The most renowned Garga Ṛṣi says that man should lie down with his head placed Eastward in his own house, but if he longs for longevity, he should lie down with his head placed Southward. In foreign places he may lie

down with his head placed even westward, but never and nowhere should he lie down with his head placed northward".

(2) Mārkaṇḍeya, one of the much revered Hindu sages, says that man becomes learned by lying down with his head placed eastward, acquires strength and longevity by lying down with his head placed southward, and brings upon himself disease and death by lying down with his head placed northward.

(3) *The Viṣṇu Purāṇa* says :—"Oh King! it is beneficial to lie down with the head placed eastward or southward. The man who always lies down with his head placed in contrary directions becomes diseased."

I may add to the above the following :—

(1) *The Asarakkovai* (by Peruvoyin Mulliar) in Tamil—one of the Eighteen Books which received the approval of the Kadai (last) Śaṅgam Academy of Madura (about 100 A.D.), has the following stanza which, when translated, runs thus: "When one goes to sleep, he should not lay his head Northward or towards the corner."

(2) *The Varuṣadi Nūl*: "Sleeping eastward is good; sleeping southward prolongs life; sleeping westward and northward brings ruin, etc.; and sleeping pointing to four corners brings also ruin."

(3) *The Mahābhārata* (Anuśāsana Parvam, Chapter 161, 51st Śloka): "It is forbidden to a learned man to sleep northward and westward; he should sleep eastward and southward."

Besides these, there are proverbial sayings in Tamil to the same effect: "வாராத வாழ்வு வந்தாலும் வடக்கே தலை வைக்கலாகாது" (Even in the heyday of sudden fortune, one should not lie with his head to the north): "விடக்கே யாயினும் வடக்காகாது" (Even the head of a dried fish should not be placed northward).

The following notes were culled from the Short History of Āryan Medical Science by H. H. Sir Bhagvat Sinh Jee, K.C.I.E., M.D., D.C.L., LL.D., F.R.C.P.E., Thakore Saheb of Gondal :—

Caraka says that one should not sit to dinner facing the north.

Manu's dictum on this point is somewhat different. He says that one desiring longevity should face the east while having meal; one desirous of fame must face the south; of wealth, towards the west; and one desiring true knowledge, should sit looking towards the north (ii-52).

It is further stated in the book as follows :—

One should not sleep with the head towards the north. Sleeping with one's head towards the south prolongs life. One passes a dreamy night by keeping his head towards the west, and gets wealth by keeping

it towards the east. The surgical operations are performed on what are considered auspicious days; the patient is made to sit or stand with his face to the east, the surgeon before him with his face to the west.

At page 604 of the Manual of Family Medicine and Hygiene for India by Sir William Moore, KT., C.I.E., Honorary Physician to H. M the Queen (formerly Surgeon General with the Government of Bombay) published under the authority of the Government of India—Seventh Edition, revised by Major J. H. Tull Walsh, I.M.S., F.L.S., occurs the following passage:—

"It is also desirable that, especially for children, the head of the bed should point to the north; for there are electrical currents constantly passing from north to south, with which our nervous systems are in some mysterious manner connected and which it is not well for the body to oppose."

Here an English doctor and an Indian Ṛṣi differ somewhat. But as regards children, there might perhaps be some divergence; for in the Short History of Āryan Medical Science, it is found that the medical works of the Hindus refer to certain rites on the occasion of suckling the child for the first time; the mother has to sit facing the East; the infant is then taken by the mother on her lap, its head being kept towards the North, and nursed gently.

Adverting to the subject of "Not to lie down Northward," I quote Bābu Sīta Nāth Roy: "That the body of the earth on which we live is being always magnetised by a current of thermal electricity produced by the sun. The earth being a round body, when its eastern part is heated by the sun, its western part remains cold. In consequence a current of thermal electricity generated by the sun, travels over the surface of the earth from East to West. By this current of thermal electricity, the earth becomes magnetised and its geographical north pole being on the righthand-side of the direction of the current, is made the magnetic north pole, and its geographical south pole being on the left hand-side of the same current, is made the magnetic south pole. That the earth is a great magnet requires no proof more evident than that by the attractive and repulsive powers of its poles, the compass needle, in whatever position it is placed, is invariably turned so as to point to the North and the South by its two ends or poles. In the equatorial region of the earth, the compass needle stands horizontally on account of the equality of attraction exerted on its poles by those of the earth, but in the polar region the needle stands obliquely, that is, one end is depressed and the other end is elevated on account of the inequality of attraction exerted on its poles by those of the earth. Such a position of the needle in polar regions is technically termed the dip of the needle.

It has been found by experiments that the human body is a magnetisable object, though far inferior to iron or steel. That it is a magnetisable object is a fact that cannot be denied, for in addition to other causes, there is a large percentage of iron in the blood circulating throughout all the parts of the body.

As our feet are for the most part of the day kept in close contact with the surface of that huge magnet—the earth, the whole human body, therefore, becomes magnetised. Further, as our feet are magnetised by contact with the northern hemisphere of the earth where exist all the properties of north polarity, south polarity is induced in our feet, and north polarity, as a necessary consequence, is induced in our head. In infancy the palms of our hands are used in walking as much as our feet, and even later on the palms generally tend more towards the earth than towards the sky. Consequently south polarity is induced in them as it is in our feet. The above arrangement of poles in the human body is natural to it, and, therefore, conducive to our health and happiness. The body enjoys perfect health if the magnetic polarity natural to it be preserved unaltered, and it becomes subject to disease if that polarity be in the least degree altered or its intensity diminished.

Although the earth is the chief source whence the magnetism of the human body is derived, yet it is no less due to the action of oxygen. Oxygen gas, naturally a good magnetic substance, largely distributed within and without the human body, helps the earth a good deal in magnetising it.

Though every human body is placed under the same conditions with regard to its magnetisation, yet the intensity and permanence of the magnetic polarity of one are not always equal to those of another. Those two properties of the human body are generally in direct ratio to the compactness of its structure and the amount of iron particles entering into its composition.

Now it is very easy to conceive that, if you lie down with your head placed southward and feet northward, the south pole of the earth and your head,—which is the north pole of your body, and the north pole of the earth and your feet, which are the two branches of the south pole of your body,—being in juxta-position, will attract each other, and thus the polarity of the body natural to it will be preserved; while for the same reason if you lie with your head placed northward and feet southward, the similar poles of your body and the earth being in juxta-position will repel each other, and thereby the natural polarity of your body will be destroyed or its intensity diminished. In the former position the polarity which your body acquires during the day by standing, walking or sitting on the ground, is preserved intact at night during sleep; but in the latter position, the polarity which your body acquires during the day

by standing, walking or sitting on the ground is altered at night during sleep.

As it has been found by experiment that the preservation of natural magnetic polarity is the cause of health, and any alteration of that polarity is the cause of disease, no one will deny the validity of the ślokas which instruct us to lie down with our heads placed southward, and never and nowhere towards the north.

Why in those two slokas the eastern direction is preferred to the Western for placing the head in lying down, is explained thus: It has been established by experiments in all works on medical electricity that if a current of electricity passes from one part of the body to another, it subdues all inflammations in that part of the body where it enters into and produces some inflammation in the part of the body whence it goes out. This is the sum and substance of the great principles of anelectrotonus and catelectrotonus, as they are technically called by the authors of medical electricities.

In lying down with the head placed eastward, the current of thermal electricity which is constantly passing over the surface of the earth from east to west, passes through our body also from the head to the feet, and, therefore, subdues all inflammation present in the head where it makes its entrance. Again, in lying down with the head placed westward, the same current of electricity passes through our body from the feet to the head, and, therefore, produces some kind of inflammation in the head whence it goes out. Now that a clear and healthy head can easily acquire knowledge, and an inflamed or, in other words, congested head is always the laboratory of vague and distressing thoughts, the venerable sage Mārkaṇḍeya was justified in saying that man becomes learned by lying down with his head placed eastward, and is troubled with distressing thoughts by lying down with his head placed westward."

After offering my *namaskāras* to Babu Sita Nath Roy for his elucidation in the long extract from his article, which I have quoted *supra*, I may, with pride and pleasure, say, with the learned Har Bilas Sarda, that the advice " Not to lie down ,Northward", does the highest credit to the practical wisdom of our Hindu Sages and to their scientific advancement and application of science to life.

ANCIENT INDIAN CHEMISTRY AND ALCHEMY OF THE CHEMICO-PHILOSOPHICAL SIDDHĀNTA SYSTEM OF THE INDIAN MYSTICS

BY

MR. C. S. NARAYANASWAMI AIYAR, SHIYALI.

Many have been the intellectual men of both the East and the West who have ardently worked into the many spheres of human thought of Old India, whether they were placed into such sphere of research and enquiry by man, or naturally adapted with the ardent desire of acquiring knowledge for its own sake. They have, to a great extent, explored through to their own credit, invariably with the result, that all men on whom honour has been thrust and work has been paid for, have belittled and decried, and men of zeal, who have delightfully worked, have brought out unsullied credit to the ancient lore and to the work and to themselves. But, the branch of the world-old-cult of the ancient Indian mystics namely, *Chemistry and Alchemy*, has never been attempted by any, much less, probed through up to now. In the words of Dr. P. C. Ray, "it has baffled the attempts of any" and also many, and it will ever be so unless they are initiates. (*Vide* Turba-Philosophoram by A. E. Waite and the Rosicrucians by Hargrave Jennings).

In the European Continent, M. Berthelot, the past permanent Secretary of the Chemical Society of France has left sceptic voluminous records in his "History of Chemistry during the Mediaeval ages in Europe" after a life-long practical work of long and large failures and another author Mr. A. E. Waite, an Englishman, who has taken the pains to dive only through the literature of the mystics of the west of by-gone ages, has bequeathed a series of publications as he himself was not profited by the cult, decrying the ancient science and art of his own ancients, the mystics of the West, as a weapon of attack in the hands of ignorant and arrogant man-made philosophers of now-a-days, to his personal profit by book-making alone. The pick of the intelligentia among all the nations of the Earth were given entirely to alchemy and have bequeathed to us a monumental literature, which the ignorant ridicule, both the art and its adepts. And in India, the ancient mystics, who are called the "Siddhas" have left us vast literature. In the north, in Sanskrit, the problem of soul, both "universal and human," *i.e.*, (*Paramātmā* and *Jīvātmā*) and the spiritual side of man, have been masterfully solved in the grand superb Vedas and Upaniṣads; and in the south, the Immortal Mysterious Siddhas, who are rightly and befittingly called the mystics, have left a vast literature in

Tamil in a succinct fashion, with humane intentions to the progeny so that they may also become so, if worked through; and here in this literature, the problem of man, matter and soul put together, *i.e.*, *Prakṛti* and *Jīva*, has been solved to the entire satisfaction of the whole world, only when they care to know it.

What has all the above got to do with chemistry and alchemy when the whole world is in great eagerness of grasping and grappling with *gold* and *gold* alone! The answer is as follows:—

The end and aim of Ancient Chemistry was the study by man of MAN and of the Universe and GOD, stage by stage, at last to realise the Light of God, deposited innately within him and attain *Jīvanmukti*, *i.e.*, final beatitude, for all of which, as man's natural age was only a short span of a century, as said in the Vedas, within which time so many of the problems cannot be solved and realised, each for himself, by himself and not by deputy, for which man has first to make his body impervious to the attacks of rampant diseases, ravages of age, and dire self-consuming incessant wants, so that he may outlive any period with competence, rather until the end of his own SELF-REALISATION, for which, *i.e.*, to accomplish a life of no disease first, to exist with long life to any period, second, man's frail frame, as without which Soul in him cannot exist, after dissipated and waning life of *Grahasthāśrama* had to be resuscitated and rejuvenated and the matter-side of man has to be replenished with such chemico-metallurgical medicines, made and manufactured by himself to become absorbed and assimilated in the very cells and tissues, to fossilise his physique and turn out into a mercurial body, to resist the attacks of age and time. This was called the *Kāyasiddhi*-process, without which one cannot attain either *Jñāna* or *Mokṣa-Siddhis*, an exceedingly costly course of 12 years, within which time, the *Prāṇāyāma*-practice has to be practised incessantly, until the internal concentric vision becomes a refulgent centre, ever self-acting with no effort, and co-existing, which is called the *Ānandamaya*-stage of a *Jīvan-Mukta*. Ancient medical science, based upon the old synthetic chemistry was perfected with this paramount object in view, and alchemy to supply the needs and wants of a *Jñāni* and *Yogi*. Alchemy (*Rasavāda*) was perfected to supply the worldly wants and also towards the Yogic end of beatitude which is explained below. *Rasavāda* in Sanskrit means transmuting by *Rasa* and transmuting of *Rasa*, and also with *Rasa*, *i.e.*, Mercury; and in Tamil, killing mercury. Mercury is first killed and transmuted with the double-fold object of inducing the finest colour, *i.e.*, *Su-Varṇa* in baser metals, *i.e.*, thereby proving that alchemy is only a Science of Colour in metals, (*Vide* Vemanna) and also to make mercurial phallusses, *i.e.*, *Rasa-Guḷikas* or *Rasa-Maṇis* of different potential powers, to induce on the faded-internal-concentric God-deposited-vision in man, once more, to throw out in

relief and ablaze by keeping and adjusting these phallusses as positive and negative poles in the body. Alchemy goes by the name of Cāmīkara Vidyā in Sanskrit, from which the word alchemy in Arabic should have been derived most probably. This real science and art as the only one giving both real *Bhukti* and *Mukti* was devised to such perfection and left to us both in records and by tradition by master minds and intellectuals, namely the Siddhas, in such language to be seen and understood in such nakedness and transparency by the initiates alone; and it is a heartless literature to the worldly great men of materialistic tendencies, and to the wicked a worthless trash to be eschewed, shunned, derided and decried by them, (*Vide* Jñāna Vetti and the " Rosicrucians " by Jennings) because, the plain diction in easy language though, is such that it cannot be understood by laymen unless informed by the Guru. The subject is hidden no doubt in such masterful fashion, quite deftly and adeptly all over the world by all the mystics, in any language and in any clime, so that none but the initiates can understand and take up the work of redeeming and resurrecting himself, (*Vide* Flammel's Interpretation of "Abraham the Jews Book" called the "Philosopher's stone" published in 1624 in England for private circulation only; "Vaughan's Magical Writings" and Turba Philosophorum and the Holy Testament Old). With sufficient cause for excuse of the mystics, and because the standard and depth of our education of the lay-world is not being shaped to extend to the extent of understanding these erudite authors, even after the subject matter is freely divulged to us in a self-contained literature giving also the clue to it imbedded in plain language, we are left at large to gape with watering open mouths when we hear of gold and alchemy mentioned in our ears!!! And this vast literature has been left to us and handed down scattered and collaborated also in many languages, I say this after comparative study of the subject in four languages and in the translations of some others also in English, and only in Tamil, it is succinctly given which can only be seen by an analytic and constructive brain and also mutilated and scattered in Sanskrit but quite deftly hidden.

When I say this to the surprise of many as a Brahmin, I solicit to be excused by the admirers of Sanskrit who are too many. The ancient Tamil authors, three illustrious among them, namely Maharṣis, Sattynātha, Bhoga, and Koṅkaṇa, who have left complete records after their own comparative study of both Sanskrit and Tamil, which are independent sister languages of India, say in their writings that the authors in Sanskrit have written in very abstruse diction highly delusive so that, neither head nor tail could be made out of their chaotic literature. Unless we are initiated and trained in their trammels, it is quite impossible to dive to the bottom even by a practical initiate unless he is an adept in the practice of chemistry. The eager and earnest desire of the late

M. Berthelot, the illustrious French savant and the Doyen of the modern chemical section of the West can be amply satisfied if he is now with us to review or to incorporate with his "History of the Chemistry of the Middle Ages in Europe" which I present the world with just now, what I have unearthed, unravelled, and collated as below after my study and practical research in chemistry for the last 28 years to the chemical section especially to their wonder and astonishment of the ancient Indians' advanced scientific systematic knowledge even in science in the synthetic Chemistry of the Siddha School which is being very much mistaken, very irreverently, by the half-starved Indian himself whom they call a Paśu, as it is viewed by a Tāntric also. The internal evidence of the literature shows that they were written and composed at a time when the God-Head of the Composite Universe called *Bhuvanas* was taken to be the *Śakti* or *Parā śakti*, or *Parāparai*, i.e., the She-element of the Universal *Parabrahmam* or *Śiva-Śakti* anterior to the male element of the same *Parabrahmam* under Śaivisim or later on by Vaiṣṇavism had become established, and when that it was the patriarchal Religion of the Universe as peculiarly defined and understood by the extreme Western Asiatics in their own times, which differs no doubt from that which prevailed here and in the western portions of Asia, which can be traced and proved to have existed from all ancient Chaldean, Egyptian, Armenian, Assyrian, Arabian, Chinese and Japanese literatures, (*vide* Thrice Great Hermes Trismagistis and occult Sciences by A.E. Waite). It talks of a Government rather Principalities which were republican in spirit under the great Patriarchs, who were called in India Maharṣis, Gotrakārins and Maṭhādhipatis in the Indian Tongues. I may humbly claim, on behalf of this now more or less defunct real Siddha school that this Chemico-Philosophical Literature should be said to be the mystic fountain-head of all the later day six Indian and of the four Grecian Schools of Philosophy and of the religious philosophies of the new technical systems of Dvaita, Advaita and Viśiṣṭādvaita, subtle and controversial in words, which seem to be simple overgrowths only of long ages, to prove the *Unity of God*. In their books, they allude to the two schools only which existed contemporaneously always, *viz.*, (i) Advaita jñāna-school of the Suras and Devas of the *Devayāna-Mārga*, (2) Dvaita, Siddha, *Rākṣasa*-school of the Siddhas of the *Vajrayāna-Mārga*, and to the six religious systems which existed within their own country, *viz.*, Śākta, Śaura, Gāṇāpatya, Śaiva, Vaiṣṇava and Bauddha, and to the other six religious systems outside their own continent.

Coming to the portion of the Science proper, all the old sages have divided the subject of chemistry into 18 branches, by the names of limbs or aṅgas of Chemistry and alchemy as under:—

(1) Alloys or *Kalaṅkas*	... 551	kinds.
(2) Sulphides or *Sindhūras*	... 1,010	,,

(3) Major-Oxides or *Guru Bhasmas*	...	705 kinds.
(4) Viscidular or waxlike Unguents (*Meḻugu*)	...	307 „
(5) Medical solvent waters (*Jaya Nīr*)	...	105 „
(6) Acids	...	66 „
(7) Metallic oxides or *Navaloha Bhasmas*	...	51 „
(8) Organic Unguents	...	7 „
(9) Inorganic oils	...	7 „
(10) Mercurial Phallusses or *Guḷikas*	...	1,020 „
(11) Alkalies	...	Endless.
(12) Binding Agents	...	infinity.
(13) Colouring agents in Metal	...	3 classes.
(14) Destructive colouring agent	...	one only.
(15) Allies (*Mitra*)	...	
(16) Enemies (*Śatru*)	...	
(17) Mascerating and oxidising agents (*Sunnams*)	...	numerous.
(18) Melting Agents	...	few.

Under these heads, from the Presidential Agastya, down to many of the numberless Siddhas have dealt with very ably and conclusively, some mingling organic chemistry also. Koṅkaṇa says that he has dealt with under 19 aṅgas and Sattyanātha Mahāmuni under 21. Two among them Bhoga and Sattyanātha have left keys to this vast literature as a clue to the whole cult with philanthropic motives so that men and the creation may outlive like themselves and attain the immortal beatific end. Why the scientific portion, especially, chemistry, should be included among the philosophical systems and the bearing which this has to it will be seen later on in the introduction. This science was called in Sanskrit as I said above in ancient days as "*Cāmīkara Vidyā, Vāda, Rasavāda,* and *Hemavidyā*" all with different import and connotation and pregnant with meaning.

INTRODUCTION.

In dealing with this comprehensive subject of this ancient Vidyā which combines within itself both Brahma and *Hema vidyās* (*i.e.*) the Synthetic Chemico-Philosophical system, one has to handle under four different divisions of the same subject, not only allied to but also, commingled and intermingled, with each other, namely, (1) Vāda (Alchemy) (2) Vaidya (Healing Art), (3) Jñāna (wisdom), (4) Yoga (Magic). In ancient ages, this knowledge of the science in the first two branches have been made a necessary handmaid of the latter two. All the South Indian authors have all in unison subjected alchemy to be so blended and interwoven together as it were to attain a certain end and aim of theirs, *i.e.*, Mokṣa which means literally liberation, derivatively, salvation, to be attained in the lifetime of one's own living period, with consciousness within himself, by his mind centred in his refulgent vision, *viz.*,

Jīvan-mukti, which is the Ānandamaya-stage of the Yogi or the inertness in the activity of the life of the Jñāni and the Nirvāṇa of the Buddhist, and not in the modern popular sense *of after death.*

Firstly, as to its language and style they are all written in the easy, fluent, colloquial spoken language, rhetorically not hard but in long and varied metres. And these are said to have been composed after they attained their Samādhi stage as said above, *i.e.*, after their existence of the first 120 years. The popular notion of imputing that they were written in abstruse enigmatic language and fashion is simply incorrect because we have to remember that their language is a too colloquial one and the sense, import, and connotation, of their significantly pregnant words have become changed in meaning in our own times and there is no study of words available written then or now. The language is said to be hidden, because, we have neither the training, nor the depth of knowledge in that particluar branch, nor have we the patience to dive indefatigably to the bottom to the deep sense imbedded in words, which some noviates among themselves have remarked as the "heartless language of the Siddhas." Before going into the subject, I have to explain the bearing of the one on the other and to the following three :—

(1) Vāda or Alchemy is the distinct and separate portion of the Chemistry which deals and treats of transmuting and transforming in all its varied branches of changing baser metals to higher by the help of minerals, vegetables and by animals.

(2) Vaidya is that of the healing art of Medicine by Chemistry and chemically prepared medicines for the ailments of man.

(3) Jñāna is the study of nature, of matter, soul, man and human society and the scientific modulation of man with the universe and the universal God.

(4) Yoga is the practice of Brahma-Vidyā or Rāja Yoga to attain the summum bonum of their ambition, mokṣa which means transforming themselves and also remaining in elemental bodies until Sāmīpya alone physically, psychologically and spiritually, at last to be submerged in *Parabrahmam*, *i.e.*, Sāyujyam. By keeping this final end of theirs in view, we can best understand them, *i.e.*, to give the gist in a nut-shell, they have classified the ills and diseases of human kind to be 4,448 in all. For these variant maladies to which man's flesh is heir to, about which it will be dealt with under the head of medicine elaborately, the remedies have been devised and manufactured with very effectual and radical cures and further preventives and to sustain the human frame as long as they wanted. They as a first step effected this and made themselves a proof against diseases and were not afraid of death under this head of ills. Secondly, they fortified their physique against the ravages of age by the extra proof of strong chemico-metallurgical

medicines and thus knitted and unified the soul and matter together (the meaning of which will be explained later on.) And thus, extended their lease of life to any long period to study man, creation and the universe, step by step and to attain, their final stage of beatitude, by their simultaneously practising *Prāṇāyāma*. For all the above, they have classified Vāda and Vaidya under the head of *Hemavidyā*, jñāna and Yoga under the head of *Brhama-Vidyā*. The latter means a tranquil pensive work which also means expensive course. For all this knowledge of one's own transforming to be attained by any ambitious soul, to undergo the whole course, *i.e.*, to maintain and sustain oneself to this end, Alchemy was as a necessary corollary to the course and it has been devised and perfected *to help such beings*, as subservient or basic knowledge to their ultimate goal. The whole literature of this school of men has been written after their aim has been achieved from that mental plane, in the language of that particular school, as it was at that particular period of the world's age. And they are accused uncharitably by us through our ignorance of their environments and comparing this with the present day destructive common knowledge of worldly gross materialistic nature of worldly age, they can be excused of their seemingly selfish nature which is unseemly presumed by us. The classification of this school of the universe is as follows:—

(1) Dhātu—Mineral Kingdom.
(2) Mūla—Vegetable Kingdom.
(3) Jīva—Animal Kingdom.

The one evolving from the next lower from *mahat* or magnum limbus or śūnya, or chaos and not the reverse order as is taken to be by new-fledged scientists. Again each of the above three classes is sub-divided into six major divisions, and each of them again is sub-divided as said under:

DHĀTU—INTO.

(1) Salts, of which there are 25.
(2) Pāṣāṇas or Arsenics—into 64.
(3) Uparasas into 112.
(4) Metals or Lohas into 9.
(5) Mercury or Rasa, Harabindu (King of minerals).
(6) Sulphur or Gandhaka (queen of minerals).

Mūla or vegetables—into six classes as per their natural tastes, of which there are six in number namely:—salts, pungents, astringents, saccarines, bitters and sours. Plants have one or more, or a combination of more than one of the above tastes in various degrees, each ranging from one to thousand and eight degrees in their intensity.

Jīva or animal kingdom is sub-divided into six classes, as per their originating seeds and germinating faculties, *i.e.*, under *bindu-nāda*

order. These are the ever-present and everlasting 18 things in this known universe as long as it exists. This is being misapplied and misstated in many ways as it suits the fancy of any smatterer, as if all the siddhas were only 18 in number, instead of the ever existing (Siddha) things.

DHĀTU.—(MINERAL).

The universe is composed of 5 primordial elements of earth, water, fire, air and ether. They have taken salt as the basis of the Earth and creation and as the earth-crust formation of the universe, and they first chemically treat the same to stand the test of fire, to be melt as any metal, and then alkalise the same. Their test and mode of testing all the different minerals was by natural agencies alone, namely of water and fire, and not by acids got of salts and sulphur as it is in modern analytic, (rather DESTRUCTIVE) science which will be explained later on) namely (1) salt is that which is soluble in water and volatile in fire, having at the same time the innate nature of cracking, smoking and burning; (2) Pāṣāṇa is that which smokes in fire and nonsoluable completely in water; (3) Uparasa is that which is neither soluble in water nor smoking, volatalising and burning in fire; (4) Metals are those which melt in fire and last fixed and insoluble in water: (5) Mercury (Rudravīrya) is that which is being atomised, vapourized in the smallest degree of calorific heat and nonsoluble in water and is said to possess also 7 kinds of epithelial-like drossy matter covering its molecules, and of 40 kinds of its innate powers latent in it and is called the king of minerals, with mainly procreative powers in itself; (6) Sulphur is that which smokes, burns and volatalises in fire and insoluble in water, is the female life-sustaining and life-productive element and is called the queen of minerals.

By changing and transforming the inherent created nature in each, and by making the things acquire a developed power higher than its already innate power, the properties of the things are transformed from one to the other. This was their aim chemically, and the ultimate end is to alkalise all the above said 212 things of the universe, *i.e.* turned into a *bhasma* or *sunna*, the reason why they should do this is first to make the things physiologically assimilable in human system by the digestive process for which everything has to be made soluble and it is to that they are reduced to, to assimilate them in human physique with which we are born as perishable and to make them last, and last longer, and impregnable to diseases and indestructive against the ravages of age, as the physique is the repository of the evanascent soul.

MŪLA.—(VEGETABLES).

The vegetable kingdom which evolves out of the mineral kingdom is divided into 6 classes of trees, shrubs, creepers, milk-giving, juicy and

juiceless plants; having one or more or a combination of more than 2 tastes they have been classified under 3000 genera, of from 1 to 1008 degrees under each taste.

JĪVA.—(ANIMALS).

Animal kingdom from ant and flea (the smallest) upwards to elephant and whale are classified under 84,00,000 of jīvarāśis or species generated under 4 kinds of *nāda*-generative receptacular female organs and under 6 classes of procreative seedy elements of the male *bindu* order. Out of all the creation man is the highest evolved and fully developed being, out of the above 2 kingdoms with all the senses and faculties, holding the essence and prototype of the UNIVERSAL GOD within himself, and capable of self realising the same for himself, as quite an indistinct being in the creation and to understand the existence of a higher life of himself and of greater soul of the universe namely *PARAMĀTMĀ*, though the conceited and arrogant materialists may call this the dreamy spirituality of the orient. As such the whole Universe which emanated from the very thinking of the *Parabrahmam*, *i.e.*, from the magnum limbus is a full and a whole life matter and not a nebulae as supposed by the scientists of the western destructive science, with its intolerent dogmatism and assumptions.

The principle of evolution of GODLY MAN from the infinite seed in the embryo to the adolescence, man, and godly-developed man after the universal mode, is described scientifically, early in this literature of the Indian mystics by way of exemplyfying. I quote below some Vedic principles, *viz.*, 1. "That if one was born he should not die and before he dies should not take birth once more" as also 2. "*ĀTMĀVAI PUTRA NĀMĀSI*" *i.e.*, one-self becoming born once more under the name of son on *a kṣetra* of the woman. For this dictum to be understood we have to take ourselves to the pre-Buddhistic eras and of Tāntric ages of human thought, rather times anterior to the karma doctrine which was established on karma basis by Buddhas themselves and it is said that there were 24 such Buddhas before the last Gautama Buddha (*vide* Buddhist Śrī Cakra Sambhara Tantra by Mr. A. Avalon); corroborating this dictum, we see from the internal evidence of the Christian scripture that God has ordained us not to taste the forbidden fruit; though it may be taken and understood by the materialistically erudite many in very many ways, yet as a religiously dying Hindu I take it in the old mystic siddha sense of the *ŪRDHVA-Rathas* that we should not be dreaming, soaring, drowning and annihilating ourselves in the Edenic garden of women. By this our physical frame is exhausted of the vital fluid which is wasted and we become decrepits and prematurely old even within half the period of man's span

of the Vedic time age of 100 years. If we roam or taste as against this and beget children by planting the seed of man in the womanly soil we are said to be born once more on a Kṣetra, (compare Vemanna,) *i.e.*, once more. This has been the primitive idea of the rebirth born as 'son of man in the Vedas which is being interpreted in diverse ways as per the notions of each SAMAYĀCĀRYA or religious interpreter to suit his own strain of thoughts and whim and fancy. The whole siddha religion was the religion of the universe of the highly intelligent few or religion of the cultured few only in each nation among many nations of many millions in each of the millenniums of ages. And such broken down constitution has to be resuscitated and rebuilt if a man aspires to become an adept Siddha. The word SIDDHA means ever sure and true, ever ready and ever lasting derivatively. To fortify the body as the container of the soul which could not last naturally and could not be seen without it, once broken down, to extend the life with no fear of death even by disease or old age or destruction by the five natural agencies, the Siddha has perfected the ancient pharmacopoeia, chemistry, metallurgical medicines, and alchemy, to his own needs and wants in his aims to attain and achieve his beatific end of PRĀṆĀYĀMA YOGA, without which it ends in many diseases to the already drained physiques. The elaborate course of *Kāya siddhi* (Kāya means body and siddhi means making sure) has to be undergone by an ambitious soul for 12 years or 2 cycles of 6 years each, within which period not only the tissues with which we are born from the mothers' wombs is being changed but also the very nerves are transformed tendinous and the bones converted and fossilised like ivory (as in Maharṣi Dadhici and Vāli) for which or within which time the human frame is turned out into mercurial bodies by the chemico-metallurgical medicines, indestructible by the five *Bhūtas* of Earth water, etc., as a finis. To attain all these potential powers with the double-fold object as said below, they have taken mercury which is a thing of the mineral kingdom called otherwise rasa, the essence or Hara-bindu which is the essence or the semen of Hara, who is the presiding deity among the Trinity of functionary deities of the universe, which was taken to be of the order of male procreative agency, treated the same, changed the inherent nature in it, to stand the test of fire and melt it like a metal and alkalise the same to become assimilated into the very tissues, like salt to enter and permeate into the very human cellular system. To exemplify and to learn whether this would change his body or not, the same on being administered to a base metal while being melt should change the same to a higher and finer one or convert, transform and transmute into the superior metals of gold or silver. This was the theory and practice. Now we can realise why this was called the science of Rasa-Vāda and why this was kept a profound secret by all the mystics of the different nations of the earth under different names in each country, by even the modern rosicrucians of the mediaeval ages in Europe.

The science of making gold or alchemy was promulgated to enable the ambitious soul who was called the Ṛṣi, to sustain himself and to maintain his followers who were retained for his own convenience, so that he may not beg, rather not waste his time in begging of men, for sustenance and support, but to utilise his time in the all-absorbing study of *matter, soul and the universe.* To achieve this end many chemical philosophers have worked in chemistry in diverse ways to the self-same goal which is chiefly as follows:—In the following order raising step by step in minerology from the next lower to the higher namely salt, calomel, talc or yellow arsenic, plumbago or graphite, maksikom or pyrlte (gold and copper). Navakaṣara or sulphate of ammonia, copper sulphate, gold, and lastly mercury, bind each in the order said above, rather transform its innate nature and alkalise each into caustic lime, so that it may change mercury to their double fold object of changing both baser metals and human body; and they have risen in making such medicines higher and higher in potentiality, utility and intensity in its transforming power of one in ten, hundred, thousand, ten-thousand and so on until they made *Sparśa-vedi, i.e.*, that which transforms by the very touch and *Nāda-Vedi i.e.*, transforming by the very sound, which means that which changes or transmutes by the mere touch and sound and by the very breath also respectively. And by assimlating such medicines in their physiques of transforming power internally they were able to transform by their mere command of breath and word, (Vide Koṅkaṇa and Vemaṇṇa). This was called their *Sapanugraha Śakti* in its broader sense of acting even upon inorganic matters at which we may laugh as incredible in our grossest ignorance (Vide Yoga Tattva Upaniṣad).

The other utility of binding the *Rasa* or Mercury was towards their self-realising end. It is thus performed. Firstly by turning the unstable and volatile mercury into mobile viscid butter, then into immobile solid metallic substance, melting the same and then adding by one after the other the essences or rather extracts in the shape of metals and *Sattvas* taken out from each of the 211 things of the mineral class and then by the process of chemical re-action to liberate the same, keeping to the original weight of mercury itself by re-actionary process and agents, to create higher power and potentials, in the same way by repeating the above process of assimilation and liberation, which was called the course of *Jaraṇa* in Sanskrit and *Saraṇai* in Tamil. Repeating this a given number of times as prescribed by them in their literature, in this way they are raising the potent powers of mercury, when lastly they add equal amount of transformed gold, *i. e.*, gold itself converted to acquire the colour of the evening refulgent sun which is given the technical name of gold-copper and an equal amount of copper extracted from out of the insect or worm by the name of *Bhunaga* which they say takes its birth in and from lightning. This the modern scientist in his daily

struggle for existence would not believe, but when a westerner like Alexander Smith avers that certain birds' feathers and the cuttle-fish give copper, he gapes with a cowed-down eye. This was called the Rasa-guḷika or the mercurial phallus which they preserved with exceeding care like themselves, with highest regard and sanctimony. Various Ṛṣis and some of them made only 2, and great many, three, or more of these phallusses, one to be tied in the hand as positive pole and the other to be kept in the mouth as negative pole, the third to be tied in the waist as support if any differential potency is produced, to help the Siddha in concentrating the monkey-like restless mind, rouse up the *Kuṇḍalinī* from *Mūlādhāra*, through the *Ṣaḍara Cakras* to *Sahasrāra Cakra* in himself, until the internal vision becomes radiant as refulgent of a thousand suns put together, make the whole body itself enmeshed and engulfed in this non-scorching fire lit ablaze round the physique itself (Cf. Jesus appearing in radiant light and the other such emblematic evidences given in Indian purāṇic literature). This was called the practice of Samādhi (Vide Koṅkaṇas and Zoraster's and Jenning's & Avalon's Tāntric Literature). This led him to the final beatitude of ṛealising and centering himself in his internal vision which is called the *Ānandamaya*-stage, of becoming one with *Sat-Cit-Ānanda Śiva*, i.e. the dance of the Ānanda-Naṭeśa as represented in Chidambaram which is emblematically deified and preserved and depicted to us. There were twelve such mercurial phallusses of extreme high potency which were at the head of the minor thousand and eight kinds of the same. They are named as follows :—*Surabhi*, *Kamalinī* *Aṣṭamasiddhi*, *Akāṇḍasvarūpī*, *Kāmadhenu Bhogi*, *Sandhāni*, *Akṣayī* *Ākāśi*, *Vidya-Dīpi*, *Sparśa Vedi*, and *Nāda-vedi*. Each had its unique power, *e.g.*, when *Surabhi* is put into or they let down into the sea, allege that sea-water becomes cleft out or cut asunder, surface dried and parched up when this has been let down and when *Kamalinī* is added to it, the water which has been cut in twain exposing the earth becomes joined once more such as it is alleged in the Mahābhārata in the episode of Nitya-Upavāsi, when Satyabhāma crosses the flooded river. Thus the Siddhas declare they have re-canted and re-dacted from what is said in the Vedas, the whole knowledge of micro-cosmic and macro-cosmic universe and how far we can realise from the Vedas the above facts, is the work of the versed great Sanskrit Paṇḍits and Mahāmahopādhyāyas to explore the fields of old learning and find out from them what they say after so much light is thrown out by me from the literature after a good amount of time and labour. And to say after such conclusive evidence of such all-comprising literature that the ancient science of alchemy in India is scanty, such that it cannot be given the name of literature, when such stupendous monumental evidence of an original kind, even quite distinct from western mysticism which has not been cared for by any to explore, it will not only be simple folly but innate jealousy and

impenetrable bias to give the credit to the Indo-Āryan, if done by any foreigner. And in the same literature it is said that once at a time the whole Asiatic Continent was a Siddha-Bhumi, peopled by Siddhas and Devas and that there were 64 such centres called maṭhams or Siddha-Ālayas extending from above the Meru or the Himalayan Table-lands to the Asiatic Archipilago. Each such centre was presided over by a Svarūpa Jñāni, sorrounded by his disciples, followers and laymen. Two presidential lodges called Siddhamaṇḍalas, there were, one in the north of India at Kailāsa presided by Lord Śiva, and the other in the south at Agastya-Kūṭa, presided over by Dakṣiṇāmūrti or Agastya Mahāmuni.

All the different Maṭhādhipatis of the other 62 Mutts were to be passed over and certified to as Siddhas in the south by Agastya and in the north by Śiva. In Kandahar there was the Gandharva Ānanda Yogi; in the Chinese Tableland Kalangi (who may be their Confusius); in the Indian continent Viśvānanda Yogi in Benares, Soma Ānanda in Guzerat, etc., and there were too many such mutts of illustrious names, and of their disciples too many to mention. In the south Indian Archipilago it is said by Koṅkaṇa and Bhoga that there was a colony of Śiva Ganas or followers of Śiva to protect the five Mercurial wells, after a run of 6000 *yōjanas* in the midst of the ocean, wherefrom the Siddhas are said to have obtained their indent and supply of mercury. This may be the present Bali-island where there are yet the dilapidated evidences of the Indian temples and architectural relics of ancient thought and Indian civilisation. These Tamil Siddha authors say that each mutt or Āśrama which was called a *Siddha-Ālaya* *i.e.* the abode of the Siddha, until he attained his Laya meaning absorption, had its own Śāstras compiled and written for the use of their own heads and disciples. The prominent among both the Kailāsa and Śrī Mūla Paramparās say that they have left complete records with keys to their literature and cult, with humane intentions so that others may follow and avail themselves of the advantage offered by them towards their beatific end. Two such keys, extant books available to us are of the compilation of Sattyanātha Mahāmuni and Bhogarṣi. They, in their book, allude to the following who have left records before themselves namely that Nandi-deva and Śaṅkara Mahā-muni have written in Sanskrit Chandas in very difficult abstruse, enigmatic diction and language incapable of being understood and of no use to the laity, but to the disciples trained in their traditional ways and arts in their own mutts; and that Vemaṇṇa in Telugu has said for which the exact meaning and import of his words are incapable of being understood, and Bhoga has given equivalent Sanskrit names in his key; Ghorakṣa, Matsya, Agastya, Patañjali, Kāśyapa, Śiva Yogi, Gautama, Śrī Mūla, Śiva Vākya, Roma, etc., all these have very ably dealt with, but in a mazy language not capable of being understood by ordinary men.

(Vide also Turba philosophorum and Flammel's writings of the West). Some of these and prominently Agastya, Paraśurāma, Roma, and Dhanvantri have combined the Tāntrika art also in their literature which has to be taken in its later day sense and not originally. The import of the word Tantra in their works seem to be different from what we understand now-a-days. In Tamil it means "One's own capability." In Sanskrit it meant "Taking care of and protecting the body" which is the root sense. The knowledge of organic and inorganic chemistry when it becomes combined in one man, the chemist under the combined category becomes quite a deft man and an adept very soon. Such Siddha accomplished his aim very deftly and successfully. Hence the deterioration of the word Tantra to black magic has undergone very many changes in sense. In wrongly construing in the absence of real knowledge and really knowing, *man himself* has been all over the world all the same throughout the different ages in any clime, country or time". At the same time the men who are said to have written plainly are Satyanātha Mahāmuni, Patañjali Mahāmūrti, Sundara-Ānanda and Mayūra-ānanda Yogis whose works are not obtainable now and all the above-said authors unanimously say that Nandideva, Sanaka, Sanandana, Sanat Kumāra, Śiva Yogi, Patañjali, Vyāghra Pāda, and Janaka were all their elders and anteriors. The various heads of the mutts had their own phallusses (Guḷikas) for themselves and for their tri-fold object of samādhi Yoga transforming, and satisfying every other requisite such as also the sanctifying of the very many edible things brought in contact through the illuminant rays from these phallusses within a prescribed radius for being electrified and transformed, as *nivedyas* in their daily pūjas. (Compare the effect of radium rays in charging other metals when brought within a certain range of distance and radius). They have made chemically potent refulgent liṅgas and vigrahas or idols capable of giving Kāya-Siddhi efficacy for their followers and laity out of the transformed metals and mercury. They have left them in the possession of their disciples so that they themselves were to be left undisturbed for their meditative work. Hence they were called by other sorrounding nations in the absence of their real knowledge and knowing nothing about the Indian and the Asiatic Continents, that the Indian was a phalluss worshipper, which deteriorated to the wrong sense and misapplied wrong meaning, and that their followers have become idolaters and the old Siddha-Ālayas have become Ālayas or temples all over the continent.

From the same literature we can deduce in the same fashion an explanation for the very many intricate questions of now-a-days, and as to why we came down to be idolaters from the world-old nirguṇa Worship of the universe, why at a time when the Indian, rather Asiatic civilization was at its zenith, why the pick of the nation was sacrificed at the

old battle-fields one in Ceylon and the other in Kurukṣetra as per Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata, why there were so many invasions over India from the west from the time of the Great Alexander to the innumerable Mahomedan invasions ; and to the division and sub-division of this universe and many such universes under various planatory systems and to the 12 such solar divisions, which would not allow me to discuss in detail here. In their category this universe, comprised of the five bhūtas all put together, was called an akhaṇḍa, meaning that which cannot be split, hence derivatively also, broad and expansive. The imperceptible impersonable untouchable abstract essence which underlies pervades, permeates, co-existing and co-evalent something which is *the unknowable* in all the five comprised composite bhūtas was called the universal spirit. And they say that there are thousand and eight *Akhaṇḍas*, called together by the name of a *Brahmāṇḍa* and 254 such *Brahmāṇḍas* together is called a *Bhuvana* and 84 such *Bhuvanas* was called a *Padam*. The presiding deity over the *Padam* is the *Parā Śakti*. This deity is represented in the microcosm of man, as internal visionary energy in him and in the macrocosm as *Śukla* or *Śukra* and the broad expanse of *Ākāśa, i. e.*, space, chaos or *Śūnya* in the universe is called the open space of Śiva or Akhaṇḍa of Sadāśiva. As the creation is evolved and sub-divided we find in man his tattvas are divided and sub-divided as a collaborate evidence that the man is created after the model of the universe. From this we see that God is an impersonal being to be found nowhere else in concrete shape, but in the man's abstract thinking and realising of Him as *Jyotis* within oneself and in the expansive universe, to be joined as Ātma Dṛṣṭi with the universal light (vide Zoroastar). That above man no other creation exists and in him the model of God is impressed, imbedded, and en-sheathed and the Ānanda Maya stage of the Jñāni is only the end and aim of man *i. e.*, Jīvanmukti, the Nirvāṇa goal of the Buddha ; but when man arrogates the power of God to himself like Śūra Padma, and Hiraṇya, he has to be extirpated for his un-Godliness in the interests and well being of the world and of the human society. The Samayācāryas have improvised and shaped the nirguṇa religion of the olden days to the improving of and the enlargement and up-keep of the society of different ages to suit the convenience of the humanity as per their determined principles of culture. Thus far only about mystic spiritual culture or (spirit alchemy which means the transformation of Jīvātmic soul and becoming one with the Paramātmic spirit.

Passing over all these I give below as examples and samples some recipes from the ancient chemistry as regards the treatment of minerals, acids, mercury, and alchemy by the adept Siddha towards the efficacy of all the above.

Chemistry.—1. Take rock salt and bind it with the help of two other salts which in its turn will bind each of the following things in its

next order of succession below; borax, alum, pottasium chloride, sulphate of ammonia, corrosive sublimate, sulphate of mercury, yellow arsenic, sulphur, pyrite of gold and the gold. All the ten are the steps of the Daśa Dīkṣā.

2. Bind and alkalise rock salt and do the same with regard to each of the following in succession, one with the help of the next above, *viz.*, pottasium chloride, sulphate of ammonia, borax, camphor, sulphate of copper, calomel, yellow arsenic, corrosive sublimate, mercury, gold pyrte, and this will become a boat to cross the alchemical sea.

3. *Acids.*—(*a*) Lohadravaka.

1.	Roasted copper sulphate ...	10	Weights.
2.	Bound pottassium chloride.	10	,,
3.	,, carbonate of soda ...	20	,,
4.	,, alum ...	10	,,
5.	,, sulphate of ammonia.	5	,,
	Total ...	55	parts.

Divide the above into five parts, extract acid from the first part, and pour this over the second part, dry it in the sun, extract acid in the same fashion and by repeating the same 5 times over, take the concentrated acid of the fifth time, and keep it in lac bottles, lest it should corrode or eat away any other bottle (note the sense of *concentrating.*)

In this acid any mineral, metal etc., even the rock and mountain will become soluble, any uparasa will give its metallic essence or extract if melt, serviceable for the purpose of jaraṇa for mercury as said above,

(*b*) Mahādravaka.

1.	Roasted copper sulphate ...	14	parts.
2.	Pottassium chloride ...	28	,,
3.	Bicarbonate of soda ...	85	,,
4.	Corrosive sublimate ...	4	,,
5.	Ammonia sulphate ...	8	,,
6.	Alum ...	8	,,
7.	Alkali of apāmārga ...	2	,,
	Total ...	148	parts.

Powder the whole, mix, roast and fry the same with the above said Lohadravaka and dry the same in the sun and divide it into seven parts and extract acids, as described above by pouring the acid of the previous distillation over the succeeding part and thus concentrating the same by repeating the process seven times and keep the same in lac bottles. This extraction process of this acid cannot be done by an ordinary man but by

one who has attained the Kāya Siddhi, if not the ordinary man's body will become split up. Administer one drop of the same to a viss of mercury, it will become expanded into ashes of lime. With 1/64th part of it you can alkalise any metal and fuse any uparasa, and this mercury ash will swoon 100 times as much more mercury, to facilitate the end of making mercurial phallusses.

(c) With this concentrated acid above mentioned in (b), sulphuric acid and acid from the corrosive sublimate is extracted which is not capable of being done by any ordinary man without Kāya Siddhi, *i.e.*, to have all these done to oneself, old Chemistry of the Indian Siddha School of Agastya, Nāgārjuna, Patañjali etc., which has all been for so many ages of the world a guarded and protected science has been kept as a holy art in various Āśramas of Ṛṣis has to be understood and it was useful for them.

(1) to keep themselves a proof against diseases,

(2) to prolong their lives to any period they like,

(3) to make their bodies (*jaḍas*) ever-existent *i.e.* until the time they wanted to have, like their own soul and

(4) to keep themselves above wants.

This is also the old western mysticism of *Devayāna mārga* which is not understood by the whole western continents just now, with the exception of one or two like, the Hartmans of Germany and Mr. Spence Louis the president of Rosicrucian Society of U.S.A. *i.e.* it evidently borders on ancient alchemy which is an exploded science in the west. (So far safe, because these mystics save themselves from the molestations and aggressions of friendly enemies). Again to go to the root of this it goes to the hidden portion of the whole science of Physical Alchemy *i.e.*, *The Philosopher's Stone*, which is "the despised stone" because of its not being had and obtained and hence, despised. It had and it has necessarily to be protected from the purview of the laymen because human society would cease to exist by wars, because self entices any to become greedy. The Vedas and any Scripture gives evidences of these, because this has become the sole secret of a few always and all over the world, who would not freely divulge the secret, unless to the chosen initiates, *e.g.*, The Deva-Asura wars of India and of the driving of the Israelites from Palestine, making the whole nation of the Jews for their proverbial riches from Patriarch Abraham's time downwards as Homeless even up to now as a politically undecided question. Thus we see that there are two divisions of the question of ancient Alchemy *viz.*,

(1) Spiritual Alchemy

(2) Physical Alchemy.

i.e., one belonging to the spirit side of Man in transforming his spirit and soul to become one with the Paramatmic soul of the universe, which is not a teachable art of readymade Colleges, but which is an art of practical practice in transcendentalism by every man to himself, which results to him as a corollary in transforming and transmuting anything with which he may come in contact, which has been followed by the Spiritual mystics or Jñānis of the Deva School and called *Deva-Yāna-Mārga* of the Ṛṣis (Vide Yoga Tattva Upaniṣad and *cf.* Western Mysticism). The other Physical Alchemy followed by the Siddhas, the real Alchemists who have taken special care to protect their own tabernacles (Ghaṭas) as receptacles of their souls, at the very first with their chemico-metallurgical medicines by transforming minerals and metals, and therefrom transforming themselves, physiologically and psychologically towards the attainment of their goal of developing their psychological transcendental interior powers of their soul towards illuminism of *Jīvan Mukti*. This was called the magic rather Magician art of the Siddhas of old, of Hermes, vide the system followed by the Agastya School of men in the East and the Hermetic School in the West.

Note.—The wealth of information contained in this interesting article has induced the Editors to publish this contribution, in the author's own style.

IS ARTHAŚĀSTRA SECULAR?

BY

MR. V. R. RAMACHANDRA DIKSHITAR, M.A., DIP. ECOM., MADRAS

Since the discovery and the publication of that great work, Kauṭalya's Arthaśāstra by Dr. Shama Sastri of Mysore, a large volume of critical literature has grown up on both the method and the scope of the text. A host of western scholars of oriental studies and also some Indian scholars believe and want us to believe with them that the Arthaśāstra in question belongs to one of the secular schools of political thought current in ancient India in the early centuries of both before and after Christian era. In this noble category of savants, Professor Winternitz, Dr. Otto Stein, Mr. Bottazzi, Dr. Jolly, and Dr. Ghoshal figure prominently. An endeavour is made here to examine the various criticisms offered by these scholars in the light of the Dharmaśāstras.

It can be shown clearly that Kauṭalya formulates all his theories on the sound and basic principles of the Dharmasūtras and Dharmaśāstras, with instructions in sufficient detail to carry on at once an effective and successful administration. In this respect he takes a legitimate place with the great Smṛtikartas, such as Manu, Yājñavalkya, and Nārada. Before entering into a detailed examination of the various issues connected with this, it would be well if we clear the ground by explaining what we mean by such high-sounding terms, religion and morality. In the whole range of Sanskrit literature there is only one word which answers exactly to these terms and this is the word "*Dharma*". And what is *Dharma*? Manu defines that whatever is ordained in the Śrutis or the Vedas and the smṛtis or the Śāstras is *Dharma*, and adds that whoever follows them, leads a life of glory and happiness not only in this world but also in the other world.[1] Hence ethics, morality and religion are all to us, the Hindus, whatever is ordained by these great authorities only. And, therefore, whatever is found in them is moral, religious and ethical to us. Judged by these conceptions Kauṭalya never falls low in our estimation, especially of these great law-givers. He seems neither to overstate or understate the rules and regulations laid down in the Śāstras. On the other hand he follows them with keen perception and lofty insight, all Kautalya's own.

Dr. Ghoshal in his recent book entitled "Hindu Political Theories" gives us a rather surprising statement thus: "The Arthaśāstra, however,

---

1. श्रुतिस्मृत्युदितं धर्ममनुतिष्ठन्हि मानवः ।
इह कीर्तिमवाप्नोति प्रेत्य चानुत्तमं सुखम् ॥ Manu. II. 9.

did a distinct service to the cause of political theory by ruling out the Purohita from the list of prominent factors of government . . . the Purohita is conspicuous by his absence in the list of seven-elements ".[1] Both the Dharmaśāstras and the Arthaśāstras agree in the main about the seven elements of the state. We will presently show how the Purohita is in, though not of, the seven elements. Commenting on the passage of Manu [2] where mention is made of these elements, the celebrated Kullūkabhaṭṭa comments the second element '*Amātya*' as मन्त्र्यादि meaning ministers and others. By using the word आदि evidently he seems to include the Purohita in the ministry group. For the same note is struck by Śaṅkarārya in his commentary on verses 30 and 31 of the IVth Chapter of Kāmandaka Nītisāra

पुरोहितस्याप्यमात्यविशेषत्वात् वैशेषिकं अमात्यकार्यमित्याह—तथाहि—
पुरोधीयते नियुज्यते दृष्टादृष्टेषु इति पुरोहितः ।

Again the Kuraḷ, a great Tamil work on polity, speaks of '*Amātya*' as 'அமைச்சு' for which the celebrated commentator Parimēlaḷakar gives a happy explanation, 'உழையர்', meaning, those who are always by the side of the king. A further evidence is that frequent references are made in the Maṇimēkalai and Śilappadikāram to 'ஐம்பெருங்குழு' —of the king. The commentator of Śilappadikāram explains who these ministers are, the Purohitā, the commander-in-chief, ambassadors, and government-emissaries [4] whom the king was bound to consult on all occasions. In the same text there is, besides several, one typical passage [5] which also indicates how the Purohita formed an integral part. This occurs at the time when the king Ādupōrcēliya-Pāṇḍyan was dead in the palace and the city was in flames due to the curse of Kaṇṇakī, wife of Kōvalan, who was unjustly executed by the said king. These important bodies of officers, who are supposed to be by the side of the king always assembled together and stood dumblike seeing the recent occurrence. It was these only who could take the line of action with regard to the installing on the throne, and deputing other officials to their work. We find expression of these terms also in the well-known work the Maduraikāñci

---

1 Hindu Political Theories (Pp. 88 & 89).

2. स्वाम्यमात्यौ पुरं राष्ट्रं कोशदण्डौ सुहृत्तथा ।
सप्तप्रकृतयो ह्येताः सप्ताङ्गं राज्यमुच्यते ॥ Manu. IX. 294.

3 Kāmandaki (Trivandrum Series) P. 56.

4 Śilappadikāram, Ch. 5.

5. ஆசான்பெருங்கணி அரகளத்து அந்தணர்
காவாதிமந்திரக்கணக்கர் etc. Śilappadikāram Ch. 22.

I am obliged to these two references to Mr. K. Ramarathna Aiyer, B.A., Madras.

believed to belong to the second century A. D. Further in an apparently later work Kambarāmāyaṇa, occur stanzas [1] in which the Emperor Daśaratha's ministers are described and these strongly support our point. Thus the transmitters of tradition show that the purohita formed an integral part of the group Amātya although not mentioned separately. So also in the Arthaśāstra group (VI, 1) [2]. At any rate there is no justification for the statement that he is not included in the group Amātya. Kauṭalya then proceeds to enumerate the qualifications and functions for this official [3]. A Purohita, of great and good family, reputed for high learning, well-versed in the sacred scriptures, the science of astrology, and the theory of polity, and who knows how to propitiate the planets by various rites prescribed in the Atharva Veda, so as to ward off calamities, providential or otherwise, that may befall the king or the kingdom, may be appointed by the king. Him the king should follow as a disciple his teacher, a son his father, and a servant his master. The previous line before 'पुरोहितं' ends with the phrase 'अमात्यकर्म' and in continuation of the same idea the sentence quoted above follows. Thus also Kauṭalya takes it for granted that the Purohita is an amātya for all practical purposes. It is certainly interesting to draw parallel passages here from the Yājñavalkyasmṛti, conveying the same sentiments or ideas. [4] The second verse in itself seems a comment on the term 'Vipra' of the preceding stanza. Yājñavalkya categorically states what Kauṭalya has stated regarding his qualifications. Manu expresses the same ideas in different words :—

सर्वेषां तु विशिष्टेन ब्राह्मणेन विपश्चिता ।
मन्त्रयेत् परमं मन्त्रं राजा षाड्गुण्यसंयुतम् ॥
नित्यं तस्मिन् समाश्वस्तः सर्वकार्याणि निक्षिपेत् ।
तेन सार्धं विनिश्चित्य ततः कर्म समारभेत् ॥
अन्यानपि प्रकुर्वीत शुचीन् प्राज्ञानवस्थितान् ।
सम्यगर्थसमाहर्तॄन् अमात्यान्सुपरीक्षितान् ॥ Manu. VII, 58—60.

---

1. Ayodhyā Kāṇḍam, I, 6, 7, 8, 9.

2. Arthaśāstra text, VI, 1.

3. पुरोहितमुदितोदितकुलशीलं, षडङ्गे वेदे दैवे निमित्ते दण्डनीत्यां चाभिविनीतमापदां दैवमानुषीणामथर्वभिः उपायैश्च प्रतिकर्तारं कुर्वीत। तं आचार्यं शिष्यः पितरं पुत्रो भृत्यः स्वामिनामिव चानुवर्तेत. 1, 9.

4. समंत्रिणः प्रकुर्वीत प्राज्ञान्मौलान् स्थिरान्शुचीन् ।
तैः सार्द्धं चिन्तयेद्राज्यं विप्रेणाथ ततः स्वयम् ॥ I—312.
पुरोहितं च कुर्वीत दैवज्ञमुदितोदितम् ।
दण्डनीत्यांश्चकुशलं अथर्व्याङ्गिरसे तथा ॥ I—313.

The words सर्वेषां, अन्यानपि, indicate obviously that the Purohita is one among the *mantrins* or amātyas. The phrase नित्यं तस्मिन् समाश्वस्तः answers well to the statement of Kauṭalya, as a son to his father, or a servant to his master. Again 'सर्वकार्याणि निक्षिपेत् तेनसार्धं विनिश्चित्य' is explained by Kauṭalya in his own felicitous way, when he says, [1] that the king should consult his ministers and the Purohita, before appointing officials and also in sending out commissioners on various purposes. Yājñavalkya gives expression to the same idea also [2].

Kauṭalya mentions these and more. When he says that the king should behave like a son towards his father, he seems certainly to imply what Dr. Ghoshal expresses as the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa speaks of the Purohita as the one half of the Kṣatriya or the king, and the active providence guiding the destinies of the king and the kingdom. The well-written verse of Kauṭalya means nothing more than this. [3] Here ब्राह्मण is commented on as पुरोहित in the Śrīmūlam commentary. The verse then means that the energy of the Kṣatriya backed by that of the Purohita, and well-deliberated by the ministers, following the precedents laid down in the Śāstras, leads to unquestioning success. Gautama-smṛti again rules to the same effect.

Not only Kauṭalya makes the Purohita, of his Arthaśāstra, a duly qualified man, invests him with the powers of ministering to the spiritual needs of a king as well as the kingdom by sound advice and guidance, bestows him with a rank even above the king by saying a student his teacher, or servant his master, but makes him the highest paid official only equal to minister, commander-in-chief, crown-prince, or the king's mother, and queen. [4]. Thus the Purohita has not at all fallen from his old pedestal, either as found in the Brāhmaṇas or the Dharmaśāstras. He continues to be the same official occupying a front rank, and an enviable position. He is mentioned as one of the eighteen departments of government or तीर्थ of Kauṭalya. The various propitiations, and other ceremonies recommended throughout the text, for preventing calamities, providential or otherwise, it needs no mentioning, are done by or through the Purohita. He follows, again, the king to the battle-field, encourages soldiers at the commencement of the battle thus

1. मन्त्रिपुरोहितसखः सामान्येष्वधिकरणेषु स्थापयित्वा अमात्यान् उपधाभिः शोधयेत् ॥ I—10.

2. प्रेषयेच्च ततश्चारान् स्वेषु चान्येषु सादरम् । I, 332.
ऋत्विक् पुरोहिताचार्यैः आशीर्भिरभिनन्दितः ॥

3. ब्राह्मणेनैधितं क्षत्रं मन्त्रिमन्त्राभिमन्त्रितम् ।
जयत्यजितमत्यन्तं शास्त्रानुगतशस्त्रितम् ॥ I, 9.

4. Text, 5. 3,

infusing fresh spirit into their minds. It is thus evident that the Purohita has not been ruled out of the Arthaśāstra. A further evidence in its favour is that Kāmandaka's Nītisāra, a latest book on polity, has a distinct reference to this official as the dominating and directing force in the administration [1]. By this we should not be carried away with the impression that the Brahmans were only a priestly class, or formed a ministry of religion like that of the Christian Church and domineered the whole situation as the uncrowned monarchs of all they surveyed, thus keeping under their thumb the king or the kingdom. On the other hand they never became a professional religious ministry and did *certes* take up various secular callings. But the high status they gained was entirely due to their learning and character [2]. This tradition alone has been kept up without break, as is gathered from inscriptional evidence. [3] Some conditions for membership in the village assemblies in the 9th century A. D. in South India are that those who have studied the Mantra-Brāhmaṇa, and one Dharmaśāstra at least those who have critically studied a whole Veda with its Pariśikṣas..." Though a telling force in the administration the Purohita was not above any law or any punishment whatsoever. Conformably to Manu's dictum, [4] Kauṭalya enjoins punishment of the Purohita either by imprisonment or banishment, when he transgresses his svadharma and is found guilty of grave treason (9-3).

The other charge that is laid at the door of Kauṭalya is that his attitude towards religion is complex, [5] and his mentality is clouded by a vision well-distinguishable from the code of ethics. This amounts to saying that he has sacrificed wholesome principles at the altar of tactics and tricks. In support of this statement some examples are quoted as typical ones. One such is the territorial aggrandisement recommended by Kauṭalya. This is far from truth. He has, nowhere, to our knowledge supported aggrandisement of foreign territories. But he is certainly out to break the back of the enemies at any cost, but only in conformity with the Śāstraic injunctions. He is for conquest, but not for conquests for conquest's sake. Gautama lays down constant readiness and exertion for conquering alien countries as one of the bounden duties of the king [6].

1. Kāmandaki (Trivandrum Series), p. 56.

2. Prof. K. Sundararama Iyer ably discusses this in a leading article of the 'Hindu Message' for May 22—29, 1924.

3. No. 423 of 1906, Epigraphist Report, Part II, 1913.

4. पिताचार्यः सुहृन्माता भार्या पुत्रः पुरोहितः ।
नादण्ड्यो नाम राज्ञोऽस्ति यः स्वधर्मे न तिष्ठति ॥ Manu. 8. 335.

5. Hindu Political Theories, p. 150.

6. रथधनुर्भ्यां संग्रामे संस्थानमनिवृत्तिश्च न दोषोहिंसायां आहवे ॥ Ch 10.

Further the true purpose of the idea is well brought to light by an inscription [1] on one of the coins of Samudragupta.

राजाधिराजा पृथ्वीम् अवजित्य दिवं जयति अप्रतिवार्यवीरः ।

This says that a king conquers only to attain heaven. Surely the motive for conquest seems religious at the bottom, and not secular as is believed by some critics.

While still on this topic we can well explain what 'Mantrayuddha and Kūṭayuddha of Kauṭalya mean. Mantrayuddha is circumvention or more definitely, superior skill in circumventing an enemy and not 'treacherous fight' as is translated [2]. This has been commented on by Mr. Ganapati Sastri in the III part of his edition of the Arthaśāstra thus:

मन्त्रः प्रज्ञोत्कर्षः तेन युद्धं मृत्युत्पादनादिना शत्रोर्वञ्चनम् ।

The following verse [3] may be usefully recalled here from Mudrārākṣasa put in the mouth of Cāṇakya, who values his बुद्धि or intelligence, over great armies. [4] Kūṭayuddha may mean battle by spells and charms. These kinds of warfare find a legitimate place in the Rājadharma of the Hindus, though not in the Rājarṣidharma of which we will speak later on.
Manu says: —

बकवत् चिन्तयेदर्थान् सिंहवच्च पराक्रमेत् ।
वृकवच्चावलुम्पेत शशवच्च विनिष्पतेत् ॥ VII. 106.

A conqueror should not use *māyā* at the first instance, but should be on the lookout for the *māyā* of the enemy. [5] How to find this out is explained by Kauṭalya through the system of secret spies. Kullūkabhaṭṭa comments on

सिंहवत्—संश्रयाद्युपायान्तरासंभवे सर्वशक्त्या शत्रुं हन्तुं आक्रमेत। वृकवत्—कथंचित् प्रमादमासाद्य व्यापादयेत् । शशवत्—कथंचिदरिव्यामोह-माधायगुणवत्पार्थिवान्तरं संप्रश्रयितुमुपसर्पेत् ।

---

1. I am obliged to Dr. S.K. Aiyangar for this information.
2. Dr. Shama Sastri's Translation Bk. 7. 13.
3. एका केवलमेव साधनविधौ सेनाशतेभ्योऽधिका ।
 नन्दोन्मूलनदृष्टवीर्यमहिमा बुद्धिस्तुमागान्मम ॥
4. Dr. T. Ganapati Sastri drew my attention to this.
5. अमाययैव वर्तेत न कथंचन मायया
 बुद्ध्येतारिप्रयुक्तां च मायां नित्यं स्वसंवृतः ॥ Manu. 7. 104.

Thus even the law-giver Manu concedes other means of fighting out the enemy if it is impossible to quell him by open warfare.

It is wrong to speak of Kauṭalya's recommendation of immoral warfare. To remove this misconception it is well to give his views categorically on the question. First of all, Kauṭalya prefers peace to war, as the latter involves much loss of men and money, and above all sin.[1] Again between Mantrayuddha and Prakāśayuddha or open fight, Kauṭalya certainly prefers open fight and says even at great sacrifice the enemy should be humbled.[2] Does not the Lord say in the Gītā about the Śvadharma of Kṣatriya to fight and fight only [3] Only failing this he could hit upon the use of skill and diplomacy. Even as regards Kūṭayuddha, his attitude towards religion is well defined. He says, " Do not use fire, if you could succeed by any other means. For it offends both God and man" (13-4). When he speaks of fire, poison, and other like-methods, he simply explains what is meant by such kinds of warfare, and these could not be taken in any way as recommendatory especially in the face of his above quoted statements. Again when he gives expression to the various magical tricks to extirpate the enemy, he says such things must commence on the day of the star Puṣya to ensure their success, thus indicating his abundant faith in the working of the planets. More of this later on.

But it must be remarked that one could have recourse to the unrighteous or treacherous kind of warfare if it could be styled so only in the last resort. By overcoming the enemy by any means whatsoever, the king ensures protection to his people, [4] and to their social and religious institutions. [5] By this he is enabled to enjoy both here and hereafter. [6] Again when once the enemy is pulled down to death his property or family members should not be touched and the near relative of the slain king should be installed on the throne. (VII, 16), Further in the matter of breaking treaties and alliances Kauṭalya recommends these only in the case of the wicked. दुष्टेषु संधिं दूषयेत् (VII, 14). In his opinion peace is immutable both in this and the other world [7] These several kinds of warfare are mentioned as having actually taken

1. संधिविग्रहयोः तुल्यायां वृद्धौ संधिमुपेयात् ।
विग्रहे हि क्षयव्ययप्रवासप्रत्यवायाः भवन्ति ॥ 7—2
2 सुमहतापिक्षयव्ययेन शत्रुविनाशोऽभ्युपगन्तव्यः । 7—13,
3. धर्म्याद्धि युद्धाच्छ्रेयोऽन्यत्क्षत्रियस्य न विद्यते । 2—31.
4. Text 14—3. 5. Text 14—1.

6. अवाप्तौ पालने चोक्तं लोकस्यास्य परस्य च ।
7. संत्यवाशपथो वा परत्रेह च स्थावरः संधिः । VII-17.

place in both the epics the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata which are according to tradition authoritative Dharmic texts also. Judged by these standards Kauṭalya seems, in our opinion, to stand above any charge of advocating immoral warfare.

The main issues raised by Dr. Ghoshal to taboo the Arthaśāstra as a 'secular' text, would have been answered if the question of the conduct of a prince towards the King and that of the King towards the prince is also examined. The regulations referred to by Kauṭalya for observance by the king seem to the learned Bengal Doctor as framed beyond all moral comprehension and ethical considerations. What Kauṭalya says is that if the prince were to be unruly and of wicked nature, which could be rectified in the long run, he may be placed under restraint. If he happens to be the only son and heir-apparent he may be reconciled by a conciliation through the queen or special commissioners. But if his character is beyond all rectification whatsoever, he may be punished by banishment and especially so, when there are more than one son to the king [1]. Manu gives expression to the same sentiment, namely, if the prince casts off his '*Svadharma*' and behaves in an unbecoming way he deserves to be punished [2]. Orthodox opinion centres around the fact that the traditions contained in both the epics are simply illustrations of Vedic truths, and hence, are, as already mentioned, as much an authority as the Smṛtis themselves. In this connection one of the oft-quoted stanzas of the Mahābhārata comes to mind [3].

एकेन कुरु वै क्षेमं कुलस्य जगतस्तथा ।
त्यजेदेकं कुलस्यार्थे ग्रामस्यार्थे कुलं त्यजेत् ।
ग्रामं जनपदस्यार्थे आत्मार्थे पृथिवीं त्यजेत् ॥

Ādiparva 129 82-83.

In the Rāmāyaṇa again, when Śrī Rāma was ordered for forest-life, Sumantra asked Kaikeyī the reason of the recent unjust order served on Śrī Rāma. Some of these lines may be quoted with advantage [4].

रामः किमकरोत्पापं येनैवमुपरुध्यते ॥
अदुष्टस्य हि संत्यागः सत्पथे निरतस्य च ।
निर्दहेदपि शक्रस्य द्युतिं धर्मनिरोधनात् ॥

Ayodhyā 37, 26 & 29.

---

1. Text 1-18.
2. पिताचार्यः सुहृन्माता भार्या पुत्रः पुरोहितः ।
नादण्ड्यो नाम राज्ञोऽस्ति यः स्वधर्मे न तिष्ठति ॥ VIII-335.

3 & 4. Kumbakonam Krishnachar edition.

I have quoted these two passages from the respective Epics as they throw the much-needed light on Kauṭalya's and thus prove the futility of our critics' arguments. Despite banishment if the prince continues to be the source of still further trouble, it is one of the precepts of Rājadharma to take away his life also. The soul-stirring lines of the Rāmāyaṇa again न पापानां वधे पापं विद्यते शत्रुसूदन (Sundara 52-11)—one of the accredited and avowed precepts of Rājadharma, comes to our rescue and fortifies our ideas of the Arthaśāstra. It is interesting here to recall the story of Udayakumāra son of the Cola king described in the extant Tamil work called Maṇimēkalai. When the prince was told that Maṇimēkalai was in the woods alone, he entered the same with the object of enjoying her imbued with the evil spirit of lust. There he was killed by a hunter. When the news reached both the king and queen, they did not regret it, but it even earned their approval, though he was their only son, to the effect that it is the king's duty to get rid of the sons of wicked nature [1].

As the settlement of this 'secular question' is a matter of much moment we shall also examine some criticisms advanced by the western scholars. In the course of a lengthy introduction to the new edition of the Arthaśāstra, [2] Dr. Jolly writes "The general tendency of the Arthaśāstra is thoroughly realistic and worldly as opposed to the vague idealism and strictly religious principles of Dharmaśāstras". Already in the previous pages it has been shown that such general statements are unwarranted. Mahāmahopādhyāya Gaṇapati Sastrigal of Trivandrum writes to me in the course of a letter "Kauṭalya has only improved upon the Arthaśāstra of his predecessors who are authorities in polity as Manu and Yājñavalkya in Dharmaśāstras and he also refers to them often in his works. It is idle to take these authorities cited by Kauṭalya as fictitious as Dr. Jolly does. For actual quotations from the Arthaśāstras of Bṛhaspati and Viśālākṣa who are predecessors of Kauṭalya, are found in the commentary of Viśvarūpa on Yājñavalkyasmṛti.

Subscribing entirely to what the learned Pandit and scholar has said I shall proceed to examine the various statements [3] of Dr. Jolly one

---

1. யான் செயற்பால (து) இளங்கோன் தன்னைத்
தான் செய்ததனால் தகவிலன் விஞ்சையன்
பிறர் பின்செல்லாப் பிக்குணிக்கோலத் (து)
அறிவு திருந்தேன் அரிசியல் தானிலன்.

(Maṇi, Ch, 22 lines 206 ff.)

(*Ibid* Ch. 23, ll. 25 and 26). Here the first reference is to the king's words to the minster, and the second, the queen to the king.

2. The Punjab edition Vol. I by Dr. Jolly and Dr. Schmidt.

3. Introduction to Vol. I of Dr. Jolly's edition.

by one in the light of the Dharmaśāstra texts. First the Arthaśāstra declares wealth to be the first and most necessary of the three objects of human life Dharma, Artha and Kāma, while the Dharmaśāstra rules that in a conflict between rules of Dharma and rules of Artha the former should prevail. But this must not be taken to mean as Jolly does that the Dharmaśāstra has ruled the Artha out. For Artha is the means and Dharma the end. Does not Manu say 'बकवत् चिन्तयेत् अर्थान्' [1] and can we on this statement assert and affirm that Manu is wrong in his ruling. Certainly it is arguing the other way round. Without Artha how could a king discharge his duties towards himself and his subjects? It is interesting what Kautilya says in another place 'काह्यनित्ये धने दया' (XII-1), meaning what is the use of the wealth which is after all perishable? Neither could he be said to be inconsistent in his statements nor the passage quoted an interpolation'. The fact remains that the Artha is essential to carry out Dharma, that is, enforcing the civil and the moral law. It is still more necessary for a king whose function it is to maintain Dharma.

Secondly Ānvīkṣikī philosophy in the Arthaśāstra includes the materialistic system of the Lokāyata, whilst Manu condemns the study of the rationalistic treatises. The verse cited [2] means that person who, adhering to rationalistic studies, disregards the Vedas and the Śāstras, is an infidel and deserves excommunication by the learned men. Evidently Dr. Jolly has misunderstood the text. Manu has not condemned the study of such treatises but those unbelievers such as the cārvākas. Further it is irrelevent, for the law-giver is not speaking about the king in that chapter. But as the lord of both the believers and unbelievers the king is expected to be versed in all sciences and branches of knowledge. It is interesting here to read what M. M. Ganapati Sastri has to say. In his opinion, not of course unwarranted, the Ānvīkṣikī of the Arthaśāstra means the न्याय system of Indian philosophy. (*Vide* Śrīmūlam commentary Vol. I, p. 27.) Another plank in the programme of his studies is Vārtā or economics. It may be contended why this finds a place in it. Śūdraka, the celebrated dramatist includes Vaiṣikī-vidyā as a science to be learned by the king. Arguing this way would be twisting the point too far. Here is the case of one who neither disrespects the Smṛti nor the Śruti for his faith in the scriptures is unmistakable when he says, that the state when ruled in accordance with the rules laid down in the Veda, ever progresses and never stagnates. [3] Besides it must be remembered that both Yājñavalkya

1. Manu, 7. 106,
2. योऽवमन्येत ते मूले हेतुशास्त्राश्रयाद्द्विजः ।
स साधुभिर्बहिष्कार्यो नास्तिको वेदनिन्दकः ॥ २ ॥ II-11.
3. त्रय्याहि रक्षितो लोकः प्रसीदति न सीदति । -3, (text).

and Manu certainly include the Ānvīkṣikī, to be studied by the king, of which Lokayata is only a sub-division.

Thirdly the Arthaśāstra denounces that foolish fellow who consults the stars too much while Yājñavalkya recommends the worship of the planets. The idea underlying the verse quoted [1] is that all the available sources of wealth should be regularly tapped. The king must not be sitting idle inquiring into the movements of the stars as to his rise or fall in the teeth of obstruction to acquisition of wealth. It would be something like Nero fiddling when Rome is burning. So after discussing the various stumbling blocks in the way of acquiring wealth, Kauṭalya concludes that for a king entire reliance in the working of the planets would not do. He should be full of that spirit of enterprise (उत्थान) to which he has drawn attention to more than once; and he must endeavour his best to overcome such seeming obstacles by repeated exertions.

This interpretation of the verse would, I think, meet with approval. When interpreting we should take the time and the circumstance into consideration also. For instance Kauṭalya says in one place [2] that the king should protect his person more than that perishable wealth. From this it must not be concluded that he condemns the acquisition or amassing of wealth. The point is that compared to the one, the other dwindles into insignificance. On the other hand there is warrant enough to demonstrate his advocacy and faith in planet-worship. Mention has already been made of his recommending this to begin the various devices to quell the enemy on the day of the star of Puṣya, auspicious for the same. Again in Ch. 24 of Book II, it is explained that the planets Bṛhaspati (Jupiter), Śukra (Venus), and the Sun, influence agricultural crops a good deal. The first causes the growth of the plants, the second gives shower, and the third the fruit of the seeds. Also in various places in the text, frequent references are made to prayers and oblations to Gods, so to avert calamities. In this respect the Arthaśāstra is quite in keeping with Yājñavalkya who says that one should try and offer prayers to that planet which seems offended with him.[3]

The fourth argument of Dr. Jolly is that the Arthaśāstra encourages immoral practices like the secret murder of high officials, and confiscation of their property. I suppose this is one of the unscrupulous methods in politics of Kauṭalya according to Prof. Winternitz also. At the

1. नक्षत्रमति पृच्छन्तं बालमर्थोऽतिवर्तते ।
अर्थो ह्यर्थस्य नक्षत्रं किं करिष्यन्ति तारकाः ॥ IX-4 (text).

2. रक्षेत् स्वदेहं न धनं का ह्यनित्ये धने दया । XII-1-(text)

3. यश्च यस्य यदा दुःस्थः स तं यत्नेन पूजयेत् । I-307.

outset it may be said without fear of any contradiction that confiscation of property is applicable only to दूष्याः or culprits and disloyal seditionists. Such persons could be certainly punished in secret if it were impossible to get rid of them at all. Towards this end no other method could be more effective. If they are openly attacked, surely they would set up the standard of revolt with the resultant consequence that it would be scotching the snake and not killing it.

Manu says excellently well that the thorns in the path of progress of the state must be cleared off at any cost [1]. We should carefully note the closing sentences of the para dealing with the various deceptive and secret plans to put an end to these wicked ones एवं दूष्येषु अधार्मिकेषु च वर्तेत । नेतरेषु (5. 2) [2]. Thus resort to these methods is only in exceptional cases, and not applicable to the case of the righteous. Does not Manu rule that [3] it is the King's duty to afford protection to his subjects and consign the accredited accomplices to punishment leading to death also. Yājñavalkya reaffirms this statement of Manu by saying [4] that getting reliable information through the special commissioners as to the good conduct or otherwise of the officials, the king should honour the good and punish the evil minded.

Again it must be said in all fairness to the great author of the Arthaśāstra that he was alive to the fact that unnatural and adharmaic methods of punishments would lead to impoverishment of the country and discontent among the people and hence ought not to be indulged in [5]. The same ideas, were more or less familiar to the compiler of the Rāmāyaṇa, undoubtedly an older text and a moral-inculcating one, where occurs :—

उपायकुशलं वैद्यं भृत्यसंदूषणे रतम् ।
शूरमैश्वर्यकामं च यो न हन्ति स वध्यते ॥

---

1. रक्षणादार्यवृत्तानां कण्टकानां च शोधनात् ।
नरेन्द्रास्त्रिदिवं यान्ति प्रजापालनतत्पराः ॥ IX-253.

2. Since writing this I noticed with pleasure this point brought out by Mr. N. N. Law in his able reply to Prof. Winternitz (*vide* Sep. 1924 Calcutta Review).

3. रक्षन् धर्मेण भूतानि राजा वध्यांश्च घातयन् ॥ VIII-306.

4. ये राष्ट्राधिकृतास्तेषां चारैः ज्ञात्वा विचेष्टितम् ।
साधून् संपालयेत् राजा विपरीतांस्तु घातयेत् ॥ I 338.

5. अवक्षेपेन हि सतां असतां प्रग्रहेण च ।
अभूतानां च हिंसानां अधर्म्याणां प्रवर्तनैः ॥
उचितानां चरित्राणां धर्मिष्ठानां निवर्तनैः ।
अधर्मस्य प्रसङ्गेन धर्मस्यावग्रहेण च ॥ VII 5 (text)

Thus it is enjoined on the king to extricate himself from the undesirables lest he should be landed in troubles of all kinds.

Another charge that is laid at the door of Kauṭalya is his unscrupulous means of collecting taxes under various pretences. Really this is overstating the fact. For does not Kauṭalya say beautifully well [1] that taking of revenues in improper seasons like the plucking of fruits when unripe should not be resorted to, as the very source would be perilously affected. The same is interpreted, according to Mr. Ganapati Sastri's commentary, that any person could be deprived of the dishonest sources of income but not the dharmaic sources, lest it would create trouble among the peoples. Anyway the interpretations serve well our purpose. Surely a statesman proceeding on this wholesome basis could hardly recommend taxes of oppressive nature. The main principles of law-givers अनादेयं नाददीत, न श्रोत्रियात्करं, etc. are followed both in letter and spirit. No wonder then when he says that a king should not have recourse to iniquitous imposts. For it is giving a handle, as it were, to the enemy.[2] In the light of these, it would be nothing short of absurdity to charge Kauṭalya with any act of immoral practice. Kauṭalya is distinct when he expresses the special means employed to collect taxes or benevolences only in times of acute financial distress.[3] Setting up sacred spots and imputing mysterious powers to them, giving some miraculous remedies for snake-bites, etc., or running other public-shows or exhibitions to swell the treasury by attracting the wayfarers, travellers, and what not, are some of the means advocated. These are legitimate in the sense that they do not give even the slightest room for discontent among the people.

Again to deprive goldsmiths, merchants and other traders, of their illegitimate gains especially when financial troubles actually stare the state in its face, could not be pronounced as unjust. It is pleasant to read how Manu characterises these classes [4] as deceivers in open daylight and dishonest in their dealings. Surely this is an effective method of punishing their dishonesty. Under these circumstances to treat these taxes, if they are taxes at all, as oppressive or immoral, is,

---

1. पक्वं पक्वमिवारामात् फलं राज्यादवाप्नुयात् ।
आत्मच्छेदभयादामं वर्जयेत् कोपकारकम् ॥ V-2. (text)

2. अप्रदानैश्च देयानां अदेयानां च साधनैः ।
अरक्षणैश्च चोरेभ्यो स्वयं च परिमोषणैः ॥
विरक्तायान्त्यमित्रम् वा भर्तारं घ्नन्ति वा स्वयम् । VII-5. (text)

3. प्रत्युत्पन्न अर्थकृच्छ्रः । V-2. (text)

4. प्रकाशवञ्चकाः ॥ IX-257.

in our opinion, to misread the text. At the most they answer pertinently enough for the modern capitation tax, levy on capital, etc.

Similarly it is said that the Arthaśāstra recommends judicial torture for persons suspected of crimes whilst the Dharmaśāstra administers ordeals in doubtful cases. The fact is that ordeals of fire, water, etc., were used only for serious crimes and seditious acts.[1] Again its use was restricted to cases of transactions of not less than 1,000 paṇas. Instead of ordeals for doubtful cases, Kauṭalya recommends the more healthy method of inquiry and trial on evidence. When the accused could prove his innocence he must be acquitted.[2] And punishment shall be ordered after the guilt is quite proved and he quotes the classic instance of Māṇḍavya.[3] Action would be taken only in cases where the guilt is fully established beyond any shadow of doubt on the foundation of strong evidence.[4] Consideration in the same chapter is shown towards women, children, the aged and the afflicted. There was no indiscriminate punishment meted out. The eighteen methods of punishment under the general heading 'Karma' are certainly agreeable to Manu. He says[5] that limb of the body that was responsible for the guilt may be cut off in the interest of the kingdom. Again in inflicting punishments of banishment for Brahmin-culprits in the same chapter, he follows Mānava-Dharmaśāstra, where it is said अक्षतो ब्राह्मणो व्रजेत् VIII, 124.

To our knowledge then Kauṭalya seems nowhere to have recommended torture of any kind to 'suspected' persons. True it was used after the establishment of the guilt or when the culprit was caught in the act. Perhaps Dr. Shama Sastri's translation of वाक्यकर्मानुयोगे —the heading of the Chapter 8 of Bk. IV as "trial and torture to elicit confession," might have been partly responsible for such unwarranted statements. A proper and more apt rendering would be "examination on evidence and action to be taken thereon." There is no mention in any place in the chapter under discussion where torture is used *to elicit confession*, but on the other hand, to advert to what has been said already, its application was only to avowed culprits. This is something akin to the modern practice of the jury pronouncing guilty or not-guilty (वाक्यानुयोग)

1. नासहस्राद्धरेत् फालं न विषं न तुलां तथा ।
नृपार्थेष्वभियोगे च वहेयुः शुचयः सदा ॥ Y-II-101.

2. शङ्कानिष्पन्नमुपकरणमंत्रिसहायरूपवैयावृत्यकरान् निष्पादयेत् । text-IV-8.

3. तस्मात्समाप्तकरणं नियमयेत् । (do)

4. आप्तदोषं कर्मकारयेत् । (do)

5. येन येन यथाङ्गेन स्तेनो नृषु विचेष्टते ।
तत्तदेव हरेत्तस्य प्रत्यादेशाय पार्थिवः ॥ III-334.

and the judge deciding on the nature of punishment on the merits of the case. (कर्मानुयोग)

The next point raised by the learned German doctor equally falls to the ground when tested by the torchlight of the law-books. It is about the management of slaughter-houses in general. It is said that Manu has condemned it. But the truth is that Manu condemns not the management but the receiving of gifts by kings from such dealers.[1] Yājñavalkya, it goes without saying, strikes the same note.[2] The very fact that Manu draws attention to this shows the existence of such institutions, though adharmaic, prior to Manu at least. This premise granted, it is certainly open for the state, the custodian of the public health,—to bring them under its control and impose restrictions for their working lest they would be misused. A great statesman as he was, he realised its importance as affecting public weal and hence framed certain measures as befits a treatise on Arthaśāstra. It may be pointed out that in the matter of distinguishing good meat from bad offered for public sale, he is in line with Yājñavalkya who prescribes regulations to sell forbidden meat on pain of heavy penalty [3]

The eighth argument given is that in the family law the Arthaśāstra allows divorce on the ground of mutual dislike of husband and wife whilst Nārada has a ruling to the effect that it is sinful for a married couple to separate for that reason. This is also misrepresenting the author's view point. A careful reading of the text lays bare the truth and throws the argument overboard. It runs thus :

परस्परं द्वेषात् मोक्षः स्त्रीविप्रकाराद्वा पुरुषश्चेन्मोक्षमिच्छेन् नास्यै यथागृहीतमस्यै दद्यात् । पुरुषविप्रकाराद्वा स्त्रीचेन्मोक्षमिच्छेत् नास्यै यथा दद्यात् । अमोक्षो धर्मविवाहानाम् इति ।

The last sentence "*Amokṣo Dharmavivāhānam*" certainly implies that the previous sentences have only application to cases of Adharmaic marriages which are four in number out of the eight forms given. With regard to Dharmaic forms there is no divorce (अमोक्षो). This explicit statement is certainly a thoughtful commentary on the ruling of Nārada which Dr. Jolly mentions.

---

1. दशसूनासहस्राणि यो वाहयति सौनिकः ।
तेन तुल्यस्मृतो राजा घोरस्तस्यप्रतिग्रहः ॥ IV-86.

2. प्रतिग्रहे सूनिचक्रिध्वजवेश्यानराधिपाः ।
दुष्टा दशगुणं पूर्व्वात् पूर्व्वादेते यथोत्तरम् ॥ I-141.

3. कूटस्वर्णव्यवहारीविमांसस्य च विक्रयी ।
त्र्यङ्गहीनन्तु कर्तव्यो दाप्यश्चोत्तमसाहसम् ॥ II-300.

One more minor point and the last in that category of criticism is that the Arthaśāstra allows remarriage of women in the case of protracted absence of husbands, but it is reprobated in the majority of law-books. Important writers whose opinions are valid and authoritative, such as Manu, Yājñavalkya, etc., have sanctioned this. This remarriage, if it could be so called, is with a younger brother of her husband, and failing him, with a *sapinḍa* or a *sagotra*. Kauṭalya concludes this portion of the text with the pregnant sentence आसन्नंएतेषां । एष एव क्रमः । meaning thereby that this has been so ordained by the Smṛtikartas of old. (III, 4). [1] But it would not be out of place to mention in passing that such rulings as these have been prohibited in the Kaliyuga Dharma by the revered sages and seers of yore lest the confusion of evil become worse confounded.

Thus I have endeavoured to expose the arrant criticisms that are rapidly gaining ground both in this country and in the West to spoil the fair name of a moral-abiding statesman. We would be certainly doing a great injustice to that talented Pandit politician, (Mr. K. P. Jayaswal in his appendix (C). P. 205, Part I of his latest work Hindu Polity discusses this point very ably), who has endeavoured his best to compile an Arthaśāstra from the scattered materials available during his time. In such a comprehensive study of every branch of administration, the beauty is that the great author has not swerved even an inch from the already beaten track of Dharmaśāstras. Kauṭalya is not concerned with any particular method but views the Rājadharma in all its aspects. A student of historical literature could make a distinction between Rājadharma and Rājarṣidharma. The latter is purely idealistic and based on the very letter of Śāstras. The former may sacrifice the letter to a little extent but never the spirit. A typical example of a Rāja and a Rājarṣi would make this manifestly clear. Duryodhana was a Rāja and Yudhiṣṭhira was a Rājarṣi. Śrī Rāma was aware of this when he speaks of Rājadharma as Adharma but partaking also of the character of Dharma.[2] Thus the charges framed against Kauṭalya, though in appearance Adharma, are really Dharmaic in the light of that immortal verse of the Rāmāyaṇa. Uniformly the author has shown that he is not only a 'pandit' but something more. This tradition of pandit-

1. देवराद्वा सपिण्डाद्वा स्त्रियासंयङ्नियुक्तया ।
प्रजेप्सिताधिगन्तव्या संतानस्य परिक्षये ॥ IX-59- (Manu)

प्रोषितो धर्मकार्यार्थं प्रतीक्ष्योऽष्टौ नरः समाः ।
विद्यार्थं षड् यशोऽर्थं वा कामार्थं त्रींस्तु वत्सरान् ॥ IX-76 (Manu)

2. क्षात्रधर्ममहं त्यक्ष्ये ह्यधर्मं धर्मसंहितम् ।
क्षुद्रैर्नृशंसैः लुब्धैश्च सेवितं पापकर्मभिः ॥ Ayod.-109.20.

statesman continued to very recent times. We meet them often in the Gupta inscriptions and still later we have Hemādri, a paṇḍit and at the same time a foreign secretary, to the Maharatha king, Yādava Mahādeva.

In conclusion we would say a few words about the views of the Italian critic and scholar G. B. Botazzi. In his work Kauṭalya is said to have been spoken of as the Macchiavelli of India. According to Dr. Winternitz, Dr. Kalidas Nag repudiates the comparison of Kauṭalya with Macchiavelli in his recent work "The Diplomatic theories of Ancient India and the Arthaśāstra", in French. Dr. Winternitz takes the other view and thinks that "the designation of Kauṭalya as the "Indian Macchiavelli" seems perfectly justified in so far as both of them teach political methods from an amoralistic point of view." (Vide Viśvabhārti Quarterly, October 1923). Those who have studied the theories of both Macchiavelli and Kauṭalya would not but resist the conclusion that Kauṭalya stands no comparison with the western political theorist. First our distinguished author is no originator of any new system of political science. He himself admits that his work is a compiliation of the various and varied works of his predecessors, and as such claims no originality of his own, except giving definite shape to the multitudinous conflicting systems existing. [1]

Secondly Kauṭalya's study is not narrow, limited and confined to certain aspects of polity as Machiavelli's undoubtedly is. It displays a wider range of study of every possible aspect of public administration. Limitations of any kind do not embarass our author. He is free in his explanations, and catholic in presenting his views. In fine his treatise leaves nothing to be desired. Thirdly, the ideal in Kauṭalya is not territorial aggrandisement but conquest with a higher aim in view. The Hindu ideal has all along been that the conquest of the earth was the means towards the realising of the end, namely the attainment of heaven. This has been demonstrated by the author in season and out of season. Lastly Kauṭalya has nowhere sacrificed religious or moral principles towards his one end, namely, public welfare. The myth of immoral state-craft and the illusion of unscrupulous methods in politics have been disillusioned by examining the unjust attacks made by scholars of both the East and the West. With Mr. Ganapati Sastri we conclude "it is evident that Kauṭalya was indebted to the Smṛtis and his position in respect of the Smṛtis was that of a commentator".[2] Thus Kauṭalya was not Machiavelli in any sense, nor his treatise, the undying work of Arthaśāstra, a '*secular one.*'

---

1. सर्वशास्त्राण्यनुक्रम्य प्रयोगानुपलभ्य च ।
कौटल्येन नरेन्द्रार्थे शासनस्य विधिः स्मृतः ॥ II.10 (text)

2. Introduction to Part I of Kautalya Arthaśāstra (Trivandrum series).

X.—Sociology, Ethnology and Folklore.

GOTRA AND PRAVARA AND THEIR INCIDENCE ON MARRIAGE.

BY

PROF. K. RANGACHARI, M.A., B.L., VIJAYANAGARAM.

A very interesting sociological fact connected with the Hindu society is the division of the dvija castes into groups called Gotras. Following the dvija castes, the other communities notably the Śūdras have followed the same practice ; these Gotras do not indicate the descent, as is alleged in the case of Brahmins from a Ṛṣi-ancestor, but simply are the names of plants or objects like plough, scythe, etc. The Gotras of the Śūdras according to some sociologists indicate the existence once of totemistic divisions amongst them which have been readily converted into Gotras, based on Brahmnical practices. The Gotra of the Hindus corresponds to the gens of the Romans, indicating similar practices amongst the races of the Āryan family. The tracing of descent through the male ancestor seems to be the foundation for the institution of the Gotra. Pāṇini says "अपत्यं पौत्रप्रभृतिगोत्रम्" But this definition seems to have undergone much modification in the course of ages.

Baudhāyana defines Gotra thus :—

सप्तानां ऋषीणाम् अगस्त्यष्टमानां यदपत्यं तद्गोत्रम् ॥

"The offspring of the seven Ṛṣis with Agastya as the eighth is called Gotra". The Saptarṣis are:

1. Viśvāmitra, 2. Jamadagni, 3. Bharadvāja, 4. Gautama, 5. Atri, 6. Vasiṣṭha, 7. Kāśyapa,

The commentators explain :—

एषां यत्पुत्रपौत्राद्यपत्यमृषिभूतं तत्पूर्वभाविनां अनन्तरभाविनां च गोत्रमित्यर्थः । ऋषित्वं मन्त्रद्रष्टृत्वम् ॥

[प्रवरमञ्जरी ॥]

"The sons and grandsons and previous and succeeding generations of a Ṛṣi form a Gotra. A Ṛṣi (for this purpose) is one who is a "*Mantradraṣṭā*". Thus the families of certain great Ṛṣis came to be known by their names and these Ṛṣis became Gotrakārins. Gotra according to this text then means a family just like Kula. The Brahmins like others were proud of their ancestry and like the peerage of England the Brahmin peerage of India was formed. The Āryan Brahmins thus

showed the love of their ancestors and their pride in them by perpetuating their names as those of founders of families or Gotrakārins (गोत्रकारिणः). The outcome not only of this legitimate pride in their great ancestors but of certain practices connected with the Vedic ritual, was the perpetuation of the names of certain Ṛṣis. This remarkable peerage based not on possessions or wealth but the authorship of Vedic hymns was not exclusively confined to the Brahmins but included the Kṣatriyas and the Vaiśyas.

Gotra perhaps in very early times depended on community of blood; but it is certain that later on this community of blood became fictitious. Apart from these eight Ṛṣ's above-mentioned two others have attained to this high eminence that of Gotrakārins, *viz.*, Bhṛgu and Angirasa. In accepting these two Ṛṣis as Gotrakārins it is observed :—

बोधायनोक्तिस्तु अनुवादत्वात् उपलक्षणं तेन भृग्वङ्गिरोगणेषु सप्तर्षिभिन्नत्वेपि अधिकाराद्गोत्रत्वम् ॥

" The saying of Baudhāyana, being a repetition of what others have said is not exhaustive but illustrative. The Bhṛgu-Angirasa groups even though they do not belong to those of the Saptarṣis and are not included in them, have attained recognition (like those of the Saptarṣis mentioned above.)

As I have said before, by a fiction a man was permitted to acquire a Gotra. Thus we find,

अथ असंप्रज्ञातबन्धुः आचार्यामुष्यायणमनुप्रब्रवीत । आचार्यप्रवरं वृणीत ॥ (प्रवरमञ्जरी)

and further.

गोत्रस्यापरिज्ञाने काश्यपं गोत्रमिष्यते ॥

[प्रवरदर्पणम्]

" When the relations are unknown (*i.e.*, when the Gotra is unknown) a man may adopt that of the Ācārya". " If the Gotra is unknown, Kāśyapa Gotra may be adopted." A famous case was that of the son of Jābāla, mentioned in Chāndogya Upaniṣad. Satyakāma was the son of Jābāla. He approached Gautama with a request to take him as his disciple. On being questioned by Gautama as to his father and not knowing him he asked his mother Jābālā about his father. She replied that she was free in her amours and that she was not sure of his progenitor. Satyakāma declared this fact to Gautama who being pleased with his truthfulness initiated him and gave him his own Gotra. Baudhāyana observes :—

यानुत्पादयते, यानुपनयते, यानध्यापयते, यान्याजयते ते तस्य पुत्राः भवन्ति ॥

"Those who are begotten by him, those who receive their initiation at his hands, those who receive their Vedic instruction from him those at whose sacrifices he officiates, then those are his (begetter's, initiator's, teacher's or sacrificer's) sons." Thus by this fictitious extension of sonship, people were permitted to adopt the Gotra of an Ācārya, purohit, etc. Not birth only but discipleship also was then one mode by which a man acquired a Gotra.

The other term that demands explanation is Pravara. It is defined as follows :—

आहवनीयस्याग्नेः हव्यवाहनाम्नः सप्तर्षीणां अगस्त्यष्टमानां अपत्यसम्बन्धेन तत्सादृश्यसम्बन्धेन वा प्रकर्षेण वरणानि प्रार्थनानि प्रवराः । इतोयजमानादूर्ध्वान् ऋषीन् सङ्कीर्त्य तद्वत् तद्वदिति तत्सादृश्यसम्बन्धेन आहवनीयं वृणीते इत्यर्थः ॥

तस्य अग्नेराहवनीयस्य प्रकर्षेण प्रार्थनानि तैस्तैर्मन्त्रदृग्भिरेकद्वित्रिपञ्चसंख्याकैर्विशिष्टानि एकार्षेयद्व्यार्षेयत्र्यार्षेयाः पञ्चार्षेयाः प्रवराः इत्युच्यते ॥

In Vedic sacrifices, Agni (Havyavāhana) is the carrier of libations and therefore when the sacred fire is to be consecrated he must be invoked. After the consecration of the sacred fire the Hotā and the Adhvaryu declare that the Yajamāna or the sacrificer is as worthy as his famous Ṛṣi ancestors to offer sacrifices to Gods and thus they invite Agni or Havyavāhana to carry his libations just as he did those of his great Ṛṣi ancestors and this invocation came to be called Pravara. That the invitation is not to the ancestors but to Agni must be borne in mind ; and that the ritual connected with Vedic sacrifice is the cause of Pravara is certain.

The names to be included in the initiation may be one, two, three or five but not four or greater than five.

एकं वृणीते, द्वौ वृणीते, त्रीन्वृणीते न चतुरो वृणीते पञ्च वृणीते न पञ्चातिवृणीते ॥

1. The following are from Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa which go to show that Pravara found its application in Vedic Ritual.

अथार्षेयं प्रवृणीते । ऋषिभ्यश्चैवैनमेतद्देवेभ्यश्च निवेदयत्ययं माहावीर्यो यो यज्ञं प्रापदिति । तस्मादार्षेयं प्रवृणीते ॥ परस्तादर्वाक्प्रवृणीते: । परस्ताद्ध्यर्वाञ्च्य: प्रजा: प्रजायन्ते । ज्यायसस्पतय उच्चैवेनं निह्नुत इदं हि स पितैवाग्रेऽथ पुत्रोऽथ पौत्रस्तस्मात् परस्तादर्वाक् प्रवृणीते—इति ॥ का १ ॥ अ ३४ ॥ सू ३४४ ॥

Bahudhāyana, Āpastamba and most of the Smṛtikartas say this. But Jaimini differs from them and he says

अत्र्यार्षेयस्य ह्रानं स्यादधिकारात् ।

The Adhvaryu recites backwards from the descendants to the ancestor and the Hotā from the ancestor to the descendants, *viz.*,

भार्गवच्यावनाप्नवानौर्वेजामदग्न्येति होतावृणीते जमदग्निवदूर्ववदप्नवानवच्च्यवनवद्भृगुवदित्यध्वर्युः ॥

The use of the suffix is an indication that Agni is asked to look upon the Yajamāna or sacrificer as Jamadagni or Urva or Āpnavāna or Cyavana or Bhṛgu, those famous men of his family who were Mantrakartas. But there seems to be a solitary exception to this, for it is said :

कातीयभिन्नशाखीयाऽध्वर्यूणां होतृप्रतिलोम्येन वरणम् ।

Mr. Vaidya wonders whether there is any connexion between the number of sacred fires (as Tretāgnis or Pañcāgnis) and the number of Ṛṣis included in invocations to sacred fire, *i.e.*, Pravara. Whether a man is an Ekārṣeya or Dvyārṣeya or Tryārṣeya or Pañcārṣeya if he is a Somayāji must maintain the Tretāgni and if he enters upon the Vānaprasthāśrama, he should maintain five sacred fires. There seems to be no connexion between the number of Ṛṣis a man has in his Pravara and the number of sacred fires he has to maintain and sacrifice in as the latter solely depend upon the sacrifices he has performed and the stage of life which he embraces. But according to Āpastamba we learn that there is some connexion between the number of Ṛṣis in a man's Pravara and the number of Śikhas he wears upon his head. For in the Ācārya's Gṛhyasūtra we find :—

अपरेणाग्निं प्राञ्चमुपवेश्य त्रेण्या शलल्या त्रिभिर्दर्भपुञ्जीलैः शलालुग्लप्सेनेति तूष्णीं केशान्विनीय यथर्षिशिखानिदधाति ॥ The Commentary runs thus:—यथर्षि यावन्त ऋषयस्स्वप्रवरे तावतीश्शिखानिदधाति । एकर्षेयस्यैकाशिखा त्र्यार्षेयस्य द्वे इत्यादि ॥

So far we have considered the meanings of Gotra and Pravara and then the question about their inter-relationship arises. What then is the connection between Gotra and Pravara ? It is made clear by Baudhāyana thus :

एक एव ऋषिर्यावत्प्रवरेष्वनुवर्तते ।
तावत्समानगोत्रत्वमन्यत्र भृग्वङ्गिरोगणात् ॥
त्रीयमाणतथावापि सत्तयावानुवर्तनम् ।
एकस्य दृश्यते यत्र तद्गोत्रं तस्य उच्यते ॥

With the exception of the groups of Bhṛgu and Aṅgiras in the rest the commonness of even one Ṛṣi between the Pravaras of two persons of different Gotras, makes them Samānagotras. But with regard to these two exceptional cases we find:

पञ्चानां त्रिषु सामान्यादविवाहस्त्रिषु द्वयोः ।
भृग्वाङ्गिरेगणेष्वेव शेषेष्वेकश्चिवारयेत् ॥

Amongst the Bhṛgu and Aṅgiras groups, the commonness of one Ṛṣi amongst the Pravaras of persons belonging to two different Gotras, if such be Tryārṣeyas, does not make them Samānagotras. Also two common Ṛṣis between the Pravaras of persons belonging to two different Gotras do not make them Samānagotras if they be Pañcārṣeyas. The commonness of one Ṛṣi between the Pravaras of persons belonging to the eight Gotras named after the eight Ṛṣis, Viśvāmitra, etc., brings in Samānagotratvam. But in the case of Bhṛgu and Aṅgiras groups it is different as is shown above.

There is another curious fact concerning Bhṛgu and Aṅgiras. Bhṛgu and Aṅgiras are not included among the eight Gotrakārins. Jamadagni, a descendant of Bhṛgu takes his place and Bharadvāja and Gautama, descendants of Aṅgiras occupy his place. But there is Purāṇic tradition to show that Bhṛgu and Aṅgiras were once Gotrakārins. In the Matsya Purāṇa we find

मन्वन्तरेऽस्मिन्सम्प्राप्ते पूर्वं वैवस्वते तथा ।
अश्वमेधे सुवितते ब्रह्मणः परमेष्ठिनः ॥
महादेवस्य शापेन त्यक्तदेहान्स्वयं ततः ॥
ऋषयस्ते समुद्भूता हुते शुक्रे यथेच्छया ।
देवानां मातरो दृष्ट्वा देवपत्न्यस्तथैव च ॥
स्कन्नं शुक्रं महाराज ब्रह्मणः परमेष्ठिनः ।
तज्जुहाव ततो ब्रह्मा ततो जातो हुताशनः ॥
ततो जातो महातेजा भृगुश्च तपसांनिधिः ।
अङ्गारेष्वङ्गिरा जातो ह्यर्चिभ्योऽत्रिस्तथैव च ॥

मरीचिभ्यो मरीचिस्तु ततो जातो महातपाः ।
केशैस्तु कपिशैर्जातः पुलस्त्यस्तु महातपाः ॥
केशैः प्रलम्बैः पुलहस्ततो जातो महायशाः ।
वसुमध्यात्समुत्पन्नो वसिष्ठश्च तपोधनः ॥

Thus according to this tradition the following seven Brahmarṣis came into existence at a sacrifice of Brahma.

1. Bhṛgu, 2. Aṅgiras, 3. Marīci, 4. Atri, 5. Pulaha, 6. Pulastya, 7. Vasiṣṭha.

With regard to Bhṛgu and his descendants in Matsyapurāṇa we find the following geneology :—

Bhṛgu.
|
Cyavana.
|
Āpnavāna.
|
Aurva.
|
Jamadagni.

In reference to Aṅgiras we have two Ṛṣis taking his place amongst the now current eight Gotrakārins The connected geneologies as declared in Matsyapurāṇa are

Aṅgiras.
|
Bṛhaspati.
|
Bharadvāja.
|
Garga. — Amahiya.

Aṅgiras.
|
Bṛhaspati. Gautama. Ucatya. Samvarta. Vāmadeva. Ayasya. Uśija.

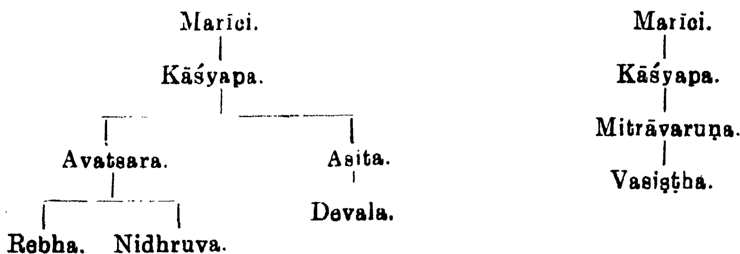
Ucatya.
|
Dīrghatamas or Gautama (one of the Saptarṣis.) — Gotama.

In the Matsyapurāṇa we find:

मरीचितनयाराजन्सुरूपानामविश्रुता ।
भार्या साऽङ्गिरसोदेवास्तस्याः पुत्रा दशस्मृताः ॥
आत्मा ह्यायुर्मनो दक्षो दमः प्राणस्तथैव च ।
हविष्मांश्च गविष्ठश्च ऋतुस्सत्यश्च ते दश ॥
इत्येतेऽङ्गिरसो नाम देवा वै सामगायिनः ।
सुरूपा जनयामास ऋषीन्सर्वेश्वरानिमान् ॥
बृहस्पतिं गोतमं च संवर्तं च महाऋषिम् ।
अयास्यं वामदेवं च उचथ्यमुशिजं तथा ॥
तेषां गोत्रसमुत्पन्नान्गोत्रकारान्निबोधमे ।
उचथ्यो गौतमश्चैव नैलेयोभिजितस्तथा ॥

With regard to the former, we have:

आङ्गिरास्तु महातेजा देवाचार्यो बृहस्पतिः ।
भारद्वाजस्तथा गर्गस्सैन्यश्च भगवानृषिः ॥



Mr. Vaidya refers to another tradition, that of the Mahābhārata. He writes "But a very curious but important śloka in the Mahābhārata states that originally the Gotras were four only, *viz.*, Bhṛgu, Vasiṣṭha, Kāśyapa and Aṅgiras. This and the next śloka are as follows:—

मूलगोत्राणि चत्वारि समुत्पन्नानि भारत ।
अङ्गिराः कश्यपश्चैव वसिष्ठो भृगुरेव च ॥

Then between the seven Brahmarṣis of Matsyapurāṇa and the four according to Mahābhārata, Bhṛgu, Aṅgiras and Vasiṣṭha are common. Marīci in the one corresponds to his descendant Kāśyapa in the other. Atri of the Matsya list remains amongst the Gotrakārins. With regard to Pulaha and Pulastya, it is observed in Matsyapurāṇa.

क्रतुः खल्वनपत्योऽस्मिन् राजन्वैवस्वतेऽन्तरे ।
इध्मवाहं सपुत्रत्वे जग्राह ऋषिसत्तमः ॥
अगस्त्यपुत्रं धर्मज्ञं आगस्त्याः क्रतवस्ततः ।
पुलहस्य तथा पुत्रास्त्रयश्च पृथिवीपते ॥
तेषां ते जन्मवक्ष्यामि उत्तरत्र यथाविधि ।
पुलहस्तां प्रजां दृष्ट्वा नाति प्रीतमनास्त्वकाम् ॥
अगस्त्यजं दृढच्युतं पुत्रत्वे वृतवांस्ततः ।
पौलहाश्च तथा राजन्नागस्त्याः परिकीर्तिताः ॥
पुलस्त्यान्वयसम्भूतान् दृष्ट्वारक्षस्समुद्भवान् ।
अगस्त्यस्य सुतं धीमान् पुत्रत्वे वृतवांस्तथा ॥
पौलस्त्याश्च तथा राजन्नागस्त्याः परिकीर्तिताः ॥

Here again is a curious fact. Pulaha and Pulastya having adopted sons of Agastya, are now counted amongst the Agastyas.

There is an important fact which demands mention, *viz.*, the practice which once obtained in relation to the formation of the Pravara of a Dvyāmuṣyāyaṇa. It is observed by Kātyāyanalaugākṣi.,

व्याख्याताः प्रवराः उत्पत्तीः प्रतिपत्तीश्च । व्याख्यास्यामोऽथोत्रिविधा ब्राह्मणानांसमुत्पत्तयो भवन्ति । उत्पत्तिकुलीनाः संहतकुलीनाः द्व्यामुष्यायणकुलीनाश्च । येषां पुरुषतः प्रजोत्पत्तिरविच्छिन्ना भवति ते उत्पत्तिकुलीनाः । ये सप्तभूयः पञ्चपुरुषं योनिश्रुतशीलवृत्तसंपन्नाश्श्रुतवन्तः पितृमातृसन्तत्या ऋत्य आर्षेयाः ते संहतकुलीनाः । आर्त्विजीना भवन्ति । अथ दत्तकक्रीतकृत्रिमपुत्रिकापुत्राः परपरिग्रहेणानार्षेया जाताः ते द्व्यामुष्यायणा भवन्ति । यथैतच्छौङ्गशैशिरीणां भारद्वाजौदमेघानां लौगाक्षीणां यानि च अन्यान्येवं समुत्पत्तीनि भवन्ति तेषां तथैव प्रवरास्स्युः । द्विप्रवरसन्निपाते पूर्वः प्रवरः उत्पादयितुः, उत्तरः परिग्रहीतुः । अपि वा तयोन्येत्रयोन्ये तत्र तथा कुर्यात् न पञ्चातिप्रवृणीत इति ह्याह त्रीनेवपञ्चवाप्रवृणीयात् । अथ यदि पितृव्येण ज्ञातिनैकार्षेयेण जातास्तेसंहतकुलीनाः परिग्रहीतुरेव भवन्ति ॥

"The origin and the acquirement of Brahminhood we will explain. Thus the Brahmanas are born in three ways: they are Utpattikulīnas, Sāmantakulīnas and Dvyāmuṣyāyaṇakulīnas. Those whose descent through males is unbroken are Utpattikulīnas. Those who for seven or five generations are born of well-born mothers possess learning and are of

good conduct and those who are on either father's or mother's side connected with Ṛṣis, those are known as Saṃhatakulīnas and they are fit for the duties of a Ṛtvik. Those like the Kṛtrima, Dattaka, Kṛtaka and Putrikāputra, who by being taken away by others, lose the Pravaras of the families into which they are born, are called Dvyāmuṣyāyaṇas; for instance, Śṛṅgaśaiśiri, Bharadvājaudamegha and Logākṣi and some others like these have their Pravaras as given above. In the case of Dvyārṣeyas, the first is due to the begetter's and the other to the fictitious father in the case in which the Pravaras are three (of the fictitious father) and three (of the begetter) the same should be followed only observing that the number of the Pravaras does not exceed five."

But this practice does not seem to be uniform, for it is said :

सर्वे प्रवराचार्याः सर्वगोत्राणां मध्ये शृङ्गशैशिरिप्रभृतीन्येव कानिचित् गोत्राणिद्व्यामुष्यायणानि उदाहृत्य तेषामेव द्वयोः गोत्रयोः प्रवरानाहुः । नान्येषां । पितृगोत्रप्रवरानेव अन्येषामाहुः । अतः सत्यपिमातृगोत्राभिप्रायेण द्विगोत्रत्वेप्रवराः पितृगोत्रविषया एवेति अवगच्छामः ॥

"All the Ācāryas who wrote on Pravara, amongst all Dvyāmuṣyāyaṇa Gotras like Sṛṅga and Śaiśiri mentioned only those two and gave only their Pravaras and not of any other; they declare for the rest the Pravaras of the (fictitious) father only."

The following have been famous amongst Dvyāmuṣyāyaṇa Gotras. Matsyapurāṇa says :

अतः परं प्रवक्ष्यामि द्व्यामुष्यायणगोत्रजान् ।
अनुष्ठेयाभिकुरयस्तानयोराजवन्नयः ।
सैरुषीरोदबर्हिश्च सैरन्ध्रीरूपवत्साकिः ।
साम्राकिः साद्रुपिङ्गाक्षिः सजातम्बिस्तथैव च ।
दिवावाशिष्ठा इत्येते नक्तंकेयाश्च कश्यपाः ॥

"I will now declare those who are born of Dvyāmuṣyāyaṇa Gotras. They are :—Anuṣṭheyas, Abhikurayas, Tānayas, Rājavannayas, Sairaṣis, Rodabarhis, Sairandhris, Rūpavatsakis, Sāmrākis, Sadrupingākṣis, and Sajātambis. They are of Vasiṣṭha Gotra during the day time and of Kāśyapa Gotra during the night time." What exactly this fact signifies it is not easy to see. But there is the curious fact itself.

We will now examine the Pravaras of Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas, the remaining two sub-divisions of dvijas. It is a notorius fact that amongst them there is a confusion about the Gotras and Pravaras which time has worked to make them only more confounded. In very early times,

Kṣatriyas were also founders of Gotras, and it is clear that they have become the Gotras and Pravaras of Brahmanas.

In the HARIVAMŚA, we find that Dunaka, descendant of Purūrava, and that Mitrāyu, Mudgala and Kaṇva, descendants of Duṣyanta, founded Gotras and were accepted as Brahmarṣis.

काशश्शलश्च द्वावेतौ तथा गृत्समदः प्रभुः ।
पुत्रो गृत्समदस्यापि शुनको यस्य शौनकाः ॥
ब्राह्मणाः क्षत्रियाश्चैव वैश्याश्शूद्रास्तथैव च ॥
पुत्रः पथिरथस्यासीत् कण्वस्समभवन्नृप ।
मेधातिथिस्सुतस्तस्य यस्मात् काण्वायना द्विजाः ॥

In the same Purāṇa, we find that the Bāleyas whose Gotra has been given by all Pravarācāryas were descended from a Kṣatriya.

महायोगी स तु बलिः बभूव नृपतिः पुरा ।
पुत्रानुत्पादयामास पञ्चवंशकरान्भुवि ॥
अङ्गः प्रथमतो जज्ञे वङ्गस्सुम्हस्तथैव च ।
पुण्ड्रः कलिङ्गश्च तथा बालेयं क्षत्रमुच्यते ।
बालेयाः ब्राह्मणाश्चैव तस्य वंशकरा भुवि ॥

In the ViṣṇuPurāṇa we find that Aṅgirasa was descended from Māndhātā, a Kṣatriya.

अम्बरीषस्य मान्धातृतनयस्य युवनाश्वः पुत्रोऽभवत् । तस्माद्धारितः । यतोऽङ्गिरसोहारीताः ॥

Āpastamba declares :

अथ क्षात्रियाणां यद्यु ह स्वान्वृणीते एक एवैषां प्रवरः मानवैलपौरूरवसेति । एषामु ह मन्त्रकृतो न स्युः सपुरोहितप्रवराः ते प्रवृणीरन् । अथ येषां स्युरपुरोहितप्रवराः ते सपुरोहितप्रवरास्त्वेवंन्यायेन ॥

"Thus to the Kṣatriyas who invovke through their own Ṛṣis, there is only one Pravara, *viz.*, Mānava, Aila, Paurūravasa : those who have no Mantrakartas (in their family) they have the Pravara of their Purohits. Even those whose Pravara is not that of their Purohits they even by the same reason have the Pravara of their Purohits." The reason above referred to is explained by commentators like this :

कः पुनः—न्यायोऽभिप्रेतः । सोऽयमुच्यते । सर्वेषां पुरोहितस्य विद्यमानत्वात् । तेन च विना कर्मानधिकारात् । आत्मीयप्रवरपक्षे सर्वेषां समानप्रवरत्वाद्विवाहः प्रसज्यत इति न्यायः ॥

"What then is the reason referred to? The following is declared. All of them have Purohits for without them they have not the right to perform Vedic rites. With regard to the question of their own Pravara, on account of the same Pravara, marriage becomes impossible is the reason".

Baudhāyana declares :—

क्षत्रियाणां त्र्यार्षेयो भवति । मानवैलपौरूरवसेति होता पुरूरवोवदिलवन्मनुवदित्यध्वर्युः ॥

"The Pravara of the Kṣatriyas consists of three Ṛṣis" Mānava, Aila, Paurūravasa." thus invokes the Hotā; "like Purūrava, like Ila, like Manu", the Adhvaryu invokes."

Āśvalāyana declares :—

पुरोहितप्रवरो राज्ञाम् अथ यदि सार्ष्टं प्रवृणीरन्मानवैलपौरूरवसेति ॥

"The Kṣatriyas have the Pravara of their Purohits or priests. But if they invoke the (sacred) Āhavanīya fire (through their own Ṛṣis) they do it chanting "Mānava, Aila, Paurūravasa."

Kātyāyanalaugākṣ observes :

पुरोहितप्रवरो राज्ञाम् ।———यदि स ऋषीन्प्रवृणीयात् मानवैलपौरूरवसेति ब्रूयात् ॥

The Pravara of Kṣatriyas is that of their Purohits. If a Kṣatriya invokes the sacred fire through his Ṛṣis, he should say Mānava, Aila, Paurūravasa."

Though we find Purāṇic tradition declaring strongly that a respectable number of the Gotra Ṛṣis were of Kṣatriya parentage, yet by the time that these works were written, these Kṣatriya founders of Gotras were accepted as Brahmins. By the time then of these Sūtras, the Gotra and Pravara tradition must have been so far altered as to have forgotten the Kṣatriya founders of the Gotras. Also the Pravara that is entirely composed of Kṣatriyas is Mānava, Ila, Paurūravasa. With regard to the Pravara of Vaiśyas we find many confusing statements made by the Gotrācāryas. For instance Baudhāyana declares :

वैश्यानां त्र्यार्षेयप्रवरो भवति । भालन्दन-वात्सप्रि-मांकीलेति ॥

"To the Vaiśyas there is only one Tryārṣeya-Pravara, *viz.*, Bhālandana, Vātsapri and Mānkīla."

Āpastamba on the other hand observes:—

एकार्षेया विशो वात्सप्रीति ॥

"The Vaiśyas are Ekārṣeyas or have one Ṛṣi-Pravara, *viz.*, Vātsapri."

It is declared by Kātyāyanalaugākṣi that

पुरोहितप्रवरौ राज्ञां एतनैव वैश्यप्रवरो व्याख्यातः ॥

"The Kṣatriyas have the Pravaras of their Purohits and so is the case of Vaiśyas."

Further Baudhāyana and Āpastamba declare

मनुवदिति सर्वेषां गोत्राणाम् । मानव्यो हि प्रजा इति च विज्ञायते ॥

अथ ताण्डिन एकार्षेयं सार्ववर्णिकं समामनन्ति । मानवेति होता मनुवदित्यध्वर्युः । मानव्यो हि प्रजा इति हि ब्राह्मणमिति हि ब्राह्मणम् ॥

Thus there is one view according to which all members of the three regenerate castes are of one Pravara, *viz.*, Mānava. Kātyāyanalaugākṣi explains away the opposition between the declarations of the Ācāryas who talk of different Pravara and the same Pravara as existing for members of the three regenerate castes by saying

अपि हैके मानवेति मनुवदित्येकैकमार्षेयं सार्ववर्णिकं प्रवृणीते । कस्यहेतोरिति । मानव्यो हि प्रजा इति तदेतन्नोपपद्यते । न देवैर्न मनुष्यैरार्षेयं प्रवृणीते । तदेतदन्यत्र ब्राह्मणक्षत्रियाभ्यामितरासां प्रजानामुक्तं भवतीति ॥

that the Mānava Pravara belongs to people other than Brāhmaṇas and Kṣatriyas.

We have explained so far as explanation is possible, in a cursory manner Gotra and Pravara. We will now examine the incidence of Gotra and Pravara on marriage.

Manu declares that the bride should be

असापिण्डा च या मातुरसगोत्रा च या पितुः ।
सा प्रशस्ता द्विजातीनां दारकर्मणि मैथुने ॥

"And who is not a Sapiṇḍa of his mother, who (is) not also of the same tribe as his father; such an one is approved for twice-born men for marriage duties and intercourse."

Gautama declares :—

असमानप्रवरैर्विवाहः । ऊर्ध्वं सप्तमातृपितृबन्धुभ्यः ॥

"A marriage may be contracted between persons who have not the same pravaras."

"(and) who are not related within six degrees on the father's side, "or on the side of the begetter

"nor within four degrees on the mother's side.

Āpastamba declares :—

सगोत्राय दुहितरं न प्रयच्छेत् ॥

मातुश्च योनिसम्बन्धेभ्यः ॥

"He shall not give his daughter to a man belonging to the same family (Gotra)

"Nor to one related (within six degrees) on the mother's or (the father's) side.

Yājñavalkya declares :—

अविप्लुतब्रह्मचर्यो लक्षण्यां स्त्रियमुद्वहेत ।

अनन्यपूर्विकां कान्तां असपिण्डां यवीयसीम् ॥

अरोगिणीं भ्रातृमतीं असमानार्षगोत्रजाम् ॥

"He who has not lost his Brahamcarya, let him marry a girl of good parts, who has not been accepted or enjoyed by another, who is attractive in his sight, who is not a Sapiṇḍa of him and is a junior; who is free from irremediable disease, who has brothers, who is descended from sone whose Gotra and Pravara are different from his; and who is removed five degrees on the mother's and seven on the father's side."

Viṣṇu declares :—

न सगोत्रां न समानार्षप्रवरां भार्यां विन्देत् । मातृतः आपञ्चमात्पुरुषात् पितृतश्चासप्तमात् ॥

"No one should marry a woman belonging to the same Gotra or descended from the same Ṛṣi ancestors."

Vasiṣṭha :—

गृहस्थो विनीतक्रोधहर्षो गुरुणानुज्ञातः स्नात्वा असमानार्षामस्पृष्टमैथुनां यवीयसीं सदृशीं भार्यां विन्देत् । पञ्चमीं मातृबन्धुभ्यः सप्तमीं पितृबन्धुभ्यः ॥

"A householder, banishing anger or joy, being permitted by his preceptor and having bathed (on the termination of his studentship) should marry a maiden who has not the same Pravara, who has not known a male, who is younger, and of the same class, and who is (not within) the fifth (degree) on the mother's and the seventh on the father's side."

Śaṅkha declares :—

विन्देत विधिवद्भार्यां मसमानार्षगोत्रजाम् ।
मातृतः पञ्चमीं चापि पितृतस्त्वथ सप्तमीम् ॥

"One should marry a maiden according to proper rites who has neither the same Pravara, nor is of the same Gotra, and who is (not within) the fifth degree on the mother's and the seventh on the father's side."

Bṛhat Parāśara declares :—

पितुर्यत्र सगोत्रत्वं मातुर्यस्य सपिण्डता ।
न च तामुद्वहेत्कन्यां दारकर्मण्यनादृताम् ॥

"A maiden who is a Sagotra of the father, and who is a Sapiṇḍa of the mother should not be married, she not being accepted (as available) for marriage."

Thus it is clear that marriage is prohibited between persons of the same Gotra and Pravara. Baudhāyana enjoins :

सगोत्रां गत्वा चान्द्रायणं कुर्यात् । व्रते परिनिष्ठिते ब्राह्मणीं न त्यजेत् । मातृवत् भगिनीवत् । गर्भो न दुष्यति । कश्यप इति विज्ञायते ॥

"Having had sexual intercourse with a maiden of the same Gotra, one should perform Cāndrāyana penance. One should not abandon the Brahmin woman if the Vrata is complete. He should treat her like mother or sister. The issue (of such a union) is not condemned. It is of Kāśyapa Gotra." In the Abhinava Mādhavīya it is declared :—

मोहाद्गत्वा प्रतिगमं चरेच्चान्द्रायणं व्रतम् ।
गर्भश्चेत्काश्यपोऽयं स्यात् भारद्वाजोऽथ वा भवेत् ॥

"Having had sexual intercourse through error with a girl of the same Gotra and Pravara one should perform Cāndrāyaṇa. If there is off-spring (in consequence of such intercourse) then it becomes of the Kāśyapa or Bhāradvāja Gotra."

In the same strain the other Ṛṣis declare. We should now consider the antiquity of these prohibitions.

According to the writers on Sacred Law, these prohibitions hold with regard to the members of all the three regenarate castes. From the writing of Pravarācāryas it is clear that Kṣatriyas had at one time only one Trayārṣeya Pravara of their own as recognised by the Sūtrakāras and they were permitted to have the Pravara of their Purohits, the reason being given that otherwise marriages would have become impossible. The Vaiśyas also had one Pravara of their own, as Āpastamba says in no uncertain terms. Seeing then the difficulties that would arise in connexion with marriage, on account of Samānapravaratvam for all Vaiśyas, later Pravarācāryas, declared that the Vaiśyas also should follow the Kṣatriyas in having the Pravaras of their own Purohits. Thus there must have been a time, during which these restrictions on marriage due to Pravara and Gotra considerations did not exist in respect of relatively large numbers of members of regenerate castes.

Further then before the classification of all Gotras and Pravaras as we find at the present day took place, there were according to the Purāṇic tradition only a few Gotrakāras, amongst whom there was Aṅgirasa. Bharadvāja and Gautama were descendants of Aṅgirasa, and marriages betweeh persons of these Gotras have never been prohibited.

There are also the statements of Baudhāyana and Āpastamba that all people are of the same Pravara, *viz.*, Mānava. There is thus then a statement of ancient Pravarācāryas which would simply declare all marriages invalid and impossible amongst persons belonging to the three regenerate castes. To declare then that there is a Vaidika Pravara and different Laukika Pravara for persons would simply mean nothing for originally Pravara conception rose out of and for the purpose of Vedic rites. Difficulties and contradictions cropped up only when these divisions which once had nothing to do with marriage but solely with Vedic rites came to be applied to marriages also:

In the Vājasaneyaka we find,

तस्माद्वासमानादेवपुरुषान् अत्तावद्यश्च जायते । उत तृतीये सङ्गच्छावहै चतुर्थे सङ्गच्छावहै ॥

"From the same man are born both the enjoyer (male) and the enjoyed (female.) They say to each other 'counting from the same ancestor we shall unite either in the third or in the fourth degree." This text is utilized by Mādhava in his commentary on Parāśarasmṛti, to justify the Southern practice concerning the marriage of a person of the Dvija caste, with his maternal uncle's daughter. It is not clear from the above text that the Kūṭastha or the common ancestor spoken of is one on the mother's side only. Why it does not refer to the paternal ancestor is not clear. The author of Daśānirṇayī also quotes as from Parāśara-mādhavīya.

कुले कन्या प्रदानञ्चदेशेष्वन्येषु दृश्यते ॥

" The gift of a maiden into the same Gotra is also seen in other countries." It may be contended that the reference is to the practice of Mahomedans and Christians, but we submit that it has never been the practice of our Nibandhanakartas to refer to the customs of non-Hindu races. The prohibitions of marriage between persons of the same Gotra or Pravara do not seen to be Vedic but are relatively of more recent origin. Nor has the practice of marriage between members of the same Gotra amongst Brahmans disappeared. Dr. Fick mentions that Sagotra marriages do take place amongst the Sārasvat Brahmanas of the Punjab and another Brahman sect of the Central India, such marriages being perfectly valid amongst them.

At the close of the essay, we cannot do better than quote the author of the Pravaramañjarī who declares that the subject is full of inexplicable difficulties.

अत्र हि मानवे प्रवरकाण्डे सूत्रकाराणामभिप्रायाः पूर्वापरविरोधात् परस्परविरोधाच्च अत्यन्तदुरवबोधा इवावभान्ति । कथमितिचेत् । बोधायनेन तावदिमं सार्ववर्णिकं प्रवरमुक्त्वा न प्रतिषिद्धः वैशिकः प्रवरः । कात्यायनादिभिः सार्ववर्णिकं प्रवरं दूषयित्वा वैश्यविषयत्वेन उक्तस्सः । आपस्तम्बाद्यैस्तु दर्शपूर्णमासयोरिह वैशेषिकप्रवरानुक्त्वा अन्ते सार्ववर्णिकं प्रवरमुक्त्वा न प्रतिषिद्धं इति ॥

"In the Mānavapravarakāṇḍa, the opinions of Sūtrakāras on account of self-contradicting and mutually contradicting statements appear to be very difficult to understand. If it is asked how? Baudhāyana after declaring Mānava Pravara as common to all Varṇas, does not declare a different Pravara to the Vaiśyas. Kātyāyana and others condemning the theory of a common Pravara to all, interpret it as applying only to Vaiśyas. Āpastamba and others after mentioning

special Pravaras in connexion with Darśapūrṇamāsa at the end declare a Pravara common to all Varṇas and do not prohibit it."

It is seen that in the works of the ancient Pravarācāryas statements are found that all men have the same Pravara *viz.*, Mānava. It has not been possible for even the learned author of Pravaramañjarī to explain away the contradiction between this statement of Āpastamba and others with their other statements which mention different Pravaras. Kātyāyanalaugākṣi declares that Pravara (Mānava) belongs to the Vaiśyas alone while a different Pravara is given to them by Āpastamba and others. The tradition concerning Gotra and Pravara as found in Matsyapurāṇa differs from that of Mahābhārata and these two differ from the very widely prevalent tradition and practice of the present day.

It is curious to learn that there are Brahmin families who count seven, eight and eleven Ṛṣis amongst their Pravaras even though all Pravarācāryas definitely declare that under no circumstances there could be more than five Ṛṣis in a Pravara. How this practice has grown up we cannot say. But it is not surprising that Pravara which once found its use only in vedic sacrifices should later on lose its significance when most of these practices were given up, thus giving rise to practices which are in diametrical opposition to Śāstraic injunctions. A very systematic and close study of facts concerning Pravara as they obtain throughout this extensive land is sure to give us a good deal of interesting information about the division of divijas into these sub-groups with different Pravaras which leave an important learning on marriage regulations obtaining in the Society.

XI—Persian, Arabic and Urdu.

THE HUNS, WHO INVADED INDIA ; WHAT WAS THEIR RELIGION ?

BY

DR. JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI, B.A., PH.D., C. I. E.

This is the third paper, I am writing on the subject of the Huns. The first, I had the pleasure of writing for the R. G. Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume[1] under the title of " Hunas in Avesta and Pahlavi." The second was read before the B. B. R. A. Society on 25th August 1916 under the title of " The Early History of the Huns and their Inroads in India and Persia."[2] In the first of these two papers, I have referred, at the end, partly to the subject of this paper. The object of this paper is to speak at some length on the subject of the Religion of the Huns who invaded India.

I.

From where came the Huns who invaded India?

Before determining what the religion of the Huns who invaded India was, it is necessary to determine from where came the Huns to India. As said by Mr. Deguignes,[3] the History of the Huns is a history " of a nation almost ignored which established, at different times, powerful monarchies in Asia, Europe and Africa , . . . They had empires more extensive than that of Rome, illustrious emperors, legislators and conquerors who had given rise to considerable revolutions." It is the history of a nation which has " contributed to the destruction of the Roman Empire, ravaged France, Italy, Germany and all the countries north of Europe, ruined the empire of the Khalifs and possessed the Holy land." " Their Empire at one time extended in the West to Western Europe and in the East to China. They had relations with Chinese, Roman, Persian and Indian Empires."

The Origin of the Huns.

We will, at first, see who the Huns were. Like the name Turks the use of the name Huns is not definite or limited. " The first Turkish people men-

1. Vide the R. G. Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume (1917) pp. 65-80. Vide my " Memorial Papers" pp. 127-39.

2. Journal B. B. R. A. S. Vol. XXIV pp. 539-595. Vide my Asiatic Papers Part II pp. 293-349.

3. " I translate from the " Histoire Générale des Huns, des Turcs, des Mogols, et des autre Tartares Occidentaux &c. avant et depuis Jesus-Christ jusqu'a present ", par M. Deguignes (1756), Tome Premier, partie premiere, Preface page V.

tioned by the Chinese are", as said by Prof. M. Th. Houtsma[1], "the Hiong-Nu,[2] who wandering to the West, occupied the country south of the Altai mountains, and expelled (about 177 B. C.) the former occupants of those regions, the Yue-chi, Kangoi and Usun (U-ssun)-tribes of unknown nationality, but possibly also Turks. The Hiong-Nu were identified by Deguignes with the Huns, this denomination being used in a political or collective sense, and including, besides the Huns proper, the Ephthalites, or White Huns, Avars, Bulgars, Magyars, Khazars, and Petchenegs, who are styled by several scholars Hunnic or Scythian people............The Hiong-Nu are so to speak proto-Turks and the History of the Turks proper begins with the Tu-kiu, the Chinese equivalent of the word Turk." It is these Tu-Kiu who entered into friendly relations with Byzantium in the time of Justin II. Sinjibulus (Arab Sinjibu) their ruling prince at the time, destroyed the Empire of the Ephthalite or Haital tribe in the time of Khosru I.

The mythical Afrasiab the Afrāsciab of Firdousi's Schāihnāmeh was believed to have belonged to the Karluk section of the Turks. There were a number of "the so-called Afrāsiāb kings or Ilekkhans." Some kings of that name ruled at Kashgar even in the 10th Century A. C.

We thus see that there were Western Huns and the Eastern Huns.

Then, the question is : Who were the Huns, who invaded India ? Were they the Huns of the East or the Huns of the West ? From what particular country they came ? Our reply is that they were the Huns of the West They came from the direction of Persia. We will examine this question.

References to the Huns in Indian Books and Inscriptions and in a Chinese book.

We have reference to the Huns in two Indian books and several Inscriptions. The books are : (1) The Viṣṇu Purāṇa and (2) The Raghuvamśa of Kālidāsā. The Inscriptions are : (1) The Bhitari pillar of Victory of Skandagupta. (2) The three Inscriptions, bearing the name of the Hun king Toramana. (3) The two Inscriptions of Yaśodharman at Mandasor, known as *raṇa-stambhas* i. e. Columns of Victory in war,

1. Encyclopeadia Britannica Vol. 23. 9th Ed : p. 659.

2. "The Hiong-Nu of Chinese historians have often been described as a Turki race yet it is significant that Professor de-Lacouperie on investigating the point, came to the conclusion that the Hiong-Nu seem to have been a policy not a racial unity. (See Western origin of Chinese Civilization, p. 223, The Tarikh-i Roshidi, by Elias p. 87.)

The Reference in the Viṣṇu Purāṇa.

There are two references to the Huns in Viṣṇu Purāṇa in the third chapter of the second book.[1] (a) In the first, the writer while describing the Bhārata Varṣa (India) speaks of some principal nations, "in the extreme west." Among these nations, he includes the Huns. This reference shows, that they were Huns, not from the direction of China in the East but from somewhere in the East. Wilson says, that they were "the White Huns or Indo-Scythians, who were established in the Punjab and along the Indus at the commencement of our era as we know from Arian, Strabo and Ptolemy confirmed by recent discoveries of their coins."[2]

(b) The second reference is in the list of "ferocious and uncivilized races among whom he names "Hūṇas and Pārasīkas"[3]. The Pārasīkas are Parsees of Persia. Thus, when we find the Huns mentioned with the Pārasīkas of Persia, we have reason to take it, that the Huns, who are mentioned with the Parsees, were Huns from the direction of Persia where the the Pārasīkas lived.

Reference in the Raghuvaṁśa of Kālidāsa.

Kālidāsa refers to the Huns in his Raghuvaṁśa (Canto IV 68)[4]. Here the hero Raghu is represented as marching "against the regions of Kubera" and fighting against the Huns who were accompanied by their queens. Mallinātha, the commentator of the Raghuvaṁśa, says, that Kālidāsa meant to represent Raghu as marching against the country of the Huns. Here, we have no direct reference or allusion to guide us to determine who those Huns were and from where they came, from the East or the West. But the previous reference of the Viṣṇu Purāṇa leads us to say that the Huns referred to by Kālidāsa were also from the East, from the direction of Persia.

Two Invasions of India by the Huns in the reign of Skandagupta.

The reference to the Huns in the Viṣṇu Purāṇa and in the Raghuvaṁśa of Kālidāsa may be taken as unauthentic in the sense of not being identified with any historic period or historic personage. Irrespective of the question of the particular period to which the Huns referred to in these books belonged, we are not certain of the dates of the Viṣṇu Purāṇa and of Kālidāsa. But when we come to the references to the Huns in later inscription, we are on surer and more authentic grounds.

1. The Viṣṇu-Purāṇa, a system of Hindu Mythology and Tradition, translated from the Original Sanskrit, by H. H. Wilson (1840), pp. 177 and 194.

2. Ibid p. 177, n. 6.

3. Ibid p. 194.

4. The Raghuvaṁśa of Kālidāsa with a commentary of Mallinātha, by Kashinath Pāndurang Paraba, 2nd Edition (1882) p. 89.

The First Invasion referred to in an Inscription.

The first authentic reference to the invasion of India by the Huns is that in the reign of Skandagupta. The period A. C. 330 to 450, about a century and a half, is spoken of as "the Golden Age of the Guptas"—the Guptas who were known as the "Early Guptas" as distinguished from the later Guptas of Magadha. With the death of Kumārgupta I, in 455 A. C. this golden age ended. Skandagupta[1] who next came to the throne, would have continued this golden age, had it not been for an invasion of his country by the Huns who came from the steppes of Central Asia, via the North-Western mountain passes. Skandagupta boldly and victoriously kept them off for a time, but ultimately he was defeated. He takes a note of his early victories in an inscription [2] on the above-mentioned "Column of Victory" erected at Bhitari in the Ghazipur district of the North-Western Provinces. The inscription records "the installation of an image of the God Viṣṇu............ and the allotment to the idol of the village..............in which the column stands."[3] In this inscription, Skandagupta makes an allusion to a terrible whirl-pool joined in close contact with the Huṇas."[4] The victory seems to have been gained, as suggested by Dr. Smith,[5] by Skandagupta at the very beginning of his reign, in about 455 A. C. This date is inferred from Skandagupta's another inscription, the inscription on the rock of Aśoka's edicts at Junaghad at the foot of Girnār.[6]

The Second Invasion referred to by a Chinese Traveller.

A few years after the above repulse, the Huns invaded India again in or about 465 A. C. The Chinese traveller Sung-yun or Sing-yung, who travelled in India in 520 A. C., refers to this invasion.[7] He speaks of these Huns as belonging to Ye-tha tribe. According to Beal, "They were in fact the Ephthalites or Huns of the Byzantine writers." Their king was Lei-lih, whom Cunningham thinks to be the father of Toramana. Skandagupta was, in the end, defeated by these Huns.

1. For his predecessor and successors, vide my above-mentioned paper on the Huns. Vide my Asiatic Papers Part II p. 336 n. 2.

2. Vide "Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum Vol. III. Inscriptions of the Early Gupta kings and their successors" by Dr. J. F. Fleet (1888) pp. 52-56.

3. Ibid p. 53.

4. Ibid p. 56.

5. "The Early History of India" by Vincent Smith 3rd Ed. (1914) p. 309.

6. Vide for particulars my paper on the History of the Huns (My "Asiatic Papers," Part II, pp. 336,337.)

7. Si-yu-ki, "Buddhist Records of the Western world" by Samuel Beal, Vol. I (1884) Introduction, pp. 99-100.

The Invasion of India by the Huns under Toramana.

The defeat of Skandagupta referred to above, seems to have emboldened the Huns. A few years after, in about 500 A. C. they again invaded India under Toramana, believed to be the son of Lei-lih, referred to above, who settled himself in Malwa. Following the Persian kings, who called themselves Shahan-Shāh and Malikān Malik, Toramana assumed the similar Indian title of Mahārājādhirāja, i. e. the Raja of the Mahārājas. He is known to have struck coins in his name. Three inscriptions are known in which his name occurs.[1] He had established his rule in India. He was succeeded by his son Mihirkula.

Now, who were these Huns, who, under the leadership of Lei-lih and his son Toramana, invaded India in the time of Skandagupta (455-80 A. C.) and who in the time of his successors his brother Puragupta (480-85) and Puragupta's son Narsihmagupta Bālāditya again invaded India ? They were the Huns who had come from the direction of Persia The Sassanian kings Behramgore, his son Firouz and then Kobad, Noshirwan, Hormaz and Khusro Parviz all had to fight, with more or less success against the different tribes of the Huns known as Hastalites, Khazars, &c. Now and then when they were defeated by the Persian kings, or when flushed with victory against them, they turned towards India for their inroads. On the defeat and death of Firouz (484 A. C.) at their hands, the Huns had grown more powerful. So in about 500 A. C., led by Toramana, they brought stronger assaults on India.

In the second of the three inscription, bearing Toramana's name-the inscription at Kura in the Salt range, which is now in the Lahore Museum-Toramana is spoken of as "Shāhi Jau......" (षाहिजउ). I have shown in my paper on the Huns[2] that this "Toramana Shahi Jau..." is the Hemmi king Faghanish (فغانش) of Firdousi who speaks of him as Shāh-i Haital (شاه هيتال) and also as Chagāni Shāhi (چغاني شاهي). The title Shâhi of the Indian inscription of Toramana is the same as the title Shâhi of Firdousi The history of these wars[3] with the Sassanian kings, the above identification of their titles, and the fact that Toramana's son Mihirkula bore an Iranian name, all these show that the Huns, who invaded India in the time of the above referred to Guptas, were Huns from the West from the direction of Persia.

1. For an account of these inscriptions. *vide* my paper on the Huns. Vide my Asiatic Papers Part II. pp. 339-40.

2. My Asiatic Papers Part, II pp. 340-41.

3. For a brief account of these wars vide my paper on the Huns in my Asiatic Papers, Part II. pp. 318-338.

II

Now, we come to the subject proper of our paper viz What was the Religion of these Huns who invaded India ?

The Huns had come into contact with the Persians from very early times. But coming to later more historical and authenticated times, we find that a tribe of these, the Hastalites or Ephthalites had settled firmly in Transoxania in the beginning of the 5th century. So, the natural presumption is, that their religion was likely to contain elements common to the Iranian religion. But laying aside this natural presumption, we will proceed to produce other stronger evidence to show that their religion was more akin to that of the Iranians.

The Iranian religion before the time of Zoroaster was known as the Mazdayasnān religion. So, the Huns of those early time also were Mazdayasnān like the Iranian. After the time of Zoroaster, the Iranian religion became Zoroastrian, or, more properly speaking, Mazdayasnān Zoroastrian Even now, a Parsee, while reciting and declaring his creed or confession of faith, speaks of himself, first as a Mazdayasnān, and then as a Mazdayasnān Zoroastrian (Mazdayasnō ahmī, Mazdayesnō Zarathushtrish, Yaśna, Ha XII). On the advent of Zoroaster, the Iranians followed his new creed, which was not altogether a new creed, but the old creed, well reformed.[1] But the Huns continued to follow at least for some time, their old form of Iranian religion ; it seems that latterly, after a long stay on the frontiers of Iran, and after coming into a continuous close contact with the Iranians, they may have taken into their faith many of the elements of the new reformed religion of Zoroaster.

I will divide my subject of evidence on this point under two principal heads.

I Evidence from Iranian sources.

II Evidence from Indian sources.

Under the first head I will produce evidence from the following :—

1. The Avesta Writings.
2. The Pahlavi Writings.
3. The Persian Writings. Under this sub-head I will also refer to some Arab writers of Persia.

---

1. Vide my paper "Zoroastrianism. Its Puritanic influence in the Old World," in my 'Dante papers" pp. 99-100.

III

I Evidence from Iranian sources. The Avesta writings.

We have two sets of passages in the Avesta, wherein Hunus or Huns and their kings or leaders are referred to.

A. The first set of passages refer directly to the Huns. The Huns are distinctly named there.

B. In the second set of passages, they are not named distinctly, but we infer from other collateral evidences that they are referred to there.

(A). The first set of passages wherein the Huns are referred to distinctly by name is formed of the following.

1 Ābān Yasht. Yt V, 53-55.

2 Ābān Yasht. Yt V, 57-59.

3 Meher Yasht. Yt X, 113.

4 Farvardin Yasht. Yt XIII, 100.

5 Zamyād Yasht. Yt XIX, 41.

6 Zamyād Yasht. Yt XIX, 86.

Out of these six passages, the 1st, 2nd, 4th and 6th are of use to us for the purpose of determining the religion of the Huns.

B. The second set is formed of the following passages.

1 Ābān Yasht. Yt V. 108-110.

2 Ābān Yasht. Yt V. 112-114.

3 Ābān Yasht. Yt V, 116-118.

4 Gosh Yasht. Yt IX. 27-31.

5 Ashishavangh Yasht. Yt XVII. 49-51.

All the above passages, both of the first set and the second set, refer to the Huns as a hostile people with whom the Iranians were at war. In the first set, the cause of continued hostility seems to be tribal. It is something like blood-feud, the usual war between two neighbouring nations. In the second set, the cause is religious. They had at first well-nigh a common religion. But, as the Iranians accepted the reforms of Zoroaster, the Hunus or Huns or Hyons or Khyons opposed them.

(1) Vide for the passages in Transliteration and Translation, the Bhandarkar Commemorative Volume pp. 68—74. Vide my Memorial Papers pp. 128—135.

We find references in the Avesta to two great wars between the Iranians and the Hunus or Huns. The first war was pre-Zoroastrian or one before the time of Zoroaster. The other was co-Zoroastrian or one in the time of Zoroaster himself. The second war was one, which, according to later writings, was advocated by Zoroaster. The Abān Yasht passages refer to both these wars.

The Aban Yasht passages referring to the first war

The earlier passages of the Ābān Yasht refer to the first war. We read there (Sections, 53–55).

Tām Yazata takhmō Tusō rathaēshtarō barshaēshu paiti aspanām zāvarē jaidhyantō hitaēibyo dravatātem tanubyō pouru-spakhshtīm tbishayantām paiti-jaitīm dushmainyunām hathrānivāitīm hamerethanām aurvathanām tbishyantām. Āat him jaidhyat avat āyaptem dazdi mē vanguhi sevishtē Ardviūra Anāhitiē yat bavāni aimi-vanyāo aurva Hunavō Vaēsakya upa dvarem khsathro-saokem apanotemen Kanghaya berezantaya ashavanaya yatha azem nijanāni Tuiryanām dakhyunām panchasagnāi satagnāishcha satagnāi hazangragnaishcha hazangragnāi baevaregnāishcha baevaregnāi ahānkhshtagnāishua. Dathat ahmāi tat avat āyeptem Ardvisūra Anāhita hadha zaothrōbarāi aredrai yazemnāi jaidhyantāi dāthrish āyaptem.

Translation :—The brave warrior Tusa invoked her(Ardvisūra), riding on horse-back and praying for strength to his horses, strength to (his own) body, great watchfulness over those who annoyed him, power to strike his enemies, power to run down his foes, adversaries and annoyers. Then he asked of her. O Good beneficient Ardvisūra Anāhita give me this gift, that I may be the overcomer of the brave Hunus of Vaesaka [1] at the gate of the lofty (fort of) Khshthrōsaoka of the high and holy Kanga,[2] (and) that I may kill the fifties and the hundreds, the hundreds and the thousands, the thousands and the ten thousands, the ten thousands and the innumerables of (the people of) the country of Turān. (55) Holy Ardvisūra Anāhita granted the desire of him who carried offerings, gave gifts, made invocations (and) sought the fulfilment of desires.

(b) We may then read in the Ābān Yasht (57-59).

Tām yazenta aurva Hunavō Vaeskaya upa dvarem khshathrō-saokem apanotemem Kanghaya berezantaya ashavanaya sateo aspanām arshnām

1. Dr. West seems to be wrong in translating "Hunavo Vaesakaya" as the "Hunus Vaēskain" and thus taking Vaēskaya to be the name of a place (Legends relating to Kershāsp, Pahlavi Texts Part II S.B.E., XVIII. p. 371 ss. 4.

2. Firdousi places the fortress of Kang (Kangdez) at about a month's distance from China. Macoudi (Traduction de Babier de Meynard II, P. 131, ch. 21) also places it in Chinas. He calls it Kang-dar.

hazangrē gavām baēvare anumayanām Aat him jaidhyen avat āyaptem dazdi nō vanguhi sevishte Ardvisūra Anāhite yat bavāma aiwa-vanyāo takhmem Tusem rathoeshtārem yatha vaem nijanāma airyannām dakhyunām panchasagnāi satagnaishcha satagnāi hazanghragnāishcha hazanghragnāi baevaregnaishcha baevarengnāi ahankshtagnāishcha. Noit aeibyaschit dathat tat avat āyaptem Ardvisūra Anāhita.

Translation.—The brave Hunus of Vaēsaka invoked her (Ardvisūra) at the gate of the lofty (fort of) Khsathrō-saoka of the high and holy Kanga, with one hundred horses, one thousand oxen, (and) ten thousand lambs. Then (thus invoking), they asked of her ; "O good beneficent holy Ardvisuras give us this gift; that we may be the overcomers of the brave warrior Tusa (and) that we may kill the fifties and the hundreds, the hundreds and the thousands the thousands and the ten thousands, the ten thousands and the innumerables of (the people of) the country of Iran." Ardvisūra Anāhita did not grant this gift to them.

We find from the above passages of the Ābān Yasht, that a war was fought by the Iranians under the commandership of Tusa [1] against a Hun tribe led by Vaeseka. We note in the above passages of prayer, that in the case of the prayer of the Iranians, the worshipper is one, namely Tusa and the verb (*yazata*), used with his name as the nominative, is in the singular number. In the case of the prayer of the Huns, it is not one person who is mentioned as worshipping and opposing the Iranian hero Tus, but a clan or tribe the Hunavō Vaeskayā, i.e, the Hunas of Vaesāka. The verb used is plural (*yazenta*). So the war was with a particular Hun tribe or clan, the clan of Vaesāka. This clan or tribe seems to have derived its name from Vaesāka, the Visak of the Pahlavi Bundehesh (Chap. XXXI. 16, 17)[2] He was one of the ancestors of the later Turanians, an uncle of Afrasiab and the father of Piran, who was the Nestor of the Turanians in the court of Afrasiab just as Godrez, the father of Tus, was the Nestor in the court of Persia.[3] The cause of the war was tribal.[4]

The ceremonial form or Ritual referred to in the Aban Yasht.

Now, let us look to the ceremonial form or ritual with which Ardvisūra was prayed to by the Huns. The form as given in the above passage is "Satee aspanām hazanghre gavām baevare anumayanām" i.e, "with one

1. In the Pahlavi Bundehesh (ch. XXIX, 6), he is spoken of as Naodarān, *i.e.*, of the family or clan of Naodar.

2. Vide my translation of the Bundehesh p. 169.

3. For this Vaēsāka, vide my Dictionary of Avesta Proper names, p. 130.

4. For the reason, why these two families or clans were specially hostile, vide my paper in the Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume, p. 70.

hundred horses, one thousand oxen (and) ten thousand lambs." This is the typical form in which we find several great Iranian personages praying to Ardvisūra.[1] In the case of a few personages who pray to the goddess, we do not find this form of ceremony accompanying their prayers. But, we can explain why their cases were exceptions. The explanation seems to be this. The ceremony required a long leisurely celebration with all religious apparatus.[1] When the heroes prayed to Ardvisūra, in the very midst or thick of a battle, or on an emergency, or in some such exceptional circumstances; they could not perform the accompanying long ritual. Thus, Tous, the Iranian hero, prayed in the midst of a battle from his very saddle (barashaeshu paiti aspanām;) lit on the back of his horses. (53) Similarly, Vifro Navāz prayed on an emergency; when he was suddenly made to fly high in the air (Uscha uzdvānayat veiethrajāo takhmō Thraetaonō mereghahe kehrpa kahrkāsahe Sec. 61), Vistaurush of the naotar family (*yo Naotairyano*) prayed on an emergency; when he found his way closed by an intervening river and found himself unable to cross (s. 76). Zarathushra's prayer to Ardvisūra also was an exception (s. 104), perhaps because, he was above the necessity of any long expensive ritual. [2]

We find the above typical Iranian form of ceremonial offering, not only in the Ābān Yasht, but also in the Gosh Yasht.(3)

These two facts, viz, (*a*) that the Iranians and the Huns prayed to the same goddess Ardvisūra Anāhita and (*b*) that the Hunnic form of ceremonial offering was the same as that of the Iranians, show, that both the nations had a common religion, if not exactly the same, well-nigh the same.

The Second Great War.

Now, we come to the second great war between the Iranians and the Huns,—the war which took place in the time of Zoroaster himself, and

1. Vide Abān Yasht, YtV 21, 25, 29, 33, 37, 41, 45, 49, 57, 68, 72, 81, 108, 112, 116.

2. We are not in a position to say with certainty, what this ceremonial prayer ('with one hundred horses, 1,000 oxen and 10,000 lambs)" was. Did it mean any actual sacrifice of so many animals? Some kind of animal sacrifice undoubtedly there did exist in those olden times, but it does not seem that the sacrifice was of such a large number of animals. There may be a sacrifice of a few animals, but the large number as mentioned, seems to represent the estimate of a great ceremony valued in animals which measured a man's wealth at a time.

The mode, as mentioned in the Avesta, seems to refer to a great royal ceremony, for example, one like that of the As'vamedha of India. It required a long leisurely celebration. This is evidenced by the fact, that, as said above some heroes, though they are represented as praying to Ardvisūra are not represented as praying with the accompaniment of this mode of ritual ceremony.

a. Yt. IX, 3, 8, 13, 21, 29.

which, as said in some later books, was recommended by Zoroaster himself, as a war against the evil-minded.

For this purpose, we well examine the Ābān Yasht passages of the second set, wherein the Huns are not referred to directly but indirectly. The war is between the Iranian Vishtāsp and his army and an enemy Arjāsp and his army. But in these passages the proper nationality of Arjāsp is not mentioned. So let us first determine it.

The Nationality of Arejataspa or Arjāsp,

Though in the above passages of the Ābān Yasht, the proper nationality of Arjāsp is not mentioned, there are other passages of a similar prayer by the Iranian King Vishtāsp which point to Arjāsp being a Hyaona (Hun) or Khyaona.

(*a*) The Gosh Yasht (Sections 29-31) contains a similar prayer of the Iranian King. (*b*) Again the Ashishvangh Yasht (Secs. 49-50) also contains a similar prayer, both of these Yashts, Arejat-aspa or Arjāsp is spoken of as Khyaona, which name is the same as Hyaona another form of Huna. (*c*) The Zamyād Yasht (Sec. 87) speaks of "Arojataspa or Vrjāsp (2) as one of the wicked Khyaonas. We read there, Dravantemcha Arejat-aspem uta anyāoschit agha duzvandrāvō Khyaonāonghhō i.e., the wicked Arejataspa and other similar sintul notorious Khyaonas. "Thus, we see that Arjāsp is included in the class of wicked Kyaonas or Hyaonas.

The Pahlavi books also, as we will see later on, speak of him as a Khyaona (Arjāspa Khyaonān khudāi, i.e., Arjāsp, the king of the Khyaonas). All these references show that, though the nationality of Arjāsp is not given in the above Ābān Yasht passages of the second set, other passages point to him as being a Khyaona.

Again,in the Gosh 3 and Ashishang Yashts, (4) where the Iranian king Vishtāsp prays for having a victory over Arejataspa and other heroes of his clan, he prays as well that he may be victorious over the country of the Khyaonas and that he may be able to spread goodness in the country of the Varedhakas and the Khyaonas. He prays: " Uta azem fraourvaesayeni humaya Varedhakanāmcha Khyaonyehecha danghhāvō uta azem nijanāni Khyaoninām dakhyunām."

---

1. Yt. IX, 3, 8, 13, 21, 29.
2. Arjāsp is the later Pahlavi and Persian form of Av. AREJATASPA.
3. Yt. IX 31.
4. Yt. XVIII 51.

Translation.—"I may introduce good law in the countries of the Varedhakas and the Khyaonas and I may smite (the people of the Khyaona countries.")

Thus, this reference also shows that Arejat-aspa who fought with the Iranian king Vishtāsp was a Khyaona by nationality. This word Khyaona corresponds to the Chionitae. Darmesteter thinks, though with some doubt, that they were the same as Hyaonas (indenlique aux Hyaonas, Le Zend Avesta III Index II p. 241). But there seems to be no reason for this doubt. H and Kh are often seem to be interchangeable[1]. In the later Pahlavi, the same letter can be read both as hand kh.[2] So there is no doubt that the words Khyaona and Hyaona or Huna refer to the same people. In the Pahlavi Dinkard, Dastur Peshotan has correctly read the word[3] (read as Khyaodān pl. i. e. the Khyaonas) as Hinavān. I will refer to this matter later on.

The Ābān Yasht passages referring to the Second Great War.

Now, having shown that Arejetspa who fought against the Iranian king Vishtāsp, was a Khyaona, Hyaona or Hun by nationality, and that the Khyaonas were the same as Hyaonas, Hunus or Huns[4], let us turn to examine the Ābān Yasht passage of the second set. In this examination, we find, that here also, the "Iranian Vishtāsp and his brother Zairivairi on the one hand and the Hunnic kings on the other (*a*) pray before the same deity and (*b*) with the same form of ceremonial offering, viz., with 100 horses, 1,000 oxen and 10,000 smaller animals like sheep. We read in the Ābān Yasht:

Tām yazata berezaidhish Kava Vīshtāspō pasne āpem frazdānaom satēē aspanam arsynām hazanghre gavām baevare anumayanām, Āat hīm Jaidhyat avat āyaptem dazdi me vanghuhi sevishte Ardvisūra Anāhitē yat bavāni aimi-vanyao Tānthravantem duzdaenem peshanemcha daevayasnem dravantemcha Ārejat-aspen ahmya gaethe peshanāhu, Dathat ahmāi tat avat āyaptem Ardvisūra Anāhita (ss. 108 110.)

---

1. For example, we have both hvar and khar for to eat, drink; franghuharaiti and kharaiti.

2. Vide Kanga's Avesta Grammar, p. 33.

3. Dastur Peshotan's Dinkard Vol. IX, Text p. 480, l. 6.

4. Dr. E. W. West also identifies the Khyaonas of the Pahlavi books with the Khyaonas or the Huns of the Avesta, mentioned in the Ashishang and Zamyād Yashts (S.B.E, XLVII p. 68 n, 1)

Translation.—The great[1] Kava Vishtāspa invoked her (Ardvisūra) on the other side of the waters of (lake) Frazdanava, with hundred valiant [2] horses, thousand oxen and ten thousand animals of moderate size.[3] He then asked of her : O good beneficent Ardvisūra Anāhita ! give me this boon that I may be victorious[4] in the wars of this world over Tānthryavanta who professed a wrong faith, Peshana who worshipped the daevas and the evil Arejat-aspa, Ardvisūra Ánāhita granted him his desire.¶ In similar passages of the Ābān Yasht (ss 112-114 Zairivairi) Zarir of the Pahlavi book and of Firdusi's Shāh-nāmeh), the brother of King Vīshtāsp also invokes Ardvīsūra and asks for a boon similar to that of his brother (ss. 112-113) but, with this difference, that his place of prayer is different from that of his royal brother. He prays on the banks of the river Dāiti (pasne āpo Dāityayāo)[1] ·

Then Arejat-āspa or Arāsp also invokes the goddess Ardvīsūra and asks for a well nigh similar boon. We read (Sects. 116-18).

Tām yazata Vadarēmainish Arejat āspō, upa zrayo vourukashem stâtēē aspanām arshnām hazanghrem gavām baevare anumayanām. Āat hīm jaidhyat avat āyaptem, dazdi me vanghuhi sevishtē Ardvisūra Anāhitē yat bavāni awii-vanyāo takhmem Kavaem Vishtāspem aspāyaodho [5] zairivairish, yatha azem nijanāni Aeryanām dakhyunam panchasagnāi satagnāishcha satagnāi haznghraghnāishcha hazanghraghnāi baevarehnā ishcha baevareghnāi ahnkbshtaghnāishcha [6] Noit ahmāi dathat tat avat āyaptem Ardvisūra Anāhita.

Translation.—Arjet-aspa of Vandaremna invoked Ardvīsūra on (the shores fo, sea Vourukasha with one hundred valiant horses, 1000 oxen and 10,000

---

1. Berezaidhish corresponding to Persian buland. Lit. seeing high above (berez and dí Sanskrit धी to see, to think.)

2. Arshan. It is used to designate that the horses were male horses and not mares or female horses.

3. Anu-maya. Anu Sans, अनु Gr. *Ana*, moderate, proportionate and मा mās Lat *me-tiri* Fr. *me-surer*, Germ. *messen*, to measure. The word is used for small animals like sheep, lambs or goat.

4. *Aiwi-vanyao* from *aiwi* (*aibi*) Sans. अभि above, and *van* Sans. वन् Eng. win, to strike, to conquer.

5. Here Zairivairi is spoken of as aspyaodho, i.e., one fighting on a horse. Many a warrior fights from the back of a horse. So, why should he have been specially mentioned as "One fighting on a horse." I have explained the reason at some length in my Iranian Essays......... Part I, pp, 156-59, and shown that it is a special reference to a famous horse which he possessed.

6. Ahānkhshtagnāishcha, from Av. a Sans अ Gr. A. negative and khya, ख्या to speak. *Hankhya sum*, Guj. संख्या to number. Hence innumerable.

animals of moderate size. He then asked of her, "O good beneficent Ardvīsūro Anāhita give me this boon, that I may be victorious over valiant Kava Vishtāsp and over Zairivairi who fights from the back of the horse, and that I may smite fifties and hundreds, hundreds and thousands, thousands and ten thousands of people ten thousands and innumerable of Iranian countries, Ardvīsūra Anāhita did not grant him that boon.

We find from these Ābān Yasht passages of the second set, that they also treat of a war. It is the war between Kava Vishtāspa, the Iranian royal patron of Zoroaster and his brother Zairivairi (Zain) on the one hand and Arejat-aspa (Arjasp) of Vandaremna on the other. We also find, that the Iranian and the Hunnic kings observed the same ceremonial in their prayer before Ardvīsūra, thus showing, that they had, if not wholly, in many respects, a common religion.

Again let us note the wording of the last portion of the prayers of the Iranians and the Hunnic kings. The Iranian king in the Gosh Yasht (Sec. 31) and Ashishang Yasht (Sec. 51) prays for smiting the Huns by fifties and hundreds and thousands and ten thousands and uncountable numbers. The same is the form of the prayer of the Hunnic king who wants to smite the Iranians similarly. This in itself is a small matter to show similarly between the religions of the two nations, but with other facts it lends strength to my view.

The other passages of the Avesta.

Having examined the long principal passages of the Ābān Yasht referring to both the wars, we will now examine the passages of the Farvardin and Zamyād Yashts which (*a*) not only speak of the Huns by name, but (*b*) also point directly to a schism or war on account of religion. In the Farvardin Yasht (Secs. 99—100), while invoking the holy spirit of king Vishtāsp, the king is spoken of thus :

Yo bazushcha upastacha visata anghhao daenayāo yat Āhurōish Zarathush trôish yo hīm stātam hitam haitim uzvazhat hacha hunuivyō.[2]

Translation.—Who (Vishtāsp) became the arm and support of this Ahuramazdi religion of Zoroaster (and) who separated the strong holy existing religion from the Huns.

1. He seems to be the same as Anderman of the Shah-nameh of Firdousi (Mohl. IV p. 382).

2. Darmsteter, in his translation of this passage (s. 100) very properly says of the word "Hunus", that it is a name of the people called elsewhere Varedhaks (Yt. IX 31 ; XVII 51) or Khyaonas (Ibid and XIX 87).

This passage clearly points to the above war with Arjāsp as that with the Huns. Again the most important words are those which speak of separating the existing religion, i.e., the religion which was common to them, from the Huns.

This passage, occurring in two Yashts, then shows, that up-to the time of Vishtāsp and Zoroaster, the religion of the Iranians and the Hunus was one and the same or well nigh the same. But, on the advent of Zoroaster, Vishtāsp the royal patron of Zoroaster, under the instructions of the prophet, separated or differentiated the Iranian religion from that of the Huns The Huns and others adhered to the old orthodox Mazdayasnan religion, but the Iranians under Vishtāsp admitted the reforms suggested in the old creed by Zoroaster. Upto the time of the advent of Zoroaster the Iranians and the Huns referred to in the above passages followed well nigh the same religion, the old Mazdayasnan religion which took thoughts of men from Nature to Nature's God. But Zoroaster, basing his religion on the groundwork of the old religion, as all prophets generally do, and, preserving the elements which were good, and rejecting those which had degenerated and become bad, introduced new elements, mostly from a pure monotheistic and ethical point of view. He appealed more to pure morals and less to forms and ceremonial. The Huns who lived in the frontiers of the then Iran proper, did not like any innovations, and hence arose a split or schism.

Thus we find from the above long examination of the references to the Huns and their king Arjāsp in the Avesta, that while the previous great war or a set of wars between the Iranians, and the Huns before the time of Zoroaster was more or less a tribal or national war, a magnified form of a great blood-feud, the second great war of the time of Zoroaster was a kind of religious war. In the advent of Zoroaster Vishtāsp learning his reformed form of the old Mazdayasnan religion, adopted it and separated his religion from that of the Huns. This separation was the cause of a great war

IV.

The Pahlavi Writings.

We will now turn to the Pahlavi books, which contain references to the war between the Iranian king Vishtāsp and the Khyaona or Hyaona (Hunnic) king Arejat-aspa or Arjāsp—references suggesting that the religion of the Iranians and the Huns was well-nigh the same. These are the following :—

1. The Dinkard (*a*) Book V, Chapter III. 1
(*b*) Book VII, Chapter IV. 77

(c) Book VII, Chapter IV. 83
(d) Book VIII, Chapter V. 7
(e) Book VIII, Chapter XI. 4

2. The Yadgar-i-Zarirān
3. The Zādsparam.
4. The Jāmāspi.
5. The Bahman Yasht.

The Pahlavi Dinkard

The Dinkard, in its 5th, 6th and 8th books, refers to the religious war between the Iranians under Vishtāsp and the Hyonas or Huns under Arjāsp. We will briefly refer to this.

(*a*) We find a reference to the victory of Vishtāsp over Arjāsp in the fifth book of the Dinkard.[1] There the writer refers to "the victory of Kai Vishtāsp, the Iranian over Arjāsp and Hyaonans and other non-Iranians" of innumerable kinds (Pirujih-i Kai Vishtāsp-i Airan madam Arjāsp va Hyaonan va avārīk an-Airān-i anhushmār āininak).

The word Hyaona in singular or plural occurs more than once in the Dinkard and Dastur Peshotan has correctly read the word here as Henavān Hyaonān, though he has erroneously taken it to be a common noun in the sense of the Avesta 'haena,' i. e., army which word also when written in Pahlavi can be written in a similar way. Dr. West has similarly translated this word, which occurs in the Bahman Yasht,[2] as "army," but has very properly added in the 'foot note.' " But another possible reading is Khyōn, (Av. Hvyaona), the old name of some country probably in Turkistan (as Arjāsp, the opponents Vishtāsp, is called 'lord or king of Khyōn in the Yadgar-i-Zarina '.

(*b*) Then there are several references in the seventh book. The first reference [3] to the war is in the matter of a previous event of the religious war—the arrival of two messengers[4] (*paetāmber*) who came to the court of

1. Dinkard Bk. V, Chap. III, 1. S. B. E. Vol. XLVII p. 126.
Dustur Peshotan's Dinkard, Vol. IX, Text p. 480 1·6 Transliteration in Avesta characters, p. 606 1. 1.
Madon's Dinkard, Vol. I. p. 437 1. 5.
2. S. B. E. Vol. V, p. 209. Chap. II 49. Vide n. 6.
3. Dinkard. Bk. VII, Chap. IV-77, 87-90. S. B. E. XLVII pp. 72-73. Dastur Darab's Dinkard Vol. XIV, Text p. 29. Translation p. 28. Mr. Madon's Dinkard, Vol. II, p. 610, 1. 13.
4. According to the Pahlavi Yādgār-i-Zariran, they were Vidarafsh and Shamkhast. Vide my transliteration and Text of the Yadgai-i-zariran. They were the Bidarafsh and Namkhash of the Shan-nâmeh.

Vishtāsp from Arjāsp, to dissuade the Iranian king from adopting the religion of Zoroaster. Here, the Holy Fire is represented as encouraging the Iranian king not to be frightened by Arjāsp's messengers. We read :—

Avash goft pavan zak-i virān gobashnāih Ātash-i Oharmazd āīgh al tars memanat lā madam tarsashna burzāvand Kai Vishtāsp la-at valmān tarsidan mat homand ashte avarkār paētāmbar-i Arjāsp; avat lā valmān tarsidan mat homanand, do Khyaona-i Arjāsp mun sāk va bāz bavihund Translation.—Then the Fire of Ohrmazd told him (Vishtāsp) in a bold (encouraging) way, that 'Do not fear, O great king Vishtāsp ! you have no (cause of) fear. No fear will come to your house. The messengers of Arjāsp are powerful (and) business-like. The two Khyaonas of Arjāsp who ask for tribute and have not come to let any fear reach your house.

We learn from this passage that the first move from the side of the Hunnics was as it were peaceful. That this was the case appears from Firdouşi also. We learn from his Shāh nāmah also that, at this time, the Iranian king was paying tribute to the Hunnic king. The words used by Firdousi for "tribute" in his account are *baz va sav*[1], These are the same as the "*Sāk vabāz*" of the above quoted Pahlavi passage of the Dinkard. According to Firdousi also, the first message of the Hunnic king was comparatively friendly (dustvâr)[2], This word of Firdousi corresponds to the word peaceful (ashte) of the Dinkard[3].

(*c*) From the second reference in the 7th book of the Dinkard[4], we learn that the Iranians met at first with a heavy bloodshed (khun rizashna) at the hand of Arjāsp, the Khyona Hyona or Hun, and then they gave him a defeat (*Pasgirasna*).[5] This ended in Vishtasp's victory over Arjāsp and his Khyaonas (*piroujih-i-madam Arjāsp va Khyona*).[6]

(*d*) A little further on again, we read of the collapse of the power of Arjāsp and his Khyaonas, and Zoroaster's name is associated with this result. In this third reference of its seventh book, the Dinkard associates

1. Vuller's "Firdusii liber Regum" Tomus Tertium, p. 1500, Mohlu. IV, p, 308.
2. Ibid p. 1504, l. 153.
3. Vide the above passage.
4. Madon's Dinkard II p. 641, 1·21. Book VII. Chapt. 83.
5. Ibid. Lit. Subsequent weeping or calamity. Pers. Girastan to weep.
6. Ibid, p. 642 1-1. (6) S. B. E. XLVII. pp. 72-73. Dinkard Bk. VII Chap. IV 83-90. (7) Madon's Dinkard II p. 645, ll 11-12, S. B. E. XLVII p. 75, Chap. V 7. (8) Bk. VIII, Chap. XI 4-West, S. B. E. Vol. XXXVII pp. 24-25, Dastur Darabys Vol. XV p. 23 Text, The Dinkard published by D. M. Madon Vol. II. 688 L.1.

Zoroaster with the victory of Vishâsp over Arjāsp, the Khyaona, and other non-Iranians (*Pirājih-i-Vishtasp madam Arjāsp Khyona va avārik an-airan*),

(*e*) Then there is another reference to the war in the 8th book of the Dinkard. In its account of the contents of the tenth Nask, Vishtāsp Sāsta, it refers to this war and associates it with the new religion of Zoroaster. It says, that it was intented to show "hostility to Zoroaster." (*paityārdārih-i Zartush*).[1]

All those references in the Dinkard simultaneously point to the fact, that the war was for the sake of the new reformed religion, which Arjāsp, who wanted to stick to the old faith, did not like.

The Pahlavi Yadgar-i Zariran.

The Pahlavi Yādgār-i Zarirān distinctly refers to the split. According to that book,[2] when Vishtāsp with his sons, brothers, family members and courtiers accepted (from Zoroaster) the new Mazdayasnan religion, Arjāsp the king of the Khyaonas, or the Hyaonas,[3] did not like it; so he sent two of his generals, Vidarafsh[4] and Shamkhast[5] as messengers to Iran to persuade the Iranian king not to adopt the new religion and to adhere to the old faith. We read the following letter sent by the Hunnic king to the Iranian king.

"Āigham ashnūt āigh lekūm begān denman dīn avīzeh, Mazdayasnān min Auharmazd makīrūnt va at lā zak rāi yekhsūnit amat lenman gerān zyān va dūshkhvārih azash shāyad yehvūntan Barā at lekūm begān madammunīt denman dīn-i-avizeh shedkūnīt levatman lenman hamkīsh yehvūnīt adīntān pavan khudāih parastīm adīntan yehbūnīm shant pavan shant kabad zahbā kabad aimin va kabad susyā nyōk kabad gās shatrūihā; va at denman dīn barā lā shedkūnīt va levatman lenman hamkish lā yehvūnīt adīntān madam yāmtūnīm." [6]

Translation:—"I have heard that your Majesty has accepted from Oharmazd the pure Mazdayasnān religion. If you will not think of it, great harm and unhappiness may result to us from that (religion). But if it please your Majesty, and you give up this pure religion, and be of the same religion with us, then we will pay homage to you as a king, and then we will give you

1. For details, vide my translation of the Yadgar-i Zariran.
2. The Pahlavi word can be read both as Hyaonan or Khyaonān (The Pahlave Text by Dastur, Jamaspji, p. 1 l. 8).
3. Bidarafsh of the Shāh-nameh (Mohl. IX. p, 368),
4. Namkhāst of the Shāh-nāneh (Ibid p. (398).
5. Vide my Transliteration and Translation of Yadgar-i Zariran, &c., pp. 4 to 7. Vide the Pahlavi Texts, p. 2, l. 8.
6. Vide Translation of the Yadgar (1899) p.5.

from year to year, plenty of gold, plenty of silver, and plenty of good horses and the sovereignty of many places. But if you will not give up this religion and will not be of the same religion with us, then we will come to attack you."[1]

This message clearly shows that before the advent of Zoroaster, the Iranians and the Huns had well-nigh the same religion. When the Hunnic Arjāsp says to the Iranian Vishtāsp that "harm and unhappiness may result to us from that new religion" and when he asked the Iranian king to be of the same religion with us (*levatman lanman hamkish yehvunit*), the inference is clear that up to then both had a well-nigh common religion. Were it not so, and were the religion of the Hunnic king Arjāsp different from that of the Iranian king Vishtāsp, where was then the necessity of Arjāsp trying to dissuade Vishtāsp from adopting the new religion? The two kings followed well nigh the same creed and so, Arjāsp did not like that his brother-king of the neighbouring Iranian country should change their common religion. Vishtāsp's reply also points to their religion being common before their advent. He says—"*Levatman lekum hamkīsh la yahvūnim*" (s. 18), i.e., We will not (continue to be) of the same religion with you."

The account of the war, given further on, in this Pahlavi books says that there were large armies of about 1,440,000 men on both the sides[2] The result of the war was that the Huns were defeated and the Hunnic king Arjāsp was taken prisoner by Asfandyar the son of Vishtāsp. One of his hands, legs, and ears were cut off, one of his eyes was destroyed, and he was allowed to go back to his country on an ass whose tail was cut so that all the Huns of his country may know what the result of the war was[3]

3. *The Pahlavi Zadsparam.*

The Pahlavi Zadsparam speaks of the war of Vishtāsp and Arjāsp as occurring in the 30th year after Zoroaster's revelation of his religion.' We read :—

Pavansi sale yam tund Khyan val Airan matayan, i. e., in 30 years the Khyaons arrive in the country of Iran.

4. *The Pahlavi Jamaspi.*

The Pahlavi Jamaspi which speaks of these Huns as White Huns refers to this war with the Hunnic king. Here, three wars are mentioned as the

1. Ibid p. 311.
2. Ibid p. 49.
3. S. B. E. XLVII, p. 165. Chapter XXIII-8.
The Text of Zadsparas by Behramgore T. Anklesaria, p. 91, Chapter XXV-3.

Zoroaster with the victory of Vishâsp over Arjāsp, the Khyaona, and other non-Iranians (*Pirājih-i-Vishtasp madam Arjāsp Khyona va avārik an-airan*),

(*e*) Then there is another reference to the war in the 8th book of the Dinkard. In its account of the contents of the tenth Nask, Vishtāsp Sāsta, it refers to this war and associates it with the new religion of Zoroaster. It says, that it was intented to show "hostility to Zoroaster." (*paityārdārih-i Zartush*).[1]

All those references in the Dinkard simultaneously point to the fact, that the war was for the sake of the new reformed religion, which Arjāsp, who wanted to stick to the old faith, did not like.

The Pahlavi Yadgar-i Zariran.

The Pahlavi Yādgār-i Zarirān distinctly refers to the split. According to that book,[2] when Vishtāsp with his sons, brothers, family members and courtiers accepted (fromZoroaster) the new Mazdayasnan religion. Arjāsp the king of the Khyaonas, or the Hyaonas,[3] did not like it; so he sent two of his generals, Vidarafsh[4] and Shamkhast[5] as messengers to Iran to persuade the Iranian king not to adopt the new religion and to adhere to the old faith. We read the following letter sent by the Hunnic king to the Iranian king.

" Āigham ashnūt āigh lekūm begān denman dīn avīzeh, Mazdayasnān min Auharmazd makīrūnt va at lā zak rāi yekhsūnit amat lenman gerān zyān va dūshkhvārih azash shāyad yehvūntan Barā at lekūm begān madammunīt denman dīn-i-avizeh shedkūnīt levatman lenman hamkīsh yehvūnīt adīntān pavan khudāih parastīm adīntan yehbūnīm shant pavan shant kabad zahbā kabad aimin va kabad susyā nyōk kabad gās shatrūihā; va at denman dīn barā lā shedkūnīt va levatman lenman hamkish lā yehvūnīt adīntān madam yāmtūnīm." [6]

Translation:—" I have heard that your Majesty has accepted from Oharmazd the pure Mazdayasnān religion. If you will not think of it, great harm and unhappiness may result to us from that (religion). But if it please your Majesty, and you give up this pure religion, and be of the same religion with us, then we will pay homage to you as a king. and then we will give you

1. For details, vide my translation of the Yadgar-i Zariran.
2. The Pahlavi word can be read both as Hyaonan or Khyaonān (The Pahlave Text by Dastur, Jamaspji, p. 1 1. 8).
3. Bidarafsh of the Shāh-nameh (Mohl. IX. p, 368),
4. Namkhāst of the Shāh-nāneh (Ibid p. (398).
5. Vide my Transliteration and Translation of Yadgar-i Zariran, &c., pp. 4 to 7. Vide the Pahlavi Texts, p. 2, l. 8.
6. Vide Translation of the Yadgar (1899) p.5.

from year to year, plenty of gold, plenty of silver, and plenty of good horses and the sovereignty of many places. But if you will not give up this religion and will not be of the same religion with us, then we will come to attack you,"[1]

This message clearly shows that before the advent of Zoroaster, the Iranians and the Huns had well-nigh the same religion. When the Hunnic Arjāsp says to the Iranian Vishtāsp that "harm and unhappiness may result to us from that new religion" and when he asked the Iranian king to be of the same religion with us (*levatman lanman hamkish yehvunit*), the inference is clear that up to then both had a well-nigh common religion. Were it not so, and were the religion of the Hunnic king Arjāsp different from that of the Iranian king Vishtāsp, where was then the necessity of Arjāsp trying to dissuade Vishtāsp from adopting the new religion? The two kings followed well nigh the same creed and so, Arjāsp did not like that his brother-king of the neighbouring Iranian country should change their common religion. Vishtāsp's reply also points to their religion being common before their advent. He says—" *Levatman lekum hamkīsh la yahvūnim* " (s. 18), i.e., We will not (continue to be) of the same religion with you."

The account of the war, given further on, in this Pahlavi books says that there were large armies of about 1,440,000 men on both the sides[2] The result of the war was that the Huns were defeated and the Hunnic king Arjāsp was taken prisoner by Asfandyar the son of Vishtāsp. One of his hands, legs, and ears were cut off, one of his eyes was destroyed, and he was allowed to go back to his country on an ass whose tail was cut so that all the Huns of his country may know what the result of the war was[3]

3. *The Pahlavi Zadsparam.*

The Pahlavi Zadsparam speaks of the war of Vishtāsp and Arjāsp as occurring in the 30th year after Zoroaster's revelation of his religion.' We read :—

Pavansi sale yam tund Khyan val Airan matayan, i. e., in 30 years the Khyaons arrive in the country of Iran.

4. *The Pahlavi Jamaspi.*

The Pahlavi Jamaspi which speaks of these Huns as White Huns refers to this war with the Hunnic king. Here, three wars are mentioned as the

1. Ibid p. 311.
2. Ibid p. 49.
3. S. B. E. XLVII, p. 165. Chapter XXIII-8.

The Text of Zadsparas by Behramgore T. Anklesaria, p. 91, Chapter XXV-3.

greatest wars. [1] (kārizar-i-raba) The first is that which King Kai Kaus had fought with foreigners. 2. The second war is the war of Vishtāsp (*Gushtasp*) with the Hunnic king the magician the white Hyaona or Khyaona whom they call Arjāsp for the sake of religion (*Sapit Hyain-i-yatu din rac kard munash Arjāsp karitund*). [2] We see from this passage that the Hunnic king who fought with the Iranian king Arjāsp to oppose the reformed religion of Zoroaster was a white Hun.

5. *The Bahman Yasht.*

The Pahlavi Bahman Yasht (Chap. II, 49) is a book of prophecy in which Ahura-Mazda tells Zoroaster, what calamities will fall upon Iran. In the long list of such prophecies, we find a list of some foreign people, who, occasionally, will rule some part of Iran. We read.

"Khutāih va pātakhshāih val an-Airān bandagan rased, chegūnām Tūrk va a Tūr......va sapīd Khyōn ".[3]

Translation.—The sovereignty and kingship will arrive to non-Iranian slaves like Turk and a-Tur..............and White Huns." Of the words at the end, Dr. West has taken the first word '*sapid*' with the preceding words '*Karman rikht*' and translated "the white clothed Karmak". Thus he seems to have taken the second word as 'han' because he has translated it as "then". Dastur Kekobad has read the two words as Supīdō Khivo, and taking them together with the preceding word '*rakht*,' translated them as white coloured Khivs, But the words are exactly like similar words in the Pahlavi Jamaspi, above referred to, and it seems to me, that there is no doubt, that the second word is Khyaon or Hyaon and that the two words refer to the inroads of the White Huns, who are also referred to in the Jamaspi, which also is, like the Bahman Yasht, a book of prophecy.

Thus, all the above passages of the five Pahlavi books refer to the second great war between the Iranians, and the Huns—the religious war due to the advent of Zoroaster. They point to the fact, that Vishtāsp's Iranians and the Huns had well-nigh the same religion, but that Zoroaster's advent brought about a reform which Arjāsp, the Turanian Hunnic king did not like, so he first sent two messengers to the Court of Iran to dissuade Vishtāsp

---

1. Vide my Text and Translation of the Jamaspi, p. 91·5 of the Text, Chapter II, and pp. 36-37 of the translation.
2. Ibid.
3. Zand-Vohuman Yasht by Dastur Kekobad Adarbad, Text p. 10 II, 5-8 Bahman Yasht. West S. B. E. V. p. 209 Chap. II 49,

from accepting the new faith. Why should Arjāsp the Hunnic king, do so? To understand the matter clearly, take the case of any to modern powers and their religions. If a Christian State adopted a new faith, opposed to Christianity or introduced new reforms in Christianity opposed to the Orthodox faith, no Mahomedan State would ever remonstrate. But a Christian State can remostrate against any innovations in the old Orthodox faith. We had a case of this kind among European Christian powers, due to the new form of the Protestant faith. The State which followed the old Orthodox Christian faith fought against the states which adopted the reformed faith. Just the same thing occurred in our case. This then points to the conclusion, that the faith of the HUNS was well-nigh the same as that of the Iranians before the advent of Zoroaster.

The Persian (and Arabic) Writings.

Under this head, I will refer to the books of (a) Firdousi, and (b) Tabari, whose Arabic has been rendered into Persian and (c) Macoudi.

Firdousi.

• (*a*) According to Firdousi, the Sassanians had frequent wars with the Huns who were known, in different parts and at different times, under different names, such as Euthalites, Ephthalites, Haitalites, Naphthalites, Atelites, Alatelites, &c. Oriental writers, and among them Firdousi, speak of them at times, under the general head of Turks. We find from Firdousi and other writers, that the Sassanian kings from Behramgore down to Noushirwan had frequent wars with them. I will refer my readers to my paper on the Early History of the Huns for a brief history of the wars.

Firdousi's account of the war in the time of Behramgore of Iran, provides with evidences, that the Huns who fought with him, and who belonged to the various tribes known as the Chaghāni, Khatli &c, were partly Zoroastrian in their faith.

(*a*) They paid reverence to Fire, observing the old Iranian sacerdotal ritual of Bāj and Barsam. We learn, that these Hunnic tribes, after the final victory of Behramgore over their Hunnic king, who was taken prisoner, paid tribute to the Iranian king and observed the above Zoroastrian ritual. We read,

چغانی و ختلی و بلخی روان
بخاری و از خرچکان موبدان
برفتند با باژ و برسم بدست
نیایش کنان پیش آتش پرست

Translation,—The Chagānis, the Khatlis and the Balkhi chiefs, the Bokhāris and Mobads from Garchgân, they all went before the (sacred) fire for worship, observing Baz and holding Barsam in their hands.

Now we know, that the observation of Bāj and the holding of Barsam are Zoroastrian religious ceremonies. So, the observance of these ceremonies by the above Hunnic tribes shows, that they were, if not wholly, partly Zoroastrian in their faith,

Tabari.

(*b*) We learn from Tabari's account of the war of Behrām with a Hunnic king, that the queen of the Hunnic king had fallen a prisoner in his hands. Behrām sent her as a state prisoner to the great Fire-temple of Āzer Gushasp[1] to serve at the temple. Tabari says : i. e. He sent the royal wife

آن خاتون که زن خاقان بود بخدمت آتشکده کردن فرستاد

(khâtun) of the Khakân to serve at the Fire-temple. This shows, that the Hunnic queen must be Zoroastrian in her faith; otherwise, she could not have been sent to the great Fire-temple which was held in great reverence in Iran for several centuries.

It seems from Firdousi and other writers that like the temples of the early Greeks and Romans, the Fire-temples of Iran served various purposes. They had institutions attached to them which served the purposes of our modern Bank Houses of Correction, libraries &c,[2] So, the Hunnic queen was sent, as it were, as a state prisoner to state religious House of Correction.

Macoudi.

(*c*) That the enemy with whom Gushtasp fought were some tribes of the Huns appears from Mocoudi who refers to Isfendiâr, the son of Gushtasp and says that he had built a fortress in the Caucassus to withstand the Alans who were a tribe of the Huns. He says.

" Entre tlee royaume des Alans et le Caucase, il y a un chateau et un point construit sur une rivière considèrable. Le chateau est appele *chateau*

1. Meean's Calcutta Ed. VI, III p. 1518.

2. Vide my "Iranian Essays" Part I for the History of this great Fire-temple.

3. Tabari, Nanvl Kashores Ed. of 1574 p 301. Tabari par Zotenberg Vol, II, p. 121.

4. Vide my Iranian Essays Part II for an account of these Fire-temples pp. 93-123.

5. Mac,ourdi, traduit par Barbier de Meynarrd, Vol. II pp. 42-43.

des Alans; [1] il a été bati autrefois par un des anciens princes de la Perse, Ispendiar (Isfendiar), fils de Gushtasp. Il y avait placé une garde chargée de fermer aux Alans la route du Caucase."

II.. Evidence from Indian Sources.

Now, we will turn to Indian sources to see, that the Huns who invaded India followed the ancient Iranian religion.

Just as in the history of Persia, we find two sets of references—one which may be called semi-historical referring to the old Kianian times and the other historical or authentic referring to the Sassanian times—so, also in the history of India, we have two sets of references. The set of references in the Viṣṇu Purana and Kālidāsa's Raghuvamśa, may be taken as semi-historical and the other set, referring to the times of the Guptas as historical and authentic. It is the second set that helps us to say, that the religion of the Huns who invaded India was well-nigh the same as that of the Iranians.

These historical references or evidence can be divided under three headings.

(A) Inscriptions.
(B) Writings.
(C) Coins.

A. Inscriptions.

The authentic history of the times of the Guptas places the later Hunnic invasion of India in years 457 to 500 A.C. I will not enter here into this history but refer my readers to my paper on the History of the Huns[2]. This history shows that the Huns who invaded India had come from the direction of Persia and that both, their victories and defeats in Persia, drove them towards India. At one time, the growth of their power on being victorious near Persia encouraged them to "pastures new" in the direction of India. At another time, defeat and dearth or wants turned them towards India.

The first Hunnic king referred to in, what may be called the authentic history in Toramana who had settled in Malwa a few years before 500 A.C. He had assumed Indian title Mahārājādhirāja, i.e. the Rāja of the Mahārājas. He had struck his coins in India, and we find his name in

1. قلعه الان Ibid p. 43.

2. Vide my "Asiatic Papers" Part II pp. 336, et. seq.

Indian inscriptions. The defeat and the death of the Iranian king Phiroze (457-454) seems to have made him powerful enough to turn to India for fresh victories. He had a son named Mihirkula. Mihirkula is the Golas of the monk-writer Cosmos Indicopleustes who wrote in 547 A.C. The last part Kula or Kola of the name of Mihirkula has given the form Golas. This writer speaks of him as a king of the White Huns. It is the Indian account of Mihirkula that helps us to say, that Toramana, Mihirkula and their clan were, if not wholly, partly Zoroastrians in their belief. There are several facts that lead us to say so.

We have an inscription of the time of Mihirkula, inscribed in the 15th year of his reign. It was found "built into the wall in the porch of a temple of the sun in the fortress at Gwalior in Central India." The inscription,[1] refers to the worship of the sun. The inscription is by one Matricheta, who said that he had built the temple and dedicated it to the Sun "for the purpose of increasing the religious merit of (his) parents and himself"[2]. Mihirkula's father, Toramana, is spoken of in this inscription "as a ruler of great merit"[3]. Mihirakula himself is spoken of as a man of "unequalled powers, Lord of the Earth [4]. I think that the donor Matricheta himself may be a Zoroastrian in his belief. His reference to the [5] *sad dharma* seems to me to be a reference to the Zoroastrian Mazdayasnān religion which is often spoken of in Parsee writings as the good true religion (Veh din, behdin), The eulogistic way in which this donor, who seems to be a zoroastrian. speaks of Toramana and his son Mihirkula, in a temple dedicated to the sun, on whose light Mithra presides, leads us to infer that these Hunnic kings also were Zoroastrian.

B. Evidence from Historical Writings. The Rājatarngiṇi.

Coming to books, the most important evidence is that from Rājatarangiṇi: Mihirkula the son of Toramana was finally defeated[6].

1. Dr. Fleet s Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings p. 163 No. 3.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. Fleet's Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings No. 37, p. 162.
6. There had been for some time a discussion, as to who defeated Mihirkula and thus put an end to the Hunnic rule in India. Some said, it was Baladitya and others that it was Yas'odharman. In my paper on the Hunas in the Bhandarkar Commemorative Volume, I have given my view in favour of Yas'hodharman. Prof. K. B. Pathak, also has in his learned paper, entitled "New Light on Gupta Era and Mihirkula" in the same Volume shown that it was Yas'hodharman who gave the final defeat.

Now, in the final battle, which led to the defeat, Mihirkula was taken prisoner and sent away to his Capital at Sakala (Sialkot). But, having found, that his brother had, taking advantage of his defeat in the South, usurped his throne, Mihirkula went to Kashmir, where he was hospitably received by the king of the country. But, later on, he abused his host's hospitality and raising a revolt, seized his throne. Now Kalhaṇa, the poet historian of Kashmir, refers to Mihirkula and his rule over Kashmir in the Rājatarangiṇi, his well-known work on the history of Kashmir, which is taken to be the first historical work of its kind, in India. There are several statements in his account which point to Mihirakula's religion being somewhat the same as that of the Iranians of Persia. We will refer here to these.

(*a*) Firstly his very name Mihirkula is Iranian. Mihr or Meher is the later form of the Avestan Mithra (Indian Mitra).

(*b*) He is spoken[1] of as having founded at Shrinagar a temple of Mihir (Mihireshwar[2] and the city of Mihirpura).

These names show they bore the name of Mihir, the Iranian Yazata (Mithra), presiding over the light of the sun. One may say that Mihir is the Indian word for sun, so there is nothing unusual or un-Indian in the names. But, when we know that Mihirakula was a non-Indian or a foreigner and that names of cities or temples bearing the name Mihir are otherwise scarce, it seems, that the names have an Iranian tinge in them.

(*c*) Immediately after the mention of these two places, bearing the name of Mihir, we find a mention of Gāndhāra Brāhmaṇas[3] They are spoken of as (*a*) Brāhmaṇas of Gāndhāra, (*b*) of being the last of the Dvijas (*c*) of undoubtedly having the same dispositions as that of Mihirakula (*d*) and of coming from various agrahāras.

Now as to the Gāndhāras, I will quote here, what I have said in my paper on Kashmir and the ancient Persians.[4]

"The references to the Gandarii by the classical writers, as collected both by Wilson and Troyer, point to two different races of the Gandarii. It appears that the Gāndhāras, referred to by the author of the Rājatarangiṇi, were not the same, as those referred to by Herodotus, as Gandarians and as a

1. Troyer's Text p. 34, sloke 306. Stein's Text, p. 13.
2. Troyer translates as "unsanctuaire a Mihira" Vol. II. Translation pp. 33.
3. Jour B. B. P. R. S., Vol. XIX pp. 237-48 Asiatic Paper, Part I, pp. 23 110. Vide p. 105 for the quotation.

people of one of the twenty Satrapies, in which Darius Hystaspes had divided his Persian Empire.(1) They were the same, who, with the Sogdians 'having the same accoutrements as the Bactrians', formed a part of the army of Xerxes They are the same, as those referred to by Pliny, as being a tribe of Sogdiana, the Sogdha of the Vendidad. Thus, the Gāndhārā Brāhmins, referred to by the Rājataranginī, as being preferred to tha Brāhmins of the country, and as having won the favour of Mihirkula, were some foreigners from the further west. That they were Zoroastrian Mobeds, appears from the description given in the Rājataranginī.[2]"

These Brāhmaṇas or Mopads are spoken of as having the custom of the next-of-kin marriage. It is the custom referred to by some Greek writers also. Modern European scholars connect it with the custom of Khetyodath referred to in Parsee books. I have spoken on, and explained elsewhere, the subject. However Kalhaṇa's reference to the alleged observation of this custom by the Brāhmins, newly brought by Mihirkula to India, shows, that the Brāhmins were some Zoroastrian priests. Thus the fact of the Hunnic king Mihirkula, who bore an Indian name, bringing to Kashmir foreign Zoroastrian Brāhmins, who were alleged to have been observing the custom of the next-of-kin marriage attributed to some sects of Zoroastrians, leads to show, that Mihirkula's faith also was, if not wholly, at least partly, Zoroastrian.

(*d*) Then, the Rājataranginī says, that the coming of Mihirkula and his army could be known by the people by the fact of their being followed by falcons, crows and other flesh-devouring animals. Perhaps, the writer seems to say that wherever he went there was a slaughter of armies, &c., and therefore a number of flesh devouring creatures followed his army. But, I think that here is also a subtle allusion to the Iranian custom of the disposal of the dead. If so, this allusion also points to the Hunnic king Mihirakula as following the Iranian faith.

C. Numismatic Evidence.

The coins of the Hun kings in India also show that they followed the religion of ancient Iran. The coins of the Hun king Toramana and Mihirakula bore Fire-altars like those on the Sassanian coins. Their coins served as intermediate models for the later Gadha coins, known as Gadhiya Paisa, known in Indian literature as Drammas. I have referred in my paper, entitl-

1. Herodotus Book III, 91.
2. Book VII, 66 "Had the Bactrian equipment in all respect." Rawlinson's Translation.
3. Book I, s'lokas, 346-309.

ed "A Glimpse into the Work of the B. B. R. A. S., from a Parsee point of view "[1] to Dr. Condrington's plate, in which he has arranged 20 coins of the type known in Gujarat as Gadhia coins and in Kathiāwār as Gadhaiyā coins. Pandid Bhagvanlal Indraji has described the plate, and, as said by him, the coins in the plate are arranged in a way as would easily give to one looking at them " the gradual transition from the Persian face and fire-altar, seen in the former (Sassnian coins), into the oblong button dots and lines on the latter (Gadhiā) coins, and which showed pretty plainly that the so-called Gadhiās are a debased imitation of the coins of the Sassanian kings of about the 6th or 7th Century A. D." [2] Now in this series, the coins of the Hun kings occupy an intermediate place, As said by Mr. Brown " the Huns were mainly instrumental in introducing Sassanian types into India." [3]

Mr. Brown refers to a coin bearing the name Shāhi Tigin with the Nagari legend " King of India and Persia." I think this Shāhi Tigin is the Shahi Chagān or Chagān Shahi of Firdousi (Mecan's Calcutta edition of the Shahnameh, Vol. III p. 15/89 e. g. The name is a title and not the name of the king.) The name of this particular king was Faghanish and he was a. Hunnic king of the Haitalite tribe, spoken of by Firdousi as Shahi-Haital.

Of course, the mere fact, that we find fire-altars in the coins of the Hunnic Kings of India, standing alone, would not, suffice to show, that they paid reverence to fire and were Zoroastrians in belief, but together with other evidences referred to in this paper, it presents a very strong presumption of their following the religion of Iran.

The view of M. Deguignes principally based on the authority of Chinese writings.

Mr. Deguignes has written an excellent History of the Huns under the title of " Historire Generale des Huns." He speaks of his work, as a work principally drawn from, or based upon, Chinese books (Ouvragetire des Livres, Chinois." He has also drawn from other Oriental sources. In this history, he speaks in two places on the religion of the Huns. At first, he speaks of

1. The Centinary Vol. of the B.B.R.A.S. (1905). Vide my Reprint of the paper, p. 152.
2. Journal B.B.R.A.S. Vol. XII. Abstract of Proceedings, p. XXII.
3. The coins of of India (The Heritage of India Series) by C. I. Brown (1922) p. 51.
4. Histoir Genéraledes Huns (1756) Tome I partie II, Line premier, p. 26.
5. Ibid pp. 375-77 Livre, V.
6. I translate from Deguignes' Histoir Generale des Huns. Tome I, seconde partie, p. 375, Livre cinquieme.

their religion under the head of "Histoire des Anciens Huns."[1] This account is of the ancient Huns other than the White Huns, who lived in the frontiers of Persia and who now and then invaded Persia, and who, in the time of the Sassanides invaded both Persia and India. He again speaks of their religion under the head of "Les Turcs Orientaux."[2] These Turks were the Huns who had come into a long contact with the Persians, and had invaded Persia and India under the Sassanides. He thus speaks of their religion.[3] "As to other religion, the Turks have much respect for fire, air, water and earth. They worship one God whom they regard as the author of the Universe. They sacrifice to him camels, oxen and sheep. Their priests claim to have the gift of prophecy.... ...But there existed in their neighbourhood a religion celebrated in olden time, I mean that of Zoroaster, which, a part (tribe) of Turks, had embraced, principally those who lived in the direction of Persia and in Transoxonia." Then, describing the religion of Zoroaster on the authority of Hyde, M. Deguignes adds: "But probably the Turks had not adopted the sublime ideas of the Persian religion.[4]" We see that Deguignes' account of the offerings tallies with what we have said above about the ceremonialous offering of animals according to the Yashts by the Vaësaka Huns and by the Huns of king Arejataspa or Arjāsp.

---

1. Histoire Generale des Huns (1756) Tome I, parte II, Livre premier, p. 26.
2. Ibid pp. 375-77 Livre, V.
3. I translate trom Deguignes' Histoire Generale des Huns. Tome I, seconde partie, p. 374, Livre cinquieme.
4. Ibid, p. 376.

THE NŪRBAKHSHI SECT.

BY

MR. MOHAMMAD SHAFI, LAHORE.

Side by side with the growth of the Mughal power in India there were growing certain unorthodox sects in Islam mostly of foreign, particularly Persian origin, and greatly resembling each other, though orthodox Islam was, as a rule, the state religion of the Mughal Empire.

The Roshna'is.

There had risen, for example, the Roshanā'is or Roshānīs, the followers of Bāyazīd Ansārī, an Afghan, who was a Panjabi by birth, but whose family removed to Wazirastan after Bābur had defeated the Lodīs at Panipat. Having come under the influence of an Ismā'īlian at Kalinjar, Bayazīd later on founded a sect, which combined communistic doctrines and pantheistic beliefs with the Ismā'īlian doctrines such as the mystical interpretation of the Koran and Hadith and the view that Pīr was the highest divine manifestation, in whose obedience lay salvation and whose disobedience (according to Bayazīd) was punishable by death. His teaching found favour with the Afghans in Tirah and Kurram, and for a time, also in the Yusufzai country. The great national revival caused by the new doctrine brought the Afghans in conflict with the Mughals and the war was carried on during the reigns of Akbar, Jahangir and Shahjahan. "How far the doctrines of the sect survived is by no means clear: that they have greatly influenced Mohammedan beliefs in those provinces appears certain" [1].

---

1. Rose : Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and N. W. Frontier Province (Lahore, 1914) III, 337. For an account of the sect see also Bellew, a General Report on the Yusufzais (Lahore, 1864) p. 68 seq., Encyclop. of Islam I. 686 and bibliography given there. None of the works of Bayazīd is known to exist, except *Maqsūd-al-Mominīn*, of which I possess an indifferent copy, transcribed in A. H. 1224. The size of the page is 9" x 6", 11 24 ff. 95 ; written in ordinary Indian Nastālīq. The work is in Arabic and my copy has also an interlinear Persian translation. It has 21 chapters. The author, who calls himself "Bayazīd Ansari b. Abdullah Qazī", explains in the preface that he wrote the work at the request of his son 'Sheikh Omar' to serve as an admonition for his sons and other members of the family, "based on the Qorān, Hadīth, sayings of the Walīs and his own arguments." The heading of the first Chapter is : A Discourse on Knowledge and Acquaintance with Admonition and Advice and the benefit thereof (بيان العلم و معرفة الوعظ والنصيحة و منفعته) Every other heading begins with, بيان العلم و معرفة the topics considered are such as 'This world', 'The next', 'The Law' 'The Reality', etc., etc.

The Khafashanis.

Another curious sect known as Khafashānīs[1] arose after the death of Aurangzīb. One Syed Mohammad Hussain, an adventurer from Khurāsān came to Kābul, and was married to an adopted daughter of Amīr Khān, Governor of Kābul and the son-in-law of 'Alī Mardan Khan'. After the death of Amīr Khān he came to Lahore, where he reached about A. H. 1118-1707. The news of the death of Aurangzīb, having reached him there all the hopes that he had of advancement at the court of that Emperor were shattered and he became a *Faqir*. Fired with the ambition for power, and goaded with the hope of gain—at least so tells us the historian 2, he conceived the plan of founding a new sect. He set to work and in collaboration

1. For an explanation of the name see Tuhfat-at-'Alam (Bombay 1847) p. 498. It was the first word of a sentence, which was substituted for السلام علیکم

2. I have followed the account of this sect, given in Siyar-al-Mutaakhirīn (Lucknow A. H. 1282) II 445-450 (written in A. H 1194-95). The author got his information directly from the sons and the successors of the founder of the sect. The author of Tuhfat-ul-'Alam pp. 491-9, writing about 20 years later (in A. H. 1215-16), who had met some followers of this sect in Murshidabad gives a brief account of the sect which differs from that of Ghulam Husain Khan only in some details. It also gives the pronunciation of some of the peculiar terms of the sect.

Mīr Taqī Mīr, the famous Urdu poet (d. in A. H. 1225) describes in his *Dhikr-i-Mīr* (written in A. H. 1186), an interview which his father had with the founder of the Khafashānī sect in Lahore, thus :— بعد از چندے بلاہور رسید و آن درویش ریاکار را دید که بر کنار رود خانه که براوي شهرت دارد نشسته مي ماند و عالمي را بآب مي راند (يعني فريب مي داد) بنام خفشان نمود مشهور بود ' چند الفاظ دري بر زبان داشت ' نا فهمي چند كه معني فهميدند پيش او خط به بيني كشيدند (يعني عجز نمودند) 'گفت كه من تائيد محمد عليه الصلوة مي كنم 'بي حقيقتان مرا لغوي مى دانند ' پدرم بر آشفت و گفت كه اي بى ته (يعنى بے خرد) دين پيغمبر ما محتاج تائيد چو تووي نيست فهميده بگو كه اينجا شمشير درميان است مبادا كه كشته شوي' آخر در اول ملاقات صحبت قروتى شد (يعنى بيمزه شد) بترش روئى تمامى ازانجا برخاسته در تكيه فقيري شب گذرانيد ' چون صبح سفيد شد آن سيه گليم از در معذرت در آمد ' پدر من گفت كه جالا سودي ندارد ' ديروز سفيد (يعنى بے پرده) گفته ام ' امروز سفيد تر خواهم گفت ' هر گاه پرده از روى كار برخاست بے لطف است '

برو سر خود گير كه بد حن ها افتى (يعنے رسوا شوي)

(My Ms. f. 8 b. This copy was transcribed in A. H. 1231/1816.

with a pupil of his, he coined a new language, mainly using obscure and absolute old Persian [1] words modified by apocopation, etc., into barbarous, unrecognizable forms. In this jargon he wrote his scriptures, which he called the Holy Āqūzā (آموزۂ مقدسہ) He claimed that he was the 9th and the last 'Bīgūk', and as such held a position between the prophets and the Imāms. Mohammad, like other, great Prophets, was followed by nine dignatries of this type. Alī was the first, Imām Ridā, the 8th. Upto Imām Ridā the two functions met in the same individual; then they separated. Muhammad Taqī became the 9th Imām and he the 9th and the last Bīgūk. This was meant for Shīā consumption; for the Sunnīs a different ennumeration was adopted. In fact he did not bother himself as to what the religion of a man was so long as he accepted his claim as a Bīgūk. He also claimed that he was a Mujaddid, and received revelation, sometimes through the eyes, by being presented with a sun-like disk, inscribed with letters of light, at others, through the ears by hearing words revealed to him. He had fixed certain days to be observed as festivals by his followers, and instituted three additional prayers, called by him *Did* (دیدہ) at sunrise, midday, and at sunset.

From Lahore he moved to Delhi and gradually acquired a large following, numbering about 20,000 souls, including some of the Mughal nobles. He attracted even Farrukh Siyar [2], who personally called on him. In the reign of Mohammad Shāh [3] his Vizir Mohammed Amīn Khan wanted to arrest him, but the sudden death of the voice only strengthened the cause of the Prophet still more. After the death of the founder, which took place within a year or two of the incident described above, his son succeeded him but dissensions arose among his followers and became a source of weakness for the sect. After the invasion of Nādir Shāh, the grandson of the founder acquired some influence with Muhammad Shāh but the invasion had really ruined the sect and killed or scattered its adherents. In the middle of the reign of Ahmad Shāh[4] the remnants of the family of Muhammad Husain removed to Bengal and lived there, under the patronage of Mīran, son of J'āfar Ālī Khan, the Governor of Bengal. In the first quarter of the 13th Century, the sect had practically disappeared,[5] after nearly a century, from its birth.

1. 'Fārsī-i-Qadīm' in Siyar, 'Pahlavī' in *Tuhfa*, and 'Darī' in Mīr Taqī. Apparently some Hindī words like Nimāna and Semitic words like i.e. were also taken.

2. r 1124/1713—1131/1719.

3. r 1131/1719—1161/1748.

4. r. 1161/1748—1167/1754.

5. Tuhfat-ul-'Alam, p. 499.

The Nur Bakhshis.

We now turn to the Nūr Bakhshis, who in point of time came into existence before the two sects described above, and to whom this paper is really devoted. After giving a biographical[1] sketch of the founder of this sect and a brief account of some of his successors, I shall deal with the introduction of this doctrine in India than with the doctrine itself, and finally with the present-day-condition of the sect.

(*a*) *The founder of the Sect,*

The Nūrbakhshis are the followers of Syed Muhammad Nūr Bakhsh[2]. His family came from al-Ahsa (also called Lahsa or al-Hasa), the district (also a town) in Bahrain on the Persian Gulf, This region exhibited Shi'ite tendencies almost throughout the history of Islam.[3] It was in Lahsā that 'Abdullah' the grandfather of Nūr Bakhsh was born[4]. His father Muhammad was born in Quatīf. The family is said to have possessed one peculiarity. Each generation produced some members, who possessed hāl (or 'state' of the mystics), saintly individuals- who were either *saliks* (sane followers of the spiritual way) or *Majzubs* (lunatics), shewing clearly the neuratic tendency of the family.

1. The following abbreviations among others have been used in this article :—

Akhbār i.e., Akhbār al-Akhyār. Delhi, 1280.

Asrār i.e., Asrar al-Shuhūd of Asīrī (Lahore, 1894).

Biddulph i.e. Tribes of the Hindoo Kush (Calcutta, 1880).

E. I. i.e. Encyclopaedia of Islām.

H. I. i.e. Haft Iqlīm of Amīn Ahmad Rāzī, quoted from Punjab University Ms, or from a summary of its contents in Ethe's Catalogue of Persian Mss. in the Library of the India Office.

H. Khalīfa i.e. Kashf al Zunūn, Contsantinople, 1310.

Ma'āthīr, i,e., Maāthir-i-Rahīmī of Muliā 'Abdul Bāqī Nahāvandi. Ed. M. Hidayet, Hussain (Calcutta, 1910)

2. The best account of the life of this Syed is preserved in the Majālis al-Mumīnīn of Nūrullāh Shūstarī (Tehrān, 1299). p. 313-15. He had access to a contemporary account (app. called تذکرہ) of the Syed by a disciple of his, Muhammad b. Hājī Muhammad Samārqandī by name. Nūrullāh gives a summary of the account. It relates roughly speaking to the period of the life of the Syed between 826 and 841. I have collated the text with an excellent copy, belonging to Professor Mahmūd Shairānī of the Islamia College, Lahore, (called in the notes 'M.S.'), and transcribed in Jahāngīrnagar (Bengāl), in a.H. 1079.

3. Cf Mājalis 3?. As late as 1157/ 147 it gave birth to the founder of the Sheikhī sect of the Shia see Encyclop. of Islam I. 2?8.

4. It was after him that the Syed is said to have used "Lal savi" as his poetical name, in some of his *Chazals*. I have not seen any such *Ghazal*. See Majālis, I.?.

His father, having decided to denude himself of his worldly possessions left his country and went into Khurāsān. After visiting the tomb of his ancestor the Imām 'Alī' b. Mūsa al-Ridal[1] he settled in Qain[2] and married there. Here Nūr Bakhsh was born in A. H. 795. He learnt the Qoran by heart at the age of seven and in a few years. we are told, acquired profound knowledge of all the sciences. In later years he refers proudly in a letter, which has come down to us[3], to his achievements in various sciences, particularly in the linguistic, religious, mathematical and occult.[4]

After completing his education he became a disciple of Khwaja Ishāq of Khuttalān, who himself was a disciple of Syed Ālī Hamadānī. The Mīr perfected himself, it seems, before long, in the practices of the mystics, and the Khwāja, his spiritual guide, presented him with the last mantle of Syed Ālī, robed him in it with his own hands, and seating him on the *Masnad* of spiritual guidance, placed him in charge of the affairs of the monastery and of all the novices. He also gave him the title of Nūr Bakhsh in accordance with a dream that he had dreamt.[5] Nay, he himself took *bai'a* with his former disciple and invited his other disciples to do the same. All responded with one notable exception.[6]

1. The 8th Imām, who was poisoned by Mamūn in 208 (817) and who lies buried in Mashhad. Nūrbakhsh was the seventeenth descendent of Musa at-Kāzim (Majālis 313 p. 27).

2. The Chief town of Quhistān in Eastern Persia (see Le Strange). The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate P. (352). of Asrar P. 94 c. e.—

مولدش از قاینست [قا ینست] و خاک پا - شد مقام کو ۲
گیلاں اے کیا

3. In نسخهٔ جامعه مراسلات اولوالالباب by Ivāghalī Haider, of which there is a copy in the British Museum (Add. 7688 The letter in question occurs on P. 34 b.) In the following pages this work is brige referred to as 'Murāsalāt'. also see Appendix.

4. See infra.

5. Nūr Bakhsh claims for the title a divine origin :—

نور بخشم گفت و دردم داد بخش ، درد او مارا بود نور صفا

B. M. Add. 16779 *f*. 167 *b*. (This manuscript contains a few palams of Nūr Bakhsh. In the following page it has been briefly called 'Poems'.) of Asrār ; p. 9. L. 14.

آمده از غیب نامش نور بخش بود چون خورشید با مش نور بخش

6. This was Shihābuddin 'Abdullah Mashhadī. He was absent at the time and when the news of Khawāja Ishāq's bai'a reached him he is said to have denied the Khwāja who in his turn disowned him (majālis 3148-12). On p. 319-19 he is represented to have claimed to be the Khalīfa of Khwāja Ishāq. His followers were called Sufija in the time of the Shūstarī-a name which seems to have been appropriated by the Nūrbakhshiya of Kashmīr, in later times, and between the followers of Nūrbakhsh and Khwāja Ishāq much difference existed as to the genuineness of the calim of Abdullāh.

Evidently, the Khwāja had his designs against the Government of Shāhrūkh[1] and in the Mīr he found his man. The Mīr at first pleaded that they were not prepared to take the field against an Emperor like Shāhrukh, who held sway on " Iran, Turan and India, over Arabs and non-Arabs " and that they could afford to wait as the affair certainly was preordained by God and would ultimately take the desired shape. But the Khwāja was inexorable and cited examples from sacred history, of the prophets who had sallied forth against their enemies on similar occasions without any preparation. Ultimately the Mīr yielded. In the year 826/1423 the party raised the standard of revolt in a fortress[2] of the distant province of Khuttalān, the great mountainous tract on the upper Oxus, west of Badakhshān.

Things were thus rapidly coming to a head, when the Governor of the province got news of the storm that was brewing. He acted promptly and firmly. Both the Khwāja and the Mīr were arrested, also a band of their leading supporters and having sent a report of the whole affair to Shāhrukh's Court at Herāt, the Governor sent the prisoners in the same direction.

The second period of his life from C. 826 to C. 841.

This brings us to the second period of the life of the Mīr, covering over fifteen years, in which he was either in prison or under surveillance, in one part or the other of the Empire of Shāhrukh.

On receiving the report, Shāhrukh gave orders that all the prisoners be put to death, but a little later modified the order[3] as far the Mīr was concerned. He was to be brought alive to Herāt.[4]

---

1. The sun and successor of Timur. He reigned from 807/1404 to 850/1447.

2. According to the original "invited the people (to himself),(وخلق را دعوت کردند) which combined with the talk about *Khurūj* that had preceded, would mean little else than open revolt. The name of the fortress is given as کوه تیری in the printed text. The M.S. gives کوه تیزی

3. At the suggestion, we are told by the disciple and biographer of the Mīr, of Hakīm Dīn, the Court physician of the Emperor Shāhrukh had a sudden attack of colic, which was relieved only by his withdrawing the death sentence against Nūr Bakhsh, a Syed, who was " peerless in asceticism, piety, learning, and ascetic practices and perfections, apparent and hidden " (Majālis l. c.)

4. Nūr Bakhsh refers to the incident in one of his poems, thus :—

پیریم مرید خواجه اسحاق آن شیخ شهید قطب آفاق
گو بود مرید پیر فانی شاه همدان علی ثانی
دادند بکمال ما شهادت بردند سعادت شهادت
چون در ره صدق و صفا داده اد داد رضوان بروان پاک شان داد
رفتند بسرا وقات علما وا نگاه رسید نوبت ما

(Poems f. 179 a.)

i. His first captivity.

Nūr Bakhsh was brought in chains to Herāt, and although he pleaded that he had not "plucked as much as one hair from the body of a Muslim, nor shot an arrow towards any man"[1] he was imprisoned in the Fort of Ikhtiyār-ud-Dīn[2], and for the first eighteen days placed in a dark cell. Then he was sent in chains to Shiraz, the Emperor's own kinsmen being entrusted with the task of taking him to the frontier. He was thus taken to Bihbahān[3], on the border of Kurdistān and there for a time kept in durance, but finally set free by Ibrahīm Sultan, the Governor of Shīrāz.

After regaining his freedom the Mīr went, through Shūster and Basra, to Hillah, where he was well received by the inhabitants; thence he made for Baghdad, and after visiting the shrines there entered the Kurdistan province. His propaganda among the Bakhtiyarīs and other clans succeeded exceedingly well. The chiefs and nobles of the place offered their allegiance to him and for a time struck coins and read the Khutba in his name.

ii. His second captivity.

Shāhrukh was then in Adharbāijān As soon as he heard that the Mīr was in Kurdistān, he issued orders for his arrest. He was thus arrested a second time and taken to the Urdū or the Royal Camp Being convinced that the Emperor, was bent on his destruction, the Mīr escaped the vigilance of the guards, and fled for his life. After wandering through snow-covered, trackles and mountains for three days and nights he reached Khalkhāl. The ruler of that place however again arrested him and sent him back to Shāhrukh. This time he was again placed in a dungeon for fifty-three days and then taken in chains to Herāt. On a Friday, he was forced to ascend the pulpit and renounce his claim to Khilafat and he had no alternative to obey.[4] On Jumādā I, 810 (Nov: or Decr. 1436) his chain serw

1. MS: قصد يكموي گو سفند هيچ مسلماني الخ

2. Situated to the north of the city of Herāt, within its enceinte. So in Asfizarī's Rawdāt al-Jannāt.; Punjab Univ. MS; also in Ferrier's *Caravan Journeys*, London, 1856. Apparently Mohan Lal has described the same as' the Arg', in his Travels (p. 264) London, 1846.

3. In the Arrajān District, south of the Tāb river.

4. The biographer tells us that Nūr Bakhsh made the following speech on the occasion: This poor man is alleged to have said a certain thing We said it or said it not, "O Our Lord "I we have wronyed ourselves-and if Thou dost not forgive us and have mercy on us, we shall surely be of those who are lost' Kor. 7 22). Then he recited the Fātihah (or the opening Chapter of the Koran) and descended from the pulpit. (Majālis l. c.)

taken off and he was allowed to teach the ordinary sciences[1] but he was not to mix with the masses nor was he to don a black turban.[2].

iii. Transported to Asia Minor on 15. ix. 840 (24.3.1437).

Not long after this the Emperor again had misgivings about the Mīr and sent him to Tibrīz, the Governor of which place was to transport him to Rūm (Asia Minor) After reaching Tibrīz[3] he got his freedom but we find him proceeding to Shirwān and thence to Gīlān, instead of Asia Minor. In the latter place he engaged himself in devotional acts, without any let or hindrance and waited 'for the divine command.[4] This brings us to the third period of the life of Nūr Bakhsh. Shāhrukh died in 850 (1447) and peace was restored to the life of this person, whom the Emperor had pur-

1. In MS the word: گوید has been altered into نگوید i. e., he was forbidden to teach the sciences.

2. Majālis p. 313 1-25. He wore black clothes, in the style of of his Sheikhs. Even his disciples did the same. Cf. Ibid p. 317 ; The enemy who wore white clothes (see 1. 4) refers perhaps to the Tīmūrids. Black was the official colour of the Abbasides, which according to Ibnal-Mu'tazz, was adopted by them in mourning for Husain ib 'Alī Ibrāhīm (al-Imām). See Z.D.M.G. vol 40. p. 578., verses 07 and 208. The Alid colour was, however, green. Apparently the wearing of black, was taken by Shāhrukh as lending colour to the pretension of the Mīr as to the Galiphate. The explanation which Asīrī is said to have given to Shah Ismaīl, (r. 907-930) that black was being worn by him in mourning for Husain (Majālis 307. 1·23). The following from Risāla-i-Imāmiya (Mīrāt, 1325) as to what the Khatīb should do when leading the Friday prayers, is interesting:—

و خطیب باید که تیغی یا کمانی بدست گیرد و بران اعتماد
کند و عمامه و ردا هردو یا یکی ازان هر دو سیاه اختیار کند

3. Evidently those who had charge of him on the way to Tibrīz performed their duty very carelessly, for the Mīr all the way was carrying on his propoganda freely.

4. Here ends the summary which the Shūstarī has given of the biography of the Mīr by his Smargandī disciple. To this period must be assigned, if genuine, the letter of Nūr Bakhsh (to Shāhrukh?), quoted in murāsālat f 34 b, in which occurs the following; For twenty years that King has been persecuting the undersigned. Thrice hath he imprisoned him and twice confined him in dungeons. For a thousand leagues hath he made him go in chains, from one clime to another. That persecution hath not ceased even now, when his life and reign are coming to an end. He is still thinking of arresting the undersigned and putting him in chains. This is not to be, as revealed to those who receive revelations for the seers hay seen and the knowers known only three captivities. . . . . The first was for six months, the chains heavy, then there was also the sentence of death ; the second was for four months, the chains light, but there was neither confinement in dungeon nor death sentence. It is expected now that the King would repent and beg forgiveness from God and no more design on the life of a dessendent of the Prophet, for life and empire are coming to an end and the turn hath come of Mohammak's descendants.

sued so relentlessly for over twenty years. In this eventless period of about twenty-one years, we find him settled in the district of Ray-Shahryār[1] in which he founded a village[2] and spent his time in devotions and guidance of his disciples. There he died in 869-1484-S. At about 9 A. M., on Thursday the 15th Rabī O. 869[3] (Novr : 15th, 1464) at the age of 73 lunar months.

(b) *The Successors of Syed Muhammad Nur Bakhsh.*

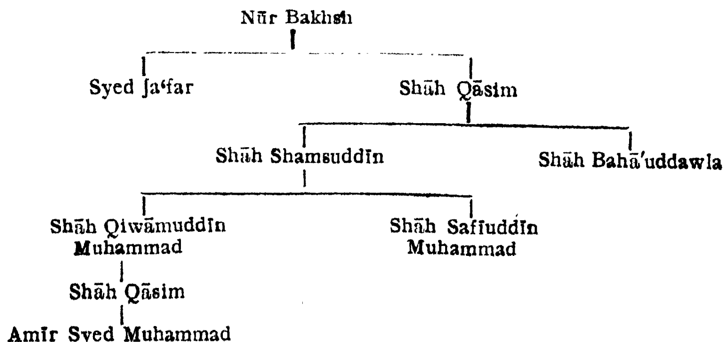
Out of his lineal descendants, several of whom are mentioned as poets by Amīn Ahmad Rāzī[4] the most important seems to have been Shāh Qāsim Faid Bakhsh. He succeeded his father as the religious head of the Nūr Bakhshīya, and owned considerable estates in the district of Ray-Shahryār and that neighbourhood. He and Syed Jafar,[5] the eldest son of the Mīr' both went to Herāt during the reign of Sultan Husain Mīrazā[6] Syed Ja'far could not be persuaded to stay there long and he went to Arabistan, "where he spent the remainder of his life in pious meditations. Shāh Aasim, on the other hand, is said by the Shūstarī to have visited Khurasan at the special request of the Sultan, and enjoyed favour at his Court and won over to the Nūrbakhshī creed some of the princes royal, such as Mīrza Kījīk. After

1. i.e. Ray. See Le Straoge O.C. p. 217.

2. Called سولغانی in Maj'ālis but سولغان in Ms. H.I. seems to call it بيلقان

3. The printed Text wrongly gives تسع و ثمانين The MS: has تسع و ستين which agree,with what follows.

4. In Haft Iqlīm; see Ethe's catalogue of Persian MSS. in India Office, col. 458 Nos. 1078-86 ; col. 469, Nos. 1203-04. The following genealogical table may be constracted from the account:—



5. See 'Alam ārā-i-Abbāsī (Tehran edition) p. 158 E; India Office catalogue L. C., Majālis 315 seq.

6. Reigned in Khurīsān from 878 to 912.

Kījīk died, he returned to Ray and settled there. He must have been quite young at the time for he died in 981, fifty-one years, after the death of Shāh Ismāīl, the first Safvid (r. 907-930) who is said to have greatly honoured him and presented him with more estates than other Syeds. A son of Shāh Qāsim, Shāh Bahā-ud-dawlah by name, is also said to have found favour, first at the court of Sultān Husain Mīrzā in Herāt, and later, at that of Shāh Ismaīl, Shah Qiwāmūddīn, a grandson of Shāh Qāsim succeeded him after his death and made numerous disciples. He would appear to have been fired with ambition, similar to Mīr Muhammad Nūr Bakhsh, for political power, for we are told that he had built a strong citadel for himself. Ultimately he came to trouble and in the reign of Shāh Tahmāsap (r. 930-984) he was brought in chains to Qāzwin and died in prison. Several other members of the family are mentioned by Amīn Ahmed but we leave them in order to notice a disciple of the Mīr, viz, Sheikh Shamsuddīn Muhammad Jilanī of Lahijan, poetically known as Asīrī who, in the words of the Shūstarī was "the best and most perfect of the Khalīfas of Nūr Bakhsh" and perhaps the greatest writer that the sect had produced. He was attracted towards him, it would appear through the efforts of a Nūrbakhshī missionary." He left Isfahān for Gīlān where Nūrbakhsh then was, on Rajab[1], 842[2] and met on the way other people going in the same direction, showing the popularity the saint was enjoying in the the third period of his life. He served him in various ways for sixteen years, and then acted as spiritual guide of the novices under the direction of the Master at whose death he settled in Shīrāz, and founded a monastery (called the Nūrīya). The rulers of the district endowed the monastery and appointed the Sheikh., and his descendants as Mutawallis of it. There, under favourable circumstances, he carried on the work of the master till his death.[3] We will now leave the activities of the missionaries of the sect in the country of its birth and see how the doctrines were introduced in India.

(c) *The Nur Bakhshi doctrines introduced in India.*

The earliest account of the introduction of the Nūr Bakhshī doctrines in Kashmir is given by Mīrzā Haider Dughlāt in the Tārīkh Rashīdī.[4]

---

1. Asrār 92 seq. Asīrī has left (ibid) an interesting account of his noviciate, for which see infra.

2. Asrār p. 94 l. 15 شسصد is obviously a mispoint for. ششصد

3. He was buried in the monastery. The date of his death is not mentioned. He commenced the Sharh Gulshan.i-Rāz about 877/1473 see Macūlis, 316 seq., which has a long notice of him. A son of Asīrī poetically called Fida'ī is mentioned by Amīn Ahmad see the India Office Catalogue, col. 1469, No. 1202.

4. See the English translation by E. D. Ross (London, 1895), p. 434 seq.

According to him a man named Shams (ud-dīn) from Tālish in Irāq, came to Kashmīr in the reign of Fath Shāh.[1] He gave himself out as a Nūr Bakhshī, and " introduced a corrupt form of religion, giving it the name Nūr Bakhshī." He wrote a book, called *Fiqh-i-Ahwat* which does not conform to the teachings either of the Sunnīs or the Shī'as. Mīrza Haider sent the *Ahwat* to the ' Ulama ' of Uindustān, who condemned it[2] as heretical and urged those who had the power to obliterate the book and extirpate the sect. If they persisted in their belief they were to be punished, and even put to death.

This *Fatwa* resulted in a persecution of the Nūr Bakhshīs and Mīrza Haider triumphantly records " that at the present time (948-953) no one in Kashmir does openly profess this faith; but all deny it, and give themselves out as good Sunnīs".

Abul Fadl[3] writing about 1006, adds little to the above information in his article on Kashmir. All that he tells us is that in his time there were some Imāmīs and Nūr Bakhshīs in Kashmir though the majority were Sunnīs[4], and that all were perpetually at strife with each other. Also,[5] that Mīr Shams-ud-dīn was a disciple of Shāh Qāsim Anwar[6] and he promulgated the Nūrbakhshi doctrine in the reign of Fath Shāh, " from which period date the dissensions between Sunnis and Shias in this country." Leaving Fihishta[7] (d. c. 1033), who simply copies the Tārīkh Rashīdī, we come to Muhammad A'zam Kashmīrī, who in his Vāqī'āt-ī-Kashmīr[8] (written between A. H. 1148 and 1160) gives us a few more facts. According to him Mīr Shams " Irāqī," had an 'embellished exterior,' he was an eloquent person

---

1. The dates of Kashmir kings are uncertain according to Lt.-Col. T. W. Haig (J. R. A. S. for 1918 p. 451) Fath Shāh was reigning in 894 and again from 903 to 904.

2. The Fatwā is quoted in extenso in the T. Rashīdī L. C.

3. Jarrett, Aīn-i-Akbari, II 352.

4. Jehangir (Tuzūk, Aligarh, 1864, p. 301) adds that the merchants and craftsmen are Sunnīs and the soldiers are Imāmiya.

5. Jarrett, A'īn, II p. 389.

6. Abul Fadl is apparently calling by this name the individual, commonly known as Shāh Qāsim Faiz Bakhsh, see supra. So also in Maathir p. 223.

7. Lucknow Edition of 1281 Maqāla x pp. 336-337.

8. I am using a Ms : copy of the work, in my possession, transcribed in 1264.

and was acquatinted with the occult sciences. He came to Kashmir twice. His first visit, was as the envoy of Sultan Hussain Mīrzī (863-4-912) the ruler of Khurāsān. Sultan Hasan Shāh was then reigning in Kashmir, but he died soon after and the envoy lingered there for 8 long years, carrying on the Nūrbakhshī propaganda vigorously. He won the confidence of an influential Kashmir Saint Bābā Ismaī'l by name, and secretly converted some of his disciples and prepared the ground for further action. Meanwhile Sultan Husain Mīrza was probably pressing for the return of his envoy, for we hear that he returned to Khurāsān at this stage but being dismissed from service by the Sultān, who became acquainted with "this dishonesty and perversion," he again came to Kashmlr, in the reign of Fath Shāh. This was a very favourable time for the missionary as political dissensions had turned the country virtually into so many hostile camps. Thus we hear that the Chak Chiefs, who not only held high offices, but were also connections of the royal house, were converted to the Nūrbakhshi faith and as the historian puts it "religious complications were added to the political ones and dissensions among the nobles were very much increased."

Shams-ud-dīn had founded for himself a monastery in Jādībāl[1] and, after the conversion of the Chaks gradually, through the activity of his disciples, the faith reached Tibet.[2] After his death and during the supremacy of Mīrzā Haider (lasting for ten years) and in the reign of Nāzuk Shāh, the monastery of Jādībal was burnt down, as also the remains of Shams-ud-dīn. This author gives gruesome details of the persecution of the Nūrbakhshis by the Mīrzā, who appears to have behaved in this matter in the right Mongolion fashion, and remarks that he made himself extremely unpopular by these measures.[3] After the assassination of Mīrza Haider in 957, the

1. Apparently some quarter of Srīnagar.

2. i.e. Ladakh, otherwise known as little Tibet Muhammad A'zam tells us that it was the Shī'a faith that the 'Irāqī had introduced, and that he had nothing to do with Syed Mohammad Nūr Bakhsh, of whom the author speaks well. Cf, this with, the remarks of Mīrza Haider, quoted above, who says that the Iraqī "gave himself out" as a Nūr Bakhshī; also with the account of the origin of the sect given to Biddulph in Baltiistan 4.) Tsih(Tribes) etc. p. 12 last account also refers to a curious fraud of Shams-ud-dīn.

In Ladakh they seem temporarily to have usurped the throne of Iskardo, in the middle of the 18th century, See G. T. Vigne's Travels in Kashmir II 253.

3. Bābā Dāniyāl, a son of 'Irāqi ' is said to have escaped to Tibet, for fear of Haider. He is called Sheikh Dāniyāl in *Da-'awat-i-Sufiya* (Meerut, 1318) p.57 and the list of his eight successors is there given, in order of sequence, thus :—

i. Mīr Shamsuddin Rashīd.

ii. Mīr Hasan Rāhnumā.

iii. Mīr (or Sheikh) Dāntiyāl Dānā.

Nūrbakhshis breathed a sigh of relief and during the rule of Chak Chiefs, which followed soon after, the death of Nazūk Shāh, they reached the height of their power.[1]

That Kashmir was not the only part of India where Nūrbakhshī propoganda reached, is clear from Akhbar (p. 211) where Shāh Jalal Shīrarī, (d. 944) a disciple of Asīrī, is said to have come from Mecca and settled in Delhi in the reign of Sultan Sikander (Lodī ; r. 894/1488-923/1517). He died in 944/1537 and was buried in Delhi.

Mention may also be made of the poet Fikrī[2] who was related to the family of Syed Nūr Bakhsh and who came to the Deccan in the time of Shāh Tahir (d. 952 or 953 or 956 see Rieu I395) It is, however, difficult to say whether or not he did any missionary work in the Deccan.

(*d*) *The Nurbakhshi creed.*

The Nūrbakhshī creed seems to have passed through at least three stages of development. Firstly there was the form which Nūrbakhsh gave it himself. Then there was the modification which probably took place when the Safvids came to power, and later when the faith had been introduced in Kashmīr.

---

iv. Mīr Abū Sa'īd Su'adā.
v. Mīr Mukhtār akhyār.
vi. Mīr Najmuddīn Thaqīb.
vii. Mīr Mohammad Nūrārnī.
viii. Mīr Muhammad Shāh Makhdum al-Fuqarā.

On p. 60, however Mir Jalāluddin Ma'sum is added after No. 5 and Mīr Shah Jālāl Syed al akhyār after No. 8, raising the total number to ten. On p. 59 and 64 these, along with the spiritual predecessors of Nūr Bakhsh, are called *Mashāikhu Sil Silatidh Dhahab* or "Saints of the Golden Chain." Apparently Asīrī was the first to use the term. Cf. Majālis 316 L. 21. Biddulph tells us that the "graves of Mir Mokhtār and Mir Yahya, son of Shamsuddin, are still to be seen in Kiris and Shigar and it is probable that the complete establishment of the Nūr Bakhsh tenets in Baltistan is to a great degree due to them" (Tribes of the Hindookush p. 125). This Mīr Mukhtar appears to be identical with No. 5 above, but I am unable to say that he is a son of Shams 'Irāqī".

1. Probably it was in this period that all religious grants and places of worship were made over to the sect and they destroyed Hindu Temples. cf. Firishta, Maqāla X, p. 350, Maāthir 224.

2. See Bodleian Catalogue of Persian MSS, col. 458, No. 1086.

Nūrbakhsh appears to have claimed [1] that he was the Mehdi [2] the lord of his time (مہدي صاحب الزمان) and he calls himself the 'the promised Manifestation' (مظہر موعود) and more often " the Most Perfect Manifestation" [3] of God (مظہر جامع). This last claim seems to have been greatly stressed in his letters and poems.

In a letter [4] or his (addressed to Shahrukh ?) he explains what he means by this claim. "In this age" says he, "if there is a Syed [5], in the whole world, deeply learned in religious, linguistic, and philosophic sciences, as also unique in the unveiling (of the divine mysteries), in observing (the same), in getting glimpses of the divine light as seen in His manifestations, deeds, qualities and person (تجليات آثاري و افعالي و صفاتي و ذاتي) and in discovering the truths about the Unity of God, Gnosis and Mysticism, and who has some fifty disciples..................who also see the divine light and know the Truth صاحب تجلي و محقق—that person is myself. This being the case it was obligatory (واجب) according to saints and scholars that the Muslim kings should love, follow, serve and obey him [6]. "To most of the doctors of Islam, nay to all Islam" he adds "it is manifest that there is no one in the whole world, who so completely combines all the qualities enumerated above, as does the writer of these lines."

---

1. I must admit at once that out of the original writings of Nūr Bakhsh only a few are known to me (see Appendix c). Some of the views expressed in the following pages may, therefore, have to be modified when and if more material is forthcoming.

2. Cf. Poems :— مائیم چو خاتم الولایه هم مهدي و هادي و هدایه

See Appendix b. 1. ,His Messianic claims, ,which are rather equivocally expressed (see extracts in Appendix B), are apparently to be regarded as arising out of his Mehdihood.

3. Cf. his following verses :—

اگر چه مرشد کامل کسي بود لیکن نبود مظهر جامع بود همه احوال
علو همت هر قابلست رهبر وي بپارگاه ولایت بسدهٔ اقبال
زنور بخش طلب دولت ابد پیوند که عم نسبت و شفیق سبب و بهزخالوخال

4. See Appendix. A. 2.

5. The original has سندي. I read it سیدي

6. Cf. with this, the following line of his, which shows that he undoubtedly had ambition for political power :—

تا سلطنت عشق شد مسلم دارم ز سریر و تاج کي عار

In another letter occurs the following :—All praise be to God for his manifest and hidden favours, for there are no noble qualities and perfections which He has denied me. I am a Quraishite and descendant of Hashim, of " Alī, of Fatima, of Husain, and of Kazim." Then he speaks of his proficiency in linguistic, religious and mathematical, sciences, as also in the esoteric teaching of Alī which reached him through Imām Jafar, (علوم شريفه جعفري) in alchemy, sīmiya, etc., and in spiritual matters of the kind already mentioned. He calls himself 'Imām of the Walis', 'Imām of his age' urges all scholars who wanted to reach the mainspring of Truth, and gnostics who sought the knowledge of certainity to flock to him. He felt it obligatory to make known his affair, so that it may be a proof against the world, "and he who died without acknowledging the Imām of his time died the death of Pagans" 2 (See Appendix A for the Persian Text of the letter ; also for some poems of his, where similar ideas are expressed).

Much else that he says in his poems agrees with the teaching of other great Sūfīs, such as Iba 'Arbi (d. 656) for whom he has great admiration (See Appendix b. 1.), Rūmī (d. 672) Awhadi (d. 738) Maghribī (died 809), Hafiz (d. 791) and others—only a few examples may be given here, in order to illustrate this.

i. " I have become totally free from denomination, religion and sect. I am only a lover ".

ز كيش و مذهب و ملت بكلي   مبرا گشته ام ديني ندارم
نه گبرم نه يهود و نه نصاري   نه صابي نه مسلمان نه تعارم
نه ديوانه نه عاقل مست و هشيار   مگر مسحور چشم آن نگارم

In another place he says :—

درياے محيط مشرب ماست   اديان جميع مذهب ماست

ii. " Renounce the world and its vanities if you desire Poverty and unveiling (of the Divine Realties).

هر جوان مردي كه فقر و كشف را جويا بود
ترك دنيا گز نمايد حال او زيبا بود
اي دل غافل زخواب آگاه شو   ترك دنيا گير و مرد راه شو

1. Apparently he is referring to علم الجفر See E. I. Vol. I. 999 b ; H. Khalifa I. 895, II 48.

2. Claimed by the Shia to be a Hadith but see Ibn Taimiya's Minhaj al-Sunna, (Bulāk 1821) Vol. 1 p. 26 (bottom), where this claim is denied.

iii. "Learning without love, leads one nowhere".

اگر علمست گر عقلست گر ہوش وگــر تــدبیر رای صــوابست
بجز سوز و نیاز و درد و عشقت یقینم کــہ آن جملہ حجابست

iv. "We have obliterated the traces of Not-He from the tablets of the Universe. We have seen a world where there is only (divine) Attributes and the Divine Essence".

شستیم نقش غیر ز لواح کائنات دیدیم عالمی کہ صفاتست و عین ذات

v. A favourite theme with him is that the object of creation is to produce the Perfect Gnostic; e.g., in these lines.

عارف کہ متصف بصفات کمال شد حقا کہ اوست علت غائی ممکنات
چون منشاء عوالم کلی و جود ماست بود جہان ہمگی ہم ز بود ماست

Being a Syed, he naturally is proud of his descent from 'Alī. and as a Sūfī and Valī claims that the light of Sainthood has come down to him from 'Alī.

از مہر علی ولایت کہ دمیدہ است بـــا طـــالـــع مـــســـعـــود
از پر تو آن نور با قطابست رسید تا مظہر مـــوعـــود

(See Appendix b-1.)

But in this and in the poems elsewhere there is hardly any deviation from the orthodox Sūfī position

The way in which he trained his distinguished disciples is very well illustrated by an *ijaza* [1] which he gave to Asīri and in which he states fully his method.

In Asrar (p. 92 d seq.) Asīri has retold the whole story in his own words which supplements the statements contained in the *ijaza*. From these sources we learn that after *Tauba* or repentence for sins committed, the novice was taught the Dhikr-i-Khafī. He had to submit his will completely to that of his master [2]

امر کامل گفت امر حق شمار گر ہمی خواہی کہ یابی وصل یار
نہی حق دان آنچہ مرشد نہی کرد قند نوشی کن چہ باید زہر خورد
اختیار خود بدست پیر دہ بر سر خود یکقدم ہرگز منہ

1. Quotedly Asīrī in his Sharh-i-Gulshan-i-Rāz from which it has been copied in Majālis p. 315 L. 24.

2. Asrār 96 L. 12, 97 L. 3.

Then he had to undergo a long course of service, solitude, meditation and companionship". For Asīrī, this period lasted for sixteen years and the service consisted in his own words of what follows:—[1]

سالها بودم ملازم بر درش   گشته محکوم غلام کمترش
میکشیدم هیزم مطبخ بدوش   گشته بودم بندهٔ حلقه بگوش
گاه خادم بردم اندر مطبخ بدوش   گه بدم پیش اشترانش بارکش
گه مکارم (sic) بودم گه گله بان   گاه فرش در آن آستان
روز تا شب پا برهنه گرسنه   میدویدم بهر خدمت یک تنه
شب نه فرشم بود نه بالین نه سر   نی مراد نفس نه خواب نه خور

Then he began to see the divine light, receive revelations, "walk and fly into the worlds of angels and spirits", and passed through the stages of *Fana* (annihilation) *Baqa* (subsistence) Manifestation, Jnosis of the realities of unification, and acquisition of divine qualities. Ultimately he reached the stage, when he could train other novices, under supervision.

It is clear from the above that in the main, the movement in the time of Nūrbakhsh, was mystical, but the teaching or discipline did not differ in any marked degree from the orthodox teaching or discipline of the monasteries.

Soon after the death of Nūrbakhsh, however, the Safvids came to power, so the system must have come under the Shīa influences and like the rest of Persia, they also must have been converted to the Shīa faith. How else can we explain the fact that all their missionaries who appear in this period in Kashmīr are described by the Sunnī writers as Shi-as, and that the essential character of the religious literature of the Nūrbakhshīs of Kashmir is Shī'a.

Finally, when the Nūrbakhshī creed spread beyond the Zojila into Laddakh, the misssonaries encountered difficulties in converting the obstinate Sunnī population, so a compromise had to be affected between Sunnīsm and Shi'aism, The result is thus described by Mīrza Haider :—The Nūrbakhshīs he tells us "revile the companions of the Prophet and Ayesha as do the Shī'as", but contrary to the Shī'a, look upon Nūr Bakhsh as the Lord of the Age and the promised Mehdi'. Shams, "introduced many impious practices and infidel beliefs". The Mīrza had met the Nūr-Bakhshīs in Varsak [2] (in Badakhshan) and "discovered that outwardly they follow the

1. Ibid 97 L. 19.
2. So in the Punjab Univ. Ms: of the Tarīkh-i-Rashīdī (A.P,C.I.9) Ross omits it.

precepts of the Prophet and hold with the Sunnīs". But of the Nurbakhshīs of Kashmir he has drawn a very unfavourable picture. "The Sufis", he says, "know nothing of what is lawful or unlawful. They consider that piety and purity consist in night-watching and abstinence in food; yet they take and eat whatever they find, without ever considering what is forbidden or what is lawful". They, one and all greedily appropriate Waqf property, against the law[1]. "They are for ever interpretting dreams, displaying miracles and obtaining from the unseen, information regarding either the future or the past [2]. They prostrate themselves before one another[3] and together with such disgraceful acts, observe the forty (days of retirement) [4]. They blame and detest science and men of learning; consider the Holy law second in importance to the true 'way', and that in consequence the people of the 'way' have nothing to do with the Holy Law."

(e) *The present day Nurbakhshis.*

Biddulph, writing about 1880, gives some interesting details how the mixed character of various religious forms and beliefs has been presented to our own times by the Nūrbakhshis;—"In winter" he says, "the Nūrbakhshis pray with folded arms, like the Sunnis, in summer with the hands hanging down, like the Shia. Like the Sunnis they pray together, and observe Juma Prayers, but they do not wash their feet before praying and

1. This seems to be the sense of the sentence as given in the Ms: referred to in the preceding note. Ross has a different version.

2. The founder himself may have been responsible for these tendencies. Cf. extracts from his letters in Appendix A. Risāla-i-Itiqādiya (Lahore, 1341) p. 38; Majālis 318 l. 29 319 l. 11.

3. Cf. the following verse of Bannā'ī addressed to Asīrī:—

پیش رخ تر سجده بو جهي برد كه هست درروي ظهور زجبهه مجموع عابدين

(majālis 317-8).

4. In one of his Ghazals, Nūr Bakhsh, addresses himself thus:—

اي دل بيا بكوي وفا خلوتي گزين در سلك سالكان بي نشان نشين
از هرچه غير اوست تبرا نما بدل وا نگه بحق نماي تولا چو اهل دين
تجريد شو ز هر چه درين ره نه درخو است
بر آستان دوست بسر آور يك اربعين

"In order to gain purity, release the soul from the grip of the demon of self and see the light of Truth", also cf. Majālis 317 l. 12, 318 l. 22 seq.

only perform the Mash like the Shia. In doctrine they give the first place to the Prophet and second to Ali, but they observe the Muharram, mourning for the martyred sons of Ali. From the Muharram observe nces arises one of the chief causes of quarrel with the Shia. The Nūrbakhshis maintain that the mourning should take place in the mosques which the Shia do not allow to be proper and occasional disturbances are the result. The Nūrbakhsh call to prayer is علی ولي اللـه instead of علي وصي رسول اللـه if the Shias "[1].

According to this writer, the number of Nūrbakhshīs in Bāltistān about 1880 was over 20,000. But we learn fram the Census Report of Kashmīr for 1911 that their numbers are rapidly dwindling.[2]

Most of them have passed over to Shī'aīsm and the rest are becoming ahl-i-Hadīs, " because their beliefs and practices conform so much to Sunnīsm and are so different in material points from Shī'aism. The Nūrbakshī for example, does not believe in the *Mut'a* form of marriage, says his prayers in congregation (ba Jamaat) and says them five times with his hands raised to the breast, bathes and performs ablution in Sunnī style, believes in the Khilāfat of the first three Caliphs of the Prophet, as well as of Ali performs obsequial ceremonies like the Sunnīs".[3] " They are confined to Chorbat, Khapalu, Kiris, and Parkuta ilaqas and to a few villages in Kargil Tehsil, and even there are found sparingly.

APPENDIX

(a) Extract from the British Museum manuscript add. 7688A 34 b seq

سید محمد نور بخش در نصیحت مریدان و اهل معرفت نوشته اند
شکر و سپاس بیقیاس حضرت لاهوت را که بمقتضاء حکمت انسان را از همه
کاینات برگزیده و بشرف نبوت و ولایت مشرف گردانیده و تشریف نموت
بر خاتم الانبیاء ابوالقاسم محمد بن عبدالله علیه افضل الصلوات بلباس جامعیت

1. Biddulph, Tribes, etc., p. 125.

2. Separate figures are not given for them in the Census Report for 1911. Along with Sunnīs they are said to number 43,574 in Laddākh Ibid Pt. I. p. 105 note. The Postmaster of Khapalu, writing to me on 3rd October 1924, estimates the Nūrbakhshī population as 30 to 35 thousands. Hundreds of Nūrbakhshīs, according to him are living in Simla, Massooree, and other hill stations, mostly as labourers. Communications with trans-frontier Nūrbakhshis, if there are any such, has long ceased.

3. Ibid P. 105.

پوشانید، و از مالک جسمانی و عقبات نفسانی ویرا بموهبت محض رسانیده و از جمیع مقامات صدیقان. و مقربان گذرانیده شراب تجلیات آثاری و افعالی و صفاتی و ذاتی نوشانیده' الحمدلله نعمائه الظاهره والباطنه که هیچ از شرف فضایل و کمالات ازین مظهر دریغ نداشت' در نسب قریشی و هاشمی و علوی و فاطمی و حسینی و کاظمی ام' در علوم ادبی فزید فضلی زمام' در علوم شرعی وحید مجتهدان جهانم' در علوم ریاضی اگر افلاطون بودی ازین مظهر استفاده نمودی' در علوم شریفه جعفریه تابع آدم اولیا علی مرتضی ام' صلواة علیه و در علوم غریبه سیمای (سیمیا) و کیمیا و سیما (لیمیاء) اگر آن بدارم ابو علی سینایم' و در مکاشفات فلکی و مشاهدات ملکوتی و مغیبا[ت] جبروتی و تجلیات لاهوتی کامل و مکملم در اطزار اذکار سبعه لسانی و نفسی و قلبی و سری و روحی و خفی و غیب الغیوب واصل و متواصلم' در معرفت حقایق اشیاء و مشرب توحید نبدا اگر بزیر چرخ کبود چون منی هست و بود و خواهد بود' ای اهل زمانه! مفاخرت نماید بمعاصرت امام الاولیا اے اهل ملک! مبادات تمابر نصرت نتیجه سلطان آل عبا' اے اهل علم! از تهیه تقلید بسرچشمه تحقیق رسید' ای اهل معرفت! طالب علم الیقین شوید' ای خواص! در صدق و خلاص کوشید' ای عوام الناس! لباس تقوی پوشید' اگر نه بمقتضای من مات و[لم] یعرف امام زمانه [مات] مستنیر [میتة] جوهلیة وقت مقتضی اظهار بودی حال خود مخفی داشتم' اما اظهار واجب بود تا بر عالمیان حجت باشد' هادی علی الاطلاق همگنان را بمظهر کل و هادی سبل دانا و بینا گرداناد' بحرمت سیدالکونین و عترة الخیار الاطهار والسلام -

(Ibid f. 34 b.)

(2)

Extract from another letter of Syed Mohammad Nūr Bakhsh,

... و اگر حدیث الشیخ فی قومه کالنبی فی امته نمایند برایں مظهر صادقست' دریں زمان و همه جهان اگر سندی (سعیدی ؟) وباشد در فنون علم

شرعي و ادب و حكمي منبكر و در مكاشفات و مشاهدات و معاينات و و تجليات آثاري و افعالي و صفاتي و ذاتي و حقايق توحيد و معرفت و و تصوف متحد و منفرد، و از مريدان صاحب كمال قريب پنجاه صاحب حال داشته بزند كه در رياضت و مجاهدت و خدمت و عزلت تربيت تمام [يافته و] صاحب تجلي و محقق باشند اين مظهر است، و نزد مرشدان صمداني و علماء رباني محبت و ارادت و ملازمت و اطاعت چنين صاحب كمال بر پادشاهان اسلام از جمله واجبات است و بر اكثر علماء اسلام بلكه خواص و عوام هويدا است كه غير كاتب اين حروف در همه عالم هيچكس بجامعيت اين صفات موصوف نيست-

(*b*) **Extract from poems of Syed Muhammad Nūr Bakhsh,** (B. M. Ms. No. add. 16779 *ff* 166 *b* 181*a*)

(1)

ماائيم و هماي همت ما | پرواز كند زعرش بالا
مصرسب وجود جامع ما | زاطوار و حقايق و تجلي
بر جمله مقامها گذشتيم | در كشف عيان جنيد وقتيم
ابن عربي رئيس سكمل | فهرست حقايق است مجمل
تنصل حقايق و معاني | مائيم يقين اگر بداني
خورشيد سپهر اوليائيم | اعجوبه كائنات مائيم
درعلم نه كم ز پور سينا | در زهد ز قدسيان اعلي
فرزند عزيز مصطفائيم | هادي طريق مرتضائيم
مائيم چون خاتم الولايه | هم مهدي و هادي و هدايه
اظهار حقايق ست واجب | بر ذمت ما ز بهر طالب
قاضي سراي شرع و ملت | مفتي طريقت و حقيقت
هم صوفي و شيخ خانقاهيم | هم مرشد سالكان راهيم
گفتند جميع شاد و خرم | تا آب و درخت و آسماهم
مائيم وجود كل موجود | مائيم زكائنات كل مقصود

(*f* 178 *b*)

(2)

اندریں دیر کہنہ دنیا می پرستی چو من نہ شد پیدا
ارغنون می نوازم و ناقوس جام می میخورم ز دست خدا
جبروت است بزم ما رداں و ز شراب طہور مستیمہا
کنہ گوران دیر میمنائی جاثلیق و کشیش و مرسیا
ہمہ دانستہ اند و می گریند نور بخش است حضرت عیسی
ذات بحتیم و مظہر اسما کیست در کائنات کل چو ما
بجمیع صفات حق موصوف در کمالات معنوی یکتا
روح پاک بسی نبی و ولی مجتمع گشت تا شدم دانا
ہر دمش یوسف و علی بودم موسی و عیسی و بسی زینہار
گر بروز است گر تناسخ صرف آنچہ حق بود گفتہ شد بہ شما
نور بخش زماں شدم اکنوں شد منور ز نور ما ہمہ جا

(f 171 a)

(c) *Some Nurbakhshi Literature.*

1. *The writings of Syed Muhammad Nurbakhsh.*

Only a few of these are known to me to exist, viz., (a) His poems preserved on the margin of 34 pages of the British Museum Ms. add. 16,779 (See Rieu 825 a. IV.) This is undated, but was written "apparently in the 16th Century (Rieu). The number of poems is 53 (470 baits in all). They are mostly Ghazals, but there are also some Mathnavīs (the longest contains 167 baits), rubâî's, and Qasīdas. A Qasīda of his is also to be found in the Bodleian Ms. No. 1208 (Ethe's Catalogue col. 733). Some verses are also found scattered in Persian Tadhkiras.

(b) The Shūstarī quotes two passages from an Arabic Risāla-i-'Aqīda "which is ascribed to him" (majālis 415). The first and part of the second are found in a work lithographed in Mathra in 1333 entitled کتاب لا جواب فقہ امامیہ نور بخش معرو ف بہ سراج الاسلام showing that the arabic portion of the two works is identical. The work covers 620 folio pages and contains the Arabic text, with a running Persian Commentary.

(c) A pamphlet called Kitāb-al-I'tiqādiya (Lahore, 1342) which also contains an arabic text and a Persian Commentary, is similarly ascribed to Nūrbakhsh, but is different from the above, and is much smaller (only 96 pages.)

(d) His two letters included in the Murāsālt, referred to in the article above.

(e) His *ijaza*, quoted by Asīrī. See supra.

It may be added here that Mīrzā Haider speaks of a Risāla of the Mīr which was shown to the Mīrza by a son of the Mīr and from which he quotes a passage but he does not name it. (See Ross's tr. of T. Rashīdī p. 435).

Abdul Haq quotes in his Akhbār (p, 2931) a work called Silsilatadh. Dhahab of Sheikh Muhammad Nūr Bakhsh. This appears to have been in Arabic, but, as on page 211, Asīrī is probably the author being referred to.

2. The writings of Asiri.

(a) Sharh-i-Gulshan-i-Rāz. Has some relevant passages.

(b) His Dīwān, in Ms. See Rieu 660 a.

(c) His Asrār al-Shuhūd. This was published in Lahore in 1894, and wrongly ascribed to ʿAttār, from a wrong note in the colophon. The poet refers to himself on page 10 thus :—

هر یکي در دور خود گشتہ جنید   چون اسیري دیدہ آزادي ز قید

(3) To the above may be added :—

(a) Da'awāt al-Sūfiya (Arabic and Persian), lithogr. in Meerut in 1325, and

(b) A Risāla (Persian) in Ms. containing two chapters, one on Usūl and the other on Furū. This I have still to examine.

ASSEVERATIONS AND OATHS IN HEBREW AND ARABIC.

BY

DR. A. S. TRITTON, ALIGARH.

The statement of the grammarians that in such sentences as :—

لا اقسم بمواقع النجوم the لا is superfluous مزيدة , is unsatisfactory. It is not an explanation, only a statement of fact. It is inconceivable that the negative should lose its whole force; as is demanded by this interpretation. If 'no' can mean 'yes', language ceases to have any meaning. An explanation must show that the negative once had its full significance and must trace the steps by which it has reached its present anomalous position.

There are cases in which is superfluous; but they are not parallel to the one we are considering as they begin with a negative; e. g. (Qur. 57·29.) ما منعك اذ رايتهم ضلوا ان لا تتبعني Here the presence of لا is due to the general negative character of the sentence. Another example is :— اني لا ارجو ان لا اكون من هؤلاء (الجاحظ البيان) Very similar is the construction in French of verbs of fearing; where the thing feared is introduced by *ne* not.

It would be natural to regard لا in this sentence as a variant of ل but the Arab grammarians give no warrant for this assumption; so it must be ruled out. We must assume that لا means 'not' and find a reason for its apparent loss of meaning.

The investigation had best start with Hebrew. There is a common oath that takes this form :—David said ; May God do so to me and more also if I leave of all his family one male till the morning. (1. Sam. 25·22.) This is only one example among many. This formula however is often abbreviated; the imprecation is left out and the condition alone remains. As an example of this stage of development, where the meaning is inferred from the words rather than contained in them, we may quote :—The people said to Saul: Shall Jonathan die who has wrought this great deliverance for Israel? Nay, as the Lord liveth, if a hair of his head shall fall to the ground. (1. Sam. 14·45.) The meaning is; Not a hair of his head shall fall to the ground. Another example is :—By thy life and the life of thy soul, if I do this thing. (2. Sam. 11·11.) Here the Syriac version translates according to the sense :— I will not do this thing.

Thus a positive conditional sentence :—or rather the protasis of one— comes to be a negative promise or threat. Conversely, a negative condition takes on the sense of a positive threat or promise. An example is :—Art thou Gilead to me or the head of Lebanon? If I do not make thee a desert, (Jer. 22 6.) The meanings is :—I will make thee a desert.

Such constructions seem to be entirely lost in Syriac; except as word for word translations from the Hebrew.

We find in Arabic constructions similar to the fuller form of the Hebrew oaths and also to the shortened form. An example is :—

نشدك خطك بيمينك و شفاعتك لنا عند نبيك إلا اقلتنا (Beladhoi)

The same construction occurs with لما in place of الا.

انشدك الله ملا عملت في البيعة لا بن اختي (Tab. 2) This is use.) rather more freely in Arabic than in Hebrew. Again (Nishwārul Muhādarad 165) اسالك بالله الا اخذت ما شئت منه This would be translated into English: 'I beseech you to take',

Ibn Yaish says that in such a sentence الا اخذت equals اخذك , or لتاخذن but offers no explanation how this meaning is obtained. (The substitution of the Arabic perfect for the Hebrew is due to the normal action of the rules governing conditional clauses.)

A negative asseveration is introduced by ان

حلف بطلاق صاحبته ان كان عرف خبر ابي منصور

(Eclipse of the Abbasid Caliphate. 3,97.)

A further development is the omission of the conditional particle. Two examples are :— والله اسمع ماحييت بهالك الا بكيت اقسمت بالله اسقيها و اشربها حتى تفرق ترب الارض اوصالي As far as I know, this construction occurs only in the affirmative form and negative meaning.

The use of لا in rhetorical questions, and in exhortations where the general sense is positive, may have helped to weaken its force as a negative; as in such phrases as :—

الا انهم هم السفهاء Verily they are the fools.

الا قبح الله وجهك May God disfigure thy face.

الا تصنف كتابا Compose a book.

Even in the modern dialect of Egypt الا is used to introduce a positive request.

'Anoint my left eye.' This is pronounced :—Illa tekahhilni ënnesh-shmāl. So far the process is clear. By the omission of the apodosis of a conditional sentence, a negative protasis first suggests an affirmation and later becomes a direct wish. Conversely, a positive protasis suggests the desire to avoid some evil and then becomes the expression of a fear. Then the conditional character of the phrase is lost and the presence of an oath is enough to show that an apparently affirmative sentence is really negative. Then by an absolutely unwarranted extension of this construction a negative ss put before the verb of swearing, without depriving it of its positive character. The sentence with which we started :— لااقسم بمواقع النجوم is not the correlative of the quotation from Hassan ibn Thabit واللّه اسمع . There is a gap between the two that we cannot bridge. Language has made a jump which is grammatically indefensible.

This suggestion is only an hypothesis ; an attempt to show how لا may have lost its force under certain conditions. At first لا keeps its negative power, though other causes make the general effect positive Then by a mistaken analogy ا is put where it has no right to be.

XII—General.

THE TANJORE MAHĀRĀJA SARFOJI'S SARASVATĪ MAHAL LIBRARY, TANJORE

BY

MR. P. P. S. ŚĀSTRI, B.A. (Oxon), M.A., M.R.A.S., MADRAS.

This ancient and famous library which is described by Dr. Burnell "to be perhaps the largest and most important in the world" and which Dr. Bühler says "contains a great many useful and a number of very rare or nearly unique books many of which are quite unknown or procurable only with great trouble and expense" was till recently the private property of the Rājas of Tanjore.

The earliest beginnings of the library must have been about the end of the 16th century when Tanjore was under the rule of Telugu Nāyaks who collected Sanskrit Manuscripts written in Telugu character. In the 18th century the Mahrattas conquered the country and since that date the library has been increasing. By far the greater portion of the collection was made by Sarfoji Rāja during a visit to Benares during 1820—1830. Sivāji his successor added a few. There has practically been no addition of any value till very recent times. A good number of Sanskrit Manuscripts including rare and valuable manuscripts representing the collection of generations of a family of scholars, known as the "Jambhunātha Bhaṭ Landagai collection" was added to the Library in 1921. In 1922, the Library received other valuable collections of rare interest, known as the "Kagalkar" and the "Pataṅga Avadhūta" collections.

The attention of the Government of India and through it of the Government of Madras was directed in 1868 to the importance of the examination, purchase or transcription of Sanskrit Maunscripts in Indian Libraries and the framing of printed lists or catalogues of the same. (Proceedings of the Government of India in the Home Department (Public), No. 4338-48, dated Simla, 3rd November 1868).

In respect of magnitude as well as the range of subjects dealt with, not to speak of the diversity of languages employed, the Tanjore Library is probably second to none among Oriental Libraries in India.

In December of the same year, the Government of Madras asked Mr. Pickford, Professor of Sanskrit, to carry out the instructions of the Government of India. He commenced to catalogue the manuscripts at Tanjore but he fell seriously ill and had to return to Europe in March 1870 and never came back to India. It is not known how much he had done as his unfinished catalogues could not be found. (Letter from the

Professor of Sanskrit, Presidency College, Madras, to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, dated Madras, 22nd May 1876, and Letter No. 1560, dated Madras, 7th June 1876, from the Director of Public Instruction Madras, to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras.)

Thereupon Dr. Burnell, District and Sessions Judge, was appointed in G.O. No. 71, dated 16th March 1871, to catalogue the Sanskrit Library at Tanjore. That learned Scholar devoted a great deal of research and labour to the task and his catalogue which he styled " A classified Index to the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Palace at Tanjore," was published in three parts between 1878 and 1880 in London. This is now the chief key to the huge Sanskrit collection in this Library. But unfortunately a great many manuscripts, about 4,000, seem to have been omitted and his catalogue cannot be said to be complete.

During the course of his preparation of the catalogue Dr. Burnell wrote to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras from Bangalore on 6th August 1873 as follows :—

" It may perhaps be asked if the Library is worth the labour spent on it. I can answer unhesitatingly that it is. It is now a recognised fact that nearly all Sanskrit works of importance exist in different recensions. The Tanjore Library is unrivalled in this respect ; it contains several good manuscripts of all the most important ones known as yet, including a few that are new............ The Tanjore Library, however, contains addtional manuscripts of most of the works which I had discovered elsewhere, and this is a matter of great importance.

I believe that this library must, sooner or later escheat to the Government. The preparation of this catalogue will therefore protect property of enormous value. Sanskrit Manuscripts have long been very dear and the cost of making proper transcripts is now very heavy. As far as I can judge, it would not be possible to form a collection like that at Tanjore at a less cost than £50,000 but many manuscripts are unquestionably unique."

The Tanjore Mahārāja Sarfoji's Sarasvatī Mahal Library is now a public library in the full sense of that term, the Government of Madras through the Treasurer of Charitable Endowments, being responsible for its administration. The collection belonged to the reigning princes of Tanjore—the Mahratta Mahārājas. When the last of them died leaving no direct male heir and after the death of the last surviving Rāṇī this collection together with the other properties formed the subject of litigation in civil courts. There was a rumour a few years ago that the collection had attracted the attention of some wealthy patrons of learning from Overseas. And it would appear that arrangements were very nearly ready to sell the whole collection outright at an assessed value, when public attention was focussed on certain remarks of Dr. Burnell to the effect that "it would not be possible to form a collection like that at

Tanjore at a less cost than £ 50,000". The parties concerned had perforce to wake up and the deal was not immediately concluded. The public of Tanjore also began to interest themselves in the affair adequately. It was rightly considered as a question of National pride. The parties in O.S. No. 26 of 1912 on the file of the Subordinate Judge of Tanjore agreed that it was eminently fit that the Library should be preserved and maintained as a public Library in trust for the public and removed the Library and one lakh of rupees to provide for its upkeep, from the subject-matter of the suit. The Government of Madras in G.O. No. 1306 Home (Education), dated 5th October 1918, accordingly took possession of the same under the Charitable Endowments Act and have framed a scheme for the management of the same.

Since the Library became a public trust there has been a marked improvement in the reception accorded to it by the public. Various liberal and generous-minded benefactors have come forward with magnanimous offers. The Library has been enriched with three very fine collections of manuscripts, every one of them rare, valuable and very interesting. The Kagalkar collection, Jambunātha Bhaṭ Landagai collection and the Pataṅga Avadhūta collection—all these three alone number 2181 manuscripts.

The manuscripts are either on palm leaf or on paper. They are of very different value and come from very different sources. A large collection of these are recent Nāgari copies of Manuscripts in South Indian characters and are at least a century old.

These manuscripts are in more than eleven distinct alphabets being from all parts of India. On the whole, one may easily say that the total number of manuscripts now in this Library is likely to exceed 25,000.

Besides these manuscripts there are also a number of books and Manuscripts in almost all the Indian and European languages and on almost all branches of human knowledge. Special mention may here be made of the books and manuscripts in Telugu, Tamil, Mahrathi and English on account of their number and importance.

Dr. Burnell issued what he modestly styled "A classified Index to the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Palace at Tanjore," between 1878 and 1880. Between 1880 and 1918 for very nearly forty years, the Library has been the victim of many an outrage. Those who were in possession gave out on loan very many manuscripts which were never returned. And many more somehow or other, found themselves into Libraries other than at Tanjore. Dr. Burnell's catalogue is very useful to us to trace out lost manuscripts, which are never likely to come back to us. Our losses are probably far more: for even Dr. Burnell's admirable catalogue was by no means a complete catalogue of all that existed. His cataloguing must have been done in haste and with unreliable assistants.

For, where he mentions a single work in a bundle, we are able to-day to trace two or more works in the same bundle.

The committee appointed by the Government of Madras took charge early in 1919. Since then they have been busily pushing forward the work of revising and preparing a fresh catalogue of all the works now in the Library according to the latest scientific methods. Each work is described in detail in a card-index-form which contains all the necessary particulars.

In 1920 a catalogue of printed books in French, Latin, Italian and Greek was published. In 1925 the first two volumes of a catalogue of Tamil manuscripts in the Library were published. These are now on sale and can be had from the Secretary of the Library. As regards the Sanskrit Manuscripts 12,000 slips have been prepared. The work of preparing slips for the other manuscripts is going on. The cataloguing of Mahrathi manuscripts and books is also in progress.

From an academic point of view the library possesses some very interesting specimens of literary and artistic importance.

These have been roughly classified as—

(I) Objects of interest on paper.

(II) Illustrated paper manuscripts.

(III) Oldest paper manuscripts.

(IV) Drawings and pictures believed to be Indian.

(V) Palm leaf manuscripts.

Short notes under each of the above items are appended herewith.

From this short survey, it would be clear that this Library is probably one of the best preserved among Oriental Libraries in India. To Oriental Scholars in particular the Library is of inestimable value in that it contains the richest collection of South Indian Sanskrit Manuscripts.

The funds at the disposal of the committee are not adequate to meet the necessary demand of printing and publishing the various catalogues that are now in course of preparation. The Government of Madras and the Madras University as well as all Oriental Scholars have a duty to discharge, to wit—to see proper and adequate arrangements made at an early date for the necessary publication of the various catalogues.

I.—OBJECTS OF INTEREST ON PAPER.

1. *Rāmāyaṇa.* Pictorial with letter press in Telugu. 3 old sheets and one renewed sheet. Each sheet illustrates a Kāṇḍa. The first three kāṇdas, Bālakāṇḍa, Ayodhyākāṇḍa, and Āraṇyakāṇḍa illustrated.

2. *Puruṣasūkta.* White letters on black ground, Page 1 (*b*) of the Index. No. 2363. Puruṣasūkta D. ff. 4 White letters on a black ground.

3. *Bhārata.* Vana Parva. Fine Indian Paper. Page 181 (*a*) of the Index. No. 1102 D. ff. 445. Vana Parva (3) Dr. Burnell does not give the date but the manuscript purports to be written in Samvat 1667 which corresponds to 1610 A.D.

4. Letters formed solely with microscopic letters of the word "Śiva". A paper manuscript in Marathi. The words of the text and all ornamentations are formed with the word Śiva written in microscopically small letters.

5. Paper manuscript made up in the shape of Palm-leaf manuscript. Āloka, a commentary on the Cintāmaṇi of Jayadeva Miśra. Page 117 (*a*) of the Index. No. 10865. Kashmere leaves 220 on long slips of thick paper, with a string passed through a hole in the middle.

6. Paper cut into ornamental shapes and mounted on violet paper.

II.—ILLUSTRATED PAPER MANUSCRIPTS.

VEDA.

I. ṚG VEDA. *Saṁhitāpāṭha. Illuminated borders and pictures.*—Page 1 (*a*) of the Index. No. 2341 to 2348 D. Aṣṭakas I to VIII The manuscript (written about 1830) is accented throughout in red. The borders are illuminated with gold and flowers:—on the first page of each chapter is a picture from Modern Hindu Mythology. All these ornaments are beautifully executed. This manuscript is in the Veda section, Bundles 1 and 2.

II. AŚVA ŚĀSTRA. *The Science of the Horse.*—This illustrated book embodies the teachings of sages Śālihotra, Dīnapati, Garga, Nakula, Gaṇa and others.

Horses originally are said to have had wings which at Indra's request Śālihotra cut off and made them serviceable to God and man.

Eight chief characteristics of horses are described under the following heads:—

(1) The cast of the body. 82 parts of the body are described at page 24.
(2) The natural dispositions. Satva.
(3) The colour.
(4) The motion or gait.
(5) The voice. The neighing.
(6) The smell.
(7) The brillance or lustre.
(8) The curl or knot of hair.

The life of a horse is said to be 32 years. It is divided into 10 periods, each of 3 years 2 months and 12 days.

Ten chief parts of the body are then described and then follows *in extenso* a description of the various marks on the body. At page 8, the eight chief marks are illustrated; at page 48, twenty other marks are illustrated.

Illustrations of the colour of horses are given at pages 54 to 78 *et seq.*

Horses that neigh at sight of particular objects are classed as lucky or unlucky. Pages 86 - 89.

The smell of horses is then described. Pages 89-90.

Then follows a description of the gaits of horses.

Pages 105-119 describe and illustrate unlucky horses, first in respect of their physical features, such as having a horn, three ears, two hoofs to a foot etc., then in respect of the shape or form of their eyes such as those resembling the eyes of a mungoose, buffalo, vulture, cat, etc., and thirdly in respect of the hair, such as the hair being matted, grass-like or having dividing lines, etc.

Pages 119-133 describe about 54 families or stocks, those that come from different countries.

The age of horses is said to be ascertained with reference to their hoofs, hair, teeth, movements of the limbs, neighing, excreta, urine, etc. Pages 134-137.

There is at page 137 a Sanskrit verse stating the ripe and full age for:

(1) Man	...	...	120 years
(2) The elephant	...	...	100 „
(3) The cow	...	...	24 „
(4) The ass or camel	...	...	25 „ each
(5) The dog	...	...	16 years
(6) The fox	...	...	25 „
(7) The worm	...	...	7 days
(8) The fly	...	...	14 „
(9) The horse	...	...	32 years.

Pages 154-159 describe the features which indicate longevity or otherwise of horses.

Directions as to the posture to be adopted by the rider are given at page 165.

At the end of this book illustrations apparently unconnected with the horse are given of

A bird called Śārika.

The figure of an elephant composed by 9 women.

The figure of a horse composed by 5 women, and

A bird called Cakora.

III. GAJA ŚĀSTRA. *The Science of the Elephant.*—The authorship of this work is attributed to Pālakāpyamuni who is said to be the offspring of Samagayanamuni and a female elephant. The Sanskrit text is given on the upper halves of pages and on the lower halves, a metrical translation in Marathi of the text above.

Most part of the work is mythological but the following matters may be noted:

Pages 96-127. The growth of the infant elephant from its first to the eleventh month is described; it is said that in the first month, the infant cannot suck its mother's milk. Then the development from the first to the tenth year is described. The animal is said to attain maturity in the tenth year.

The age of the elephant is given as 120 years which is divided into 12 periods of ten years each, each period being called a "*daśa*". The condition in each *daśa* is described. Pages 128-135.

Then follows a long description of the elephants of each of the old divisions of India, Kāmbhoja, Pulinda, etc. The names of the countries are given at page 135.

Five modes of capturing elephants are then described from pages 136-145:—

1. *Varibandha.*—Penning the animals in an enclosure about a square mile in area planted round with trees and round which a moat is dug up. The enclosure should be planted with sugarcane and other vegetation to attract the beasts.

2. *Vasabandha.*—Capture with the help of 7 or 8 female elephants. The riders cover themselves with foliage and carry ropes with nooses and the animals are securely fastened with the assistance of the trained animals.

3. *Anugatabandha.*—Capture by enticing the male elephant with the help of a trained female elephant which leads the former into captivity.

These three modes of capture are recommended while the two following methods are deprecated.

4. *Āpathabandha.*—Capture by making the elephant fall into a shallow pit covered over with foliage, etc.

5. The same method as the above, but the pit being very deep.

Elephants are classified according to their colour. A number of colours and the combinations are illustrated. White, Black, Red, White and Black, White and Red, Black and Red, etc.

The smell of elephants, their cries, their marks, and stature, etc., are then described.

The illustrated book is apparently incomplete as will be seen from the last pages, some of which contain pictures only without the text, and some contain only the preliminary pencil sketches.

IV. A BOOK ON OMENS in the Nāgarī character (manuscript in big bold letters) on divination by animals, etc., with pictures of the objects. Page 80 (*a*) of Burnell's Index, No. 4246. D.

V. BĀLABODHA MUKTĀVALĪ. A Marathi translation of Æsop's Fables, with beautiful illustrations in colours. The book was composed under the orders of Mahārāja Sarfoji in Saka 1728 which corresponds to 1806 A. D. After each fable, is added a note in Marathi on the obvious purport of the fable and one or two verses in Sanskrit about the fable and its lesson.

The translation is by one Subaji Sesho, and the Sanskrit verses by Śivarāma Śāstri. The name of the artist who drew the pictures is not given.

VI. A HIGHLY VALUED SPECIMEN OF MOGHUL ART. A book in the Persian language, on Mahammad of Gazni............with illustrations.

VII. SCIENCE OF BIRDS. In Marathi, A bound foolscap size manuscript with a beautiful illustration of Baja, a bird which was purchased from the Nawab of Udayagiri for Rs. 1,233 for Mahārāja Sarfoji by Bhujangarow Harirow when he was sent to Hyderabad (Deccan) for the purchase of horses. This bird was brought to Tanjore on 29th January 1803.

III.—OLDEST PAPER MANUSCRIPTS.

There are paper manuscripts written in the 15th and 16th centuries and later.

15TH CENTURY.

The oldest paper manuscript in this library more than 450 years old is in Sanskrit.

Bhāmatī or A commentary on Śaṅkarācārya's Bhāṣya by Vācaspati Miśra.—Page 87 (*a*) of the Index No. 6298. D. ff 28 a iv. Written Samvat 1525 (which corresponds to 1468 A.D.) in N. India. The manuscript says it was written in Kāśī (Benares). Though more than 450 years old, the paper continues to be in fairly good condition. This manuscript is in the Vedānta section bundle No. 8.

16TH CENTURY.

I. *Vāmanapurāṇa.*—Page 192 (*b*) of the Index No. 1584. D. ff 262. Written Samvat 1578 (which corresponds to 1521 A.D.) This manuscript is in the Purāṇa section, bundle No. 21.

II. *Tattvodyotavivaraṇa, by Jayatīrtha.*—Page 106 (*a*) of the Index No. 5938. Devanāgari ff. 51, complete, but a little injured by damp at the beginning. The date is not noticed by Dr. Burnell but it is found in the colophon that it was written in Śaka 1479 which corresponds to 1557 A.D. This manuscript is in the Madhvamata section, bundle No. 22.

III. *Kālanirṇaya from Hemādris Pariśeṣakhaṇḍa.*—Page 129 (*a*) of the Index No. 508. D. ff. 147 of which ff. 1 and 19 are wanting, written in Saka 1497 which corresponds to 1575 A.D. About 4,820 granthas. This manuscript is in the Dharmaśāstra section, bundle No. 101.

IV. *Bhārata—Bhīṣma Parva.*—Page 182 (*b*) of the Index No. 1274 D. ff. 155. Dr. Burnell does not give the date but the colophon says that the manuscript was written in Benares in Samvat 1642 which corresponds to 1585 A.D. This manuscript is in the Bhārata section, bundle No. 49.

V. *Bhārata—Gadā Parva.*—Page 181 (*b*) of the Index No. 1185 D. ff. 86. written Samvat 1646 (which corresponds to 1589 A.D.) This manuscript is in the Bhārata section, bundle No. 24.

IV.—DRAWINGS AND PICTURES, BELIEVED TO BE INDIAN.

1. Three volumes. Indian Plants. South Indian.

   Vol. 1 begins with மரமந்தாரை and ends with சீமைபுளிச்சக்கீரை (Hemp). 21 Plates.

   Vol. 2. begins with ஜாதிக்காய் Nutmeg, and ends with பெரிய தும்பை Pholomes Indica. 61 Plates.

   Vol. 3. begins vith வாழைப்பூ (Flower of the plantain) and ends with.....................(name not known.) 10 Plates.

2. Pictures of Birds. 26 sheets. On the last sheet are pictures of 4 butterflies and a bat.
3. Pictures of certain Palace Horses. 30 Plates.
4. Ethnological drawings and sketches in colour. 14 sheets.
5. Pictures of Tanjore Military Costumes. 17 Plates.
6. Pictures of Palanquins. 5 Plates.

V.—PALM LEAF MANUSCRIPTS.

It is only a very few palm leaf manuscripts that bear any date or that are assigned any date.

The oldest Palm-leaf manuscripts in this library, according to Dr. Burnell are :—

IN SANSKRIT.

1. *Gadyacintāmaṇi. by Vādībhasiṁha a Jain.* Page 157 (*b*) of the Index No. 10200, Gr. Tal. *LL.* 106. Written about 1550 ends with lambha 11. Much injured Gr. 3500. The Manuscript itself does not bear any date.

2. *Phalāvatī, a vṛtti to Jaimini sūtra.* Page 82 (*a*) of the Index. No. 9594 Gr. leaves 97-216. A few leaves are missing but as most of the leaves have the numbers broken off and are much injured, it would take a very minute examination to decide which are lost. This manuscript contains *a* VI-X 4. At page 41 of his South Indian Palaeography Dr. Burnell says "The oldest manuscript I have been able to discover is Tanjore 9594 which must be about 1600 A.D." The manuscript itself does not bear any date.

3. *An interesting palm leaf manuscript.* A marvel of scriptory art. Rāmāyaṇa : Lines 24 to 29 to a leaf in grantha character. Page 178 (*a*) of the Index. No. 11,678. Gr. leaves 239. 1-6 Kāṇḍas very minute hand.

IN TAMIL.

1. *Jīvakacintāmaṇi.* Tamil Kāvya No. 145. By Tiruttaka Tevar. (A Jain) with a commentary by Naccinārkkiniyar. (A brahmin.) The copy purports to be made in Śaka year 1625 which corresponds to 1703 A.D., from an original which was itself copied in Śaka year 1550 which corresponds to 1628 A.D.

Index.

INDEX.

B.

N

R

T